



## **Edith Porada: zum 100. Geburtstag**

Edited by: Bleibtreu, Erika ; Steymans, Hans Ulrich

**Abstract:** Edith Porada (1912-1994) wurde 1935 mit ihrer Dissertation *Die Rollsiegel der Akkadzeit* in Wien promoviert. Ab 1938 in den USA lebend, publizierte sie mit Unterstützung der American Schools of Oriental Research Siegelungen auf den bei amerikanischen Grabungen in Nuzi (Jorgan Tepe, Syrien) gefundenen Tontafeln. Richtungweisend für die stilgeschichtliche und typologische Forschung altorientalischer Glyptik war ihre 1948 erschienene Publikation der Rollsiegelsammlung der Pierpont Morgan Library. Das zweibändige Werk gilt nach wie vor als Standardliteratur. Zunächst unterrichtete sie am Queens College in New York allgemeine Kunstgeschichte. 1958 wechselte sie zum Department für Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie an der Columbia University, wo sie 1973 die Arthur Lehman Professur erhielt. Ab 1983 hatte sie dort den Edith Porada Lehrstuhl für Ancient Near Eastern Art History and Archaeology inne, wo sie bis 1993 unterrichtete. Edith Porada (1912-1994) was a pioneer in applying her university studies of Assyriology, Archaeology and Art History to research on stamp and cylinder seals from the Ancient Near East and its vicinity including the Aegean and Iran. This book reprints some of Edith Porada's articles, copies of which may be difficult to obtain. They are sorted into three topics: work on collections, her methods, the transmission of concepts between the Aegean and Iran. Newly written articles contextualize them in present research. At the end of the book, Edith Porada's dissertation on Akkadian cylinder seals, which has never been published, is carefully reviewed. In 1933-34, Edith Porada worked on seal collections in Berlin such as the Hahn-Voss collection, the Sarre collection, and the Vorderasiatische Museum. Later she conducted research on the seal collections in Jerusalem (1938), the Pierpont Morgan Library (1946-48, 1976) and Columbia University (1964) in New York. Following a biography and bibliography the first section of the book deals with the collections that Edith Porada researched in Berlin. Reprints of her articles about the Jerusalem and US collections follow. The section covering methods begins with an introduction by Mirko Novák (Bern) and ends with memories about Edith Porada as a teacher by Dominique Collon (London). Founded on a detailed description of the design, Edith Porada aimed to localize and date a seal by way of technical considerations (way of engraving), style, general subject, composition and distinctive elements (garment, posture). She was reluctant to interpret the iconography on the basis of texts, assuming a split of the mythological tradition into a pictorial and a written form. An article by Joan Aruz introduces the section about the motifs and conventions that were shared from Iran to Cyprus. In her first reprinted article Edith Porada dealt with a faience cylinder from the Late Bronze Age. The seal was excavated in Mycenae. It depicts Mitannian glyptic design that corresponds to the style of cylinders found in Alalakh and Ugarit. In further articles Edith Porada discussed cylinder seals from Hala Sultan Tekke in Cyprus, a Middle Assyrian cylinder found in Tyre, and another Middle Assyrian seal exhibiting Hittite elements. Analyzing a Theban seal in Cypriote style with Minoan elements, she used Egyptian motifs and their meaning for the interpretation of Cypriote scenes. Cylinder seals from Syria, Mesopotamia, east Iran and possibly Afghanistan found in the treasure of the Montu temple at Tôd were understood as pointing to the trade routes that linked Egypt with Asia. She also wrote about a seal from Iran and another one depicting a storm god that reminded her of the golden Haslanu bowl found in Azerbaijan (Iran). A contribution by Holly Pittman about cylinder seals from southeastern Iran closes this part. The article concerning Edith Porada's dissertation depicts the seals, which she had analyzed, that are not shown in R. M. Boehmer's, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit* (1965). Read together with Boehmer, this review of her first academic work provides an extensive presentation of Akkad seals. Her list of iconographic motifs

is especially valuable. This book will be of didactic use for any introductory course on Ancient Near Eastern seals.

Other titles: Edith Porada: A Centenary Volume

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**Bleibtreu / Steymans (Hrsg.)**    Edith Porada

# ORBIS BIBLICUS ET ORIENTALIS

Begründet von Othmar Keel

Im Auftrag der Stiftung BIBEL+ORIENT

in Zusammenarbeit mit

dem Departement für Biblische Studien der Universität Freiburg Schweiz,  
dem Ägyptologischen Seminar der Universität Basel,  
dem Institut für Archäologie, Abteilung Vorderasiatische Archäologie,  
der Universität Bern,  
dem Institut romand des sciences bibliques der Universität Lausanne,  
dem Religionswissenschaftlichen Seminar der Universität Zürich und  
der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Orientalische Altertumswissenschaft

herausgegeben von

Susanne Bickel, Thomas C. Römer, Daniel Schwemer und  
Christoph Uehlinger

Edith Porada (1912-1994) wurde 1935 mit ihrer Dissertation *Die Rollsiegel der Akkadzeit* in Wien promoviert. Ab 1938 in den USA lebend, publizierte sie mit Unterstützung der American Schools of Oriental Research Siegelungen auf den bei amerikanischen Grabungen in Nuzi (Jorgan Tepe, Irak) gefundenen Tontafeln. Richtungsweisend für die stilgeschichtliche und typologische Erforschung altorientalischer Glyptik war ihre 1948 erschienene Publikation der Rollsiegelsammlung der Pierpont Morgan Library. Das zweibändige Werk zählt nach wie vor zur Standardliteratur. Porada unterrichtete zunächst am Queens College in New York allgemeine Kunstgeschichte. 1958 wechselte sie zum Department für Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie an der Columbia University, wo sie 1973 die Arthur Lehman Professur erhielt. Ab 1983 hatte sie dort den Edith Porada Lehrstuhl für Ancient Near Eastern Art History and Archaeology inne und unterrichtete bis 1993.

## *Die Herausgeber*

Erika Bleibtreu kam nach ihrem Studium in Graz bei Ernst Weidner und Margarete Falkner (Vorderasiatische Archäologie) 1963 nach Wien als Assistentin am Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, wo sie von 1964-1984 die Redaktion der *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* leitete. Ihr Lehrer in Oxford, Sir Max Mallowan, ermöglichte ihr 1970 eine Studienreise in den Irak. 1977 habilitierte sie sich an der Universität Wien für das Fach Vorderasiatische Archäologie und hielt am Institut für Orientalistik Vorlesungen und Seminare. 1988 wurde sie in Wien zur Außerordentlichen Professorin ernannt. Nach ihrer Versetzung in den Ruhestand arbeitete sie gemeinsam mit dem Professor für Klassische Archäologie, Jürgen Borchhardt, bis 2014 an mehreren Publikationen.

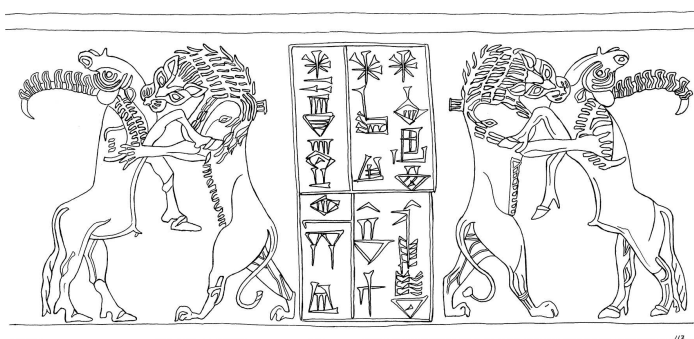
Hans Ulrich Steyrmans studierte von 1989 bis 2000 in Wien Altsemitische Philologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Erika Bleibtreu bildete ihn dort im formalistischen Zugang zu den Bildwerken des Alten Orients aus. 2004 erhielt er einen Ruf auf den Lehrstuhl für Altes Testament und Biblische Umwelt an der Universität Freiburg/Schweiz. Seitdem hat er auch zu der von seinem Vorgänger auf diesem Lehrstuhl, Othmar Keel, entwickelten ikonographischen Methode der Deutung altorientalischer Bildnisse publiziert. Dazu gehört der 2010 als Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 245 veröffentlichte Sammelband *Gilgamesch: Ikonographie eines Helden*.

Erika Bleibtreu /  
Hans Ulrich Steymans (Hrsg.)

# Edith Porada

zum 100. Geburtstag

A Centenary Volume



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## Foreword

Edith Porada (1912-1994) would have celebrated her 100th birthday on 22 August 2012. In order to honor this highly respected international scholar, Erika Bleibtreu and Hans Ulrich Steymans decided in 2011 to edit an “Edith Porada Centenary Volume” reprinting some of her articles and contextualizing them in present research. The handling of the amount of images of seals we wanted to present turned out to be more difficult and time-consuming than we had thought. Therefore our Centenary Volume goes to print with a delay of two years, after the 20th anniversary of Edith Porada’s death on Monday, 24 March 2014, and eighty years after she submitted her dissertation at the University of Vienna in 1934. Thinking it to be more appropriate to commemorate her birthday, we kept the title pointing to the centenary of 1912, the year when Edith Porada was born in Vienna (Austria).

This book presents Edith Porada particularly as an Austrian lady. Emperor Franz Joseph I had ennobled her family in 1890. The biography given at the beginning of our book stresses her childhood and youth in Vienna, her studies and her dissertation submitted at Vienna University. The political situation in 1938 forced her to leave Austria. The young scholar emigrated to the United States where she received a fellowship from the American Philosophical Society as early as 1940 and was entrusted with the cataloguing of the seal impressions from Nuzi as well as the seals of the Pierpont Morgan Library. Thus, she started an academic career that would hardly have been possible in post-war Austria.

Although she became a U. S. citizen in 1944, Edith Porada often spent her holidays at Hagengut, the family’s estate in the mountains of Nether Austria. *Erika Bleibtreu* made Porada’s acquaintance in about 1970, when she visited her at Hagengut, near Maria Zell. She became her friend during her stays in Austria. Edith Porada also occasionally came to Vienna, to the

“Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien”, where she became friends with the philologists teaching there, Hans Hirsch and Hermann Hunger.

The central part of this book contains reprints of some of Edith Porada’s articles of which copies are sometimes difficult to obtain. We arranged them according to three topics: work on collections, her methods, and the transmission of goods, ideas, and motifs between the Aegean and Iran. The first chapter deals with Porada’s work on different seal collections such as the former Hahn-Voss collection in Berlin (1933-34), the seal collection of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem (1938) as well as the seal collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (1946-48). Her dissertation on Akkadian cylinder seals from 1934, which has never been published, is thoroughly reviewed at the end of our book. As a doctoral student, Porada handled more than 542 seals from publications and private collections that she visited, attributing them to topics and describing them. The list of iconographic motifs especially makes her earliest academic work still valuable.

*Irit Ziffer* is a student of Edith Porada’s late student Pirya Beck. She publishes those Akkad seals from the former Hahn collection that Edith had studied in Berlin in the 1930s and that were donated to the Israel Museum in Jerusalem after the Second World War. During her research for her dissertation in Berlin, Porada also studied the Akkad seals from the collection of Friedrich and Maria Sarre as well as those from the Vorderasiatisches Museum. *Hans Ulrich Steymans* characterizes Sarre’s collection, whereas *Barbara Feller* contributed an article on Middle-Assyrian seal impressions from Assur that are kept in the Vorderasiatisches Museum. The reprint of four of Porada’s articles on the collections of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem (1938) as well as Columbia University (1964) and the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (1950, 1976) brings this first chapter to a close, reminding us to Edith Porada’s early years.

After starting her teaching career at Queen’s College, City University of New York in 1950, and especially after her move to Columbia University in 1958 Edith Porada taught a continual stream of students about the art and society of ancient Near Eastern civilizations. Many of these students became scholars in the field of Porada’s research. Therefore we asked some of her students to contribute from their current research linked to Porada’s interests in teaching and study. The contribution of her former student *Dominique Collon* telling about her way of teaching closes the second chapter of this book, which consists of reprinted articles that reveal the methods applied by Porada in her work on ancient Near Eastern archaeology and the history of art. *Mirko Novák* of the University of Bern wrote the

introduction to this chapter relating Porada's methods to current trends in ancient Near Eastern archaeology.

In 1962, Edith Porada published her second monograph in German next to her dissertation, *Alt-Iran: Die Kunst in vorislamischer Zeit* (Kunst der Welt. Die außereuropäischen Kulturen, Serie 3), also published in French in 1963 and in English in 1965. The book reveals Porada's interest in and knowledge of the art and archeology of ancient Iran. Between 1970 and 1973, Porada organized and directed Columbia's excavations in Cyprus. Cyprus and Iran are the fringes of a region whose interconnection in the third to first millennium B.C. is of great interest in contemporary research. The city of Nuzi from which Porada published seal impressions in 1947 was situated in the ancient empire of Mitanni, half way between Iran and the Mediterranean. Therefore, the last chapter of our book deals with the transfer of precious goods including works of art and cylinder seals as well as ideas and mythological themes between East and West, i. e. the ancient Near East from Mesopotamia and Iran to the Aegean coasts of Cyprus and Greece. An article written by *Joan Aruz* introduces this topic and another one by *Holly Pittman* concludes the reprints of some of Porada's articles dealing with objects from Cyprus and Iran. Both scholars have been her students. Joan Aruz has published and mounted exhibitions on cultural exchange between various regions of the Near East and the eastern Mediterranean during the Bronze and Iron Ages. Holly Pittman has excavated in Cyprus, Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran and is currently excavating the sites of Konar Sandal South and North in south-central Iran.

The original pagination of the reprinted articles appears in small frames throughout the text, so that one may easily find quotations from these articles in secondary literature by checking the original page numbers in the frames. We provide drawings in the text section of the book, and photos in a section of plates at the end, printed on photographic paper. The plates present the photos from the reprints with the same figure numbers as in the originals in order to make it easy to find figures from these articles referred to in secondary literature.

Erika Bleibtreu thought it too complicated for the reader to look up the many photos of seals from the dissertation in the section of plates. Therefore, this article exceptionally gives both drawings and photos together with the text and is filed at the end of our book in order to be printed on photographic paper as the plates. The photos and drawings are taken in most cases from the publications, which were used by Edith Porada in her dissertation, written from 1933 until 1934. All quotations from Porada's works are abbreviated according to the year of publication given in the bibliography at the beginning of this book.

We would like to thank all who have given permissions to reprint: Helga Seeden, Editor of *Berytus*, for “Die Siegel aus der Sammlung des Franziskanerklosters Flagellatio in Jerusalem”, and “The Warrior with Plumed Helmet...”; Carole Ann Fabian, Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, for “The Oldest Inscribed Works of Art in the Columbia Collections”; Kevin Cooney, American Schools of Oriental Research for “Review of Corpus of ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections”, and Karen Banks from the Pierpont Morgan Library for “Seal Impressions on the Cuneiform Tablets”.

As regards the chapter *Methoden* on Porada’s methods of art history and archaeology, we are indebted to Daniela Talarico, Gregorian & Biblical Press, for the permission to reprint “Suggestions for the Classification of Neo-Babylonian Cylinder Seals”; Jesper Eidem, Netherlands Institute for the Near East/Netherlands Institute in Turkey, for “Problems of Interpretations in a Cylinder Seal of the Akkad Period”; Karen K. Abrahamson, Andrews University Seminary Studies, for “True or False? Genuine and False Cylinder Seals at Andrew University”; Jonathan Rodgers, American Oriental Society, and Gary Beckman, University of Michigan Ann Arbor, for “Problems of Method in the Archaeology and Art History of the ancient Near East”; and Maria Hadjicosti, Director Department of Antiquities, Nicosia for “On the Complexity of Style and Iconography in some Groups of Cylinder Seals from Cyprus” as well as for “A Theban Cylinder Seal in Cypriote Style with Minoan Elements” and “Late Cypriote Cylinder Seals Between East and West”, that are reprinted in the third chapter on *Ost-West Transfer*.

Concerning this section of our book, dealing with the transmission of goods, ideas, and motifs between the Aegean and Iran, we are grateful for the permissions of reprint given by Sue Sherratt, BSA Editor Sheffield, and Amalia Kakissis, the British School archivist, for “A Faience Cylinder”; as well as Lennart Åström, Åströms Förlag / Astrom Editions, Upsala, for “Remarks on Cypriote Cylinders” and “Three Cylinder Seals from Tombs 1 and 2 of Hala Sultan Tekke”; Clare Litt, Aris & Phillips / Oxbow Books, for “The Cylinder Seals” and “Remarks on the Tôd Treasure in Egypt”; Ernie Haerinck, Near Eastern Art & Archaeology, Ghent, for “Discussion of a Cylinder Seal, probably from Southeast Iran”; and Jan van Herwijnen, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, Amsterdam, for “A Cylinder with a Storm God and Problems”.

Shaun Miller from The University of Wisconsin Press did not have the authority to grant permission to use the photos (Figs. 8.1-8.7) in the article “A Subject for Continuing Conversation”. He granted us the permission to reprint the text of Porada’s article, but not the figures. In this article we

reprint the text of Porada's article, but not the figures. In this article we kept the illustrations (Ill. 8.1-8.7) and replaced the Figs. 8.1-8.7 by photos that we acquired anew.

We are also indebted to Eugenio Alliata OFM, who granted Irit Ziffer access to the seals of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, as well as to Laura A. Peri and Michal Dayagi-Mendels from the Israel Museum who gave permission to use photos of the Akkad seals from the Hahn collection. We would like to thank Dominique Collon, London, Hilde Randolph and Laura White, Honolulu, Evy Seemann, Vienna, Diana Stein, London, as well as the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde in Vienna and the Heraldisch-Genealogische Gesellschaft Adler, Vienna, for advice and useful information. We are indebted to Beate Salje, Berlin, and Hilde Umdasch, Vienna, for providing some photos of Edith Porada and of Hagengut. Finally, we are grateful to Leonardo Pajarola, Stephan Lauber and Florian Lippke who carried the burden of formatting the book. Edith Porada's centenary volume is related to the University of Fribourg / Freiburg, Switzerland, through the very precious seal of *Ukīn-Ulmaš*, son of *Narām-Sîn* depicted on the book's cover. This seal now belongs to Othmar Keel's collection in Fribourg and is on permanent loan in the University's Bible+Orient Collections. Porada had treated it as no. 109 in her dissertation.

Last but by no means least, our deep appreciation goes to Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen, New York, for their gracious support that made possible the publication of this book in honour of Edith Porada.

Vienna and Fribourg, August 2014

Erika Bleibtreu  
Hans Ulrich Steymans





Edith Porada  
Bibliographie 1934–1995  
Monographien, Beiträge in Zeitschriften,  
Reihen, Festschriften, Sammelbänden und Lexika,  
Rezensionen, Biographien und Nachrufe in Auswahl

Erika Bleibtreu

- 1934    *Die Rollsiegel der Akkadzeit. Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Wien.* Eingereicht im Jahre 1934, zur Begutachtung gegeben am 19. Jänner 1935, approbiert am 26. April 1935 (ungedruckt). Zweistündige Prüfung am 18. Mai 1935.
- 1938a    “*Treize cylindres-sceaux de la collection Hahn datant de l’époque d’Agadé*”: *Revue d’Assyriologie et d’Archéologie orientale* XXXV, 187–195, Abb. 1–13.
- 1938b    “*Die Siegel aus der Sammlung des Franziskanerklosters Flagellatio in Jerusalem*”: *Berytus* V, 1–26, pls. 1–4.
- 1939    “*Notes sur le relief de l’atlante*”: *Revue d’Assyriologie et d’Archéologie orientale* XXXVI, 96–97, Abb. 1.
- 1940    “*Report from Recipients of Grants from the Penrose Fund*”: *Year Book of the American Philosophical Society*, 268–269.
- 1941    Rezension zu: A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst*: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 61/2, 107–110.
- 1942    “*The Warrior with Plumed Helmet. A Study of Syro-Cappadocian Cylinder Seals and Bronze Figurines*”: *Berytus* VII/ 1, 57–63.

- 1945a *The Great King, King of Assyria*. Assyrian Reliefs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (gemeinsam mit S. Hare).
- 1945b “*An Unknown Representation of a Ziggurat*”: Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 99, 18–20.
- 1945c “*Reliefs from the Palace of Sennacherib*”: Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art III/6, 152–160.
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This article has probably never been published. All quotations of this article are based on two references given by Edith Porada herself. The first is footnote 14 of 1973d, where she adds “in press” and spells the Italian word *Archeologia* according to English orthography. In 1975b, Porada quotes this article in footnote 10: “Cf. also our (d.h. E.R. Lacheman and my) collaborative effort in “*Iconographical Motifs in Mitannian Glyptic Art*”, *Studi di Arch(aeologia e Storia dell’Arte del Vicino Oriente* (henceforth SAVO), 1 (1973), pp. 1-18.” This time she indicates page numbers starting with “1”, which seems strange for a new journal or series unless the publisher’s preface was counted in Roman numerals. It is here that she introduces SAVO as an abbreviation for the title. This abbreviation is not listed in any abbreviation list of ANE works. Nor does the title of the journal or book appear in any online catalogue of the libraries of Swiss universities, Oxford (UK), Tübingen (Germany, supposed to collect all publications on ANE), and Vienna (Austria). Two Italian scholars we asked for help to identify this title, Marta Luciani, Institut für Orientalistik Vienna, and Michele Bacci, Domaine Histoire de l’Art et archéologie Fribourg, were unable to find it. The article is not mentioned in ANE studies on Mittanian art apart from a bibliography by Diana Stein in: *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians* 7, 1995, 1-2. The two quotations to be found are: Pierre de Miroschedji, “La glyptique palestinnienne du Bronze ancien”, in: *De Chypre à la Bactriane, les sceaux du Proche-Orient ancien, Actes du colloque international organisé au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel le 18 mars 1995*, as “E. Porada, 1973a, «*Iconographic Motifs in Mitannian Glyptic Art*», dans SAVO 1, p. 1-18”, and W. G. E. Watson, *La lengua y historia de los hurritas y des los urarteos. Panorama bibliográfico*, in: *Boletín bibliográfico, Aula Orientalis* 22 (2004), 267-301 as “Porada, E. - Lachemann, E. R., “*Iconographical Motifs in Mitannian Glyptic Art*”, SAVO 1, 1973, 1-18”. Although Miroschedji writes out all other titles of journals or series in his bibliography, both authors quote the abbreviation SAVO only. Did they really see the printed article? The article also does not appear among the publications of Porada’s co-author Ernest René Lacheman, which are listed in his *Festschrift: “Bibliography of Ernest R. Lacheman. Compiled by M. A. Morrison and D. I. Owen”*, in: Martha A. Morrison and David I. Owen (eds.), *In honor of Ernest R. Lacheman on his seventy-fifth birthday: April 29, 1981 (Studies on the civilization and culture of Nuzi and Hurrians 1)*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1981, xix-xxi. In footnote 5 of 1979f, Porada wrote about seal impressions excavated by E. R. Lacheman: “My drawings and discussion of the two sealings are in proof in Rome since 1972 but have not yet been published.” This remark probably referred to the manuscript of 1973c. [Hans Ulrich Steymans]

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## Edith Porada (1912 –1994): Leben und Werk<sup>1</sup>

Erika Bleibtreu

Edith Porada gilt zu Recht als Pionierin der Wissenschaft der Vorderasiatischen Archäologie, im Besonderen der Glyptik des antiken Vorderen Orients. Sie beschäftigte sich seit 1933/34, der Zeit der Abfassung ihrer Dissertation über akkadzeitliche Rollsiegel, eine Gruppe von Denkmälern, die etwa in der Zeit zwischen 2330 und 2150 v. Chr. entstanden ist, sechzig Jahre lang, vorwiegend mit diesem Forschungsgebiet. Sie hat neben umfangreichen Arbeiten an Siegel-Sammlungen auch in vielfältigen Publikationen zahlreiche Forschungsergebnisse erzielt, die allgemeine Anerkennung gefunden haben. Nicht nur als Autorin und Herausgeberin wichtiger Werke, sondern auch mit ihrer Lehrtätigkeit leistete sie Hervorragendes. Sie bildete eine neue Generation von Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftlern aus, die in wichtigen Funktionen an Universitäten und Museen tätig sind und Edith Poradas Arbeiten fortsetzen.

Um die Entwicklung und den internationalen Erfolg einer Persönlichkeit besser verstehen zu können, ist es notwendig, ihren Werdegang zu verfolgen. Dafür sind Tagebücher eine wichtige Informationsquelle. Edith Porada hat ihres zwischen 1926 und 1936 meist in regelmäßigen Abständen sorgfältig geführt.

### *Familie – Kindheit – Jugend*

Kindheit und Jugend, bis zu ihrer Emigration 1938, verbrachte Edith vorwiegend in ihrer Geburtsstadt Wien. Ihr Großvater, Dr. jur. Arnold Chaim Rapoport (1840-1907) stammt aus Tarnów (Galizien), und war in Krakau als Jurist und Politiker tätig. 1881 zog er mit seiner Frau, Laura (geb. Ei-

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<sup>1</sup> Edith Poradas Schwester, Hilde Randolph (1914-2012), hat mir freundlicherweise die Tagebücher der Jahre 1926-1936 anvertraut, für die ich ihr herzlich danke. Seit April 2013 befinden sie sich mit Zustimmung ihrer Nichte und Erbin, Laurie White, Honolulu, USA, in der Handschriftensammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien.

benschutz), seinen Töchtern Eugenie (1871-1938) und Felicia (1873-1959) sowie seinem Sohn Alfred, nach Wien, wo er für seine Tätigkeit als Hof- und Gerichtsadvokat von Kaiser Franz Joseph I. am 13. Juli 1890 als „Ritter der Ehrenlegion“ in den Adelstand erhoben wurde. Er bewohnte mit seiner Familie ein Palais in Plöbelgasse 8, im vierten Wiener Gemeindebezirk, Wieden. Es ist im Wiener „Ringstraßenstil“ erbaut und befindet sich in der Nähe des Oberen Belvedere.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. jur. Alfred von Porada (1876-1962), der einzige Sohn von Arnold Chaim Rapoport von Porada, Ediths Vater, erbte Anteile an einer Kohlenmine in Ungarn. Zwischen 1902 und 1911 hatte er mehrere Reisen in verschiedene europäische Länder und den USA unternommen. 1919 erwarb er das Renaissance-Schloss Schwarzenau bei Zwettl in Niederösterreich und führte es als landwirtschaftlichen Gutsbetrieb mit 30-60 Mitarbeitern.<sup>3</sup> Ein Foto der Belegschaft seines Betriebes, der für die Milchlieferung nach Wien zuständig war, ist Edith Poradas Tagebuch beigelegt. Das Anwesen wurde 1939 veräußert, diente als Flüchtlingsheim und wurde 1945 von russischen Besatzungs-Soldaten schwer beschädigt.

1927 erwarb er das so genannte Hagengut (**Abb. 1**) bei Mitterbach in Niederösterreich, nahe dem Wallfahrtsort Maria Zell. Es war damals noch ein Bauernhof mit Viehbestand und großem Grundbesitz. Die Familie hielt sich offenbar schon davor im Hagengut auf, denn in Ediths erster Tagebucheintragung vom 22. August 1926 wird bereits als Aufenthaltsort „Hagengut“ genannt. An diesem Tag, ihrem 14. Geburtstag, erhielt sie von ihrem Vater „5 Ungarkohlenaktien“ und den ersten Band zum Schreiben ihrer Tagebücher. Das Tagebuch ist in Leder gebunden, mit Schloss und Goldschnitt versehen und befindet sich seit April 2013 in der Handschriftensammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, wo es als Zeitdokument öffentlich zugänglich ist.

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<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Sabine Plakolm-Forsthuber, „Edith Porada“, in: Brigitta Keinzel (Hg.), *Wissenschaftlerinnen in und aus Österreich*, Wien 2002, 594-597; Erika Bleibtreu, „Wiener Studentin Edith Porada (1912-1994), Doyenne der Vorderasiatischen Archäologie“, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 103. Band, Wien 2013, 49-71.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Hans Tietze, *Die Juden Wiens, Geschichte, Wirtschaft, Kultur*. Mandelbaum Verlag 2008<sup>2</sup>, 219ff.



Abb. 1: Das Hagengut nach einem Foto aus dem Jahr 1927 mit Edith Poradas handschriftlicher Benennung.

Aus der Ehe mit Katharina (Käthe), geb. Magnus (1891-1985), stammen zwei Töchter, Edith und ihre um zwei Jahre jüngere Schwester Hildegard (Hilde). Bekannte Persönlichkeiten, die im Hause Porada verkehrten, waren – außer Verwandten und zahlreichen Freunden der Familie, die meist von den Töchtern, Edith und Hilde, als „Tante“ und „Onkel“ angesprochen wurden und so in den Tagebüchern aufscheinen – Baron Louis Rothschild, die Malerin Marie-Louise von Motesiczky (1906-1996)<sup>4</sup> sowie Ediths gleichaltrige und lebenslange Freundin Evy Seemann von Treuenwart<sup>5</sup> und viele andere, deren Namen in den Tagebüchern nicht mehr zu identifizieren sind. Edith hat Evy bereits im Vorschulalter kennengelernt. In den Tagebüchern finden sich mehrfach Gedichte, die sie einander während ihrer Schul-

<sup>4</sup> Ihre Freundschaft mit dem späteren Nobelpreisträger für Literatur, Elias Canetti (1905-1994), ist gut dokumentiert, vgl. I. Schlenker und K. Wachinger (Hg.), *Elias Canetti, Marie Louise von Motesiczky, Briefwechsel 1942-1992*. 2011 (mit ausführlicher Biographie), 360-371; j: Adler und B. Sander (Hg.), Ausstellungskatalog des Wien Museums: *Malerin zwischen Wien und London*, 2007, 9-43.

<sup>5</sup> Georg Gaugusch, *Wer einmal war. Das jüdische Großbürgertum Wiens 1800-1938*, 1. Band: A-K, Jahrbuch der Heraldisch-Genealogischen Gesellschaft „Adler“, Dritte Folge, Band 16, Wien 2011: „Evy Seemann in Dankbarkeit gewidmet“.

zeit geschrieben haben, in denen es um gemeinsame Bekannte und Lehrer geht.



Abb. 2: Katharina Porada, die Mutter von Edith und Hilde. Foto aus "Les Paradis" de Catherine de Porada, Galerie Alphonse Chave, Vence, 1986. Sie war 25 Jahre lang Mitarbeiterin dieser Galerie.

Als die Ehe 1922 geschieden wurde, vertraute man die beiden Töchter dem Vater an. Das Verhältnis zur Mutter scheint weiterhin sehr gut gewesen zu sein. In einer Tagebucheintragung vom 31. November 1926 heißt es:

„Ich habe mich den ganzen Nachmittag über Philosophie, das heißt, über alles mir unklare unterhalten mit Mama, diese Sachen versteht halt doch sie am besten und nun ist es ruhig in mir.“

Die Mutter (**Abb. 2**), die sehr an Pariser Mode interessiert war, hielt sich die meiste Zeit in Paris, ihrem neuen Wohnsitz, auf und besuchte nur gelegentlich ihre Töchter im Hagengut. 1927 unternahm der Vater mit seinen Töchtern eine Reise in die Schweiz und nach Frankreich. Großen Eindruck scheint auf Edith die Besichtigung im Kloster des Kartäuserordens gemacht zu haben:

„Die Grande Chartreuse ist ein sehr altes Kloster, erst 1904 von den Mönchen verlassen... . Jeder Mönch hatte 4 Zimmer zu seiner Benützung. Sie durften nicht ausgehen, nur in dem langen Kreuzgang nachdenklich auf und ab wandern. Sprechen durften sie nur am Sonntag nach dem Mittagessen, und dann

nur lateinisch. Begraben wurden sie nur in der Erde, ohne Sarg.“ ... „Dann fuhren wir nach Saint-Pierre de Chartreuse... von dort nach Grenoble.“

Einem Ereignis in Wien hat Edith viel Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt, obgleich sie es nur aus der Erzählung ihres Vaters und einer Freundin des Hauses kennengelernt hat. Sie vertraute es am 16. Juli 1927 ihrem Tagebuch an. Der Vater war aus Wien ins Hagengut zu seinen beiden Töchtern gekommen und berichtete:

„In Wien ist Revolution“... „Der Pöpel (sic) hatte den Justizpalast angezündet, und es wurde geschossen“... „Es gehen keine Bahnen“... „Abends gingen die Züge wieder, denn Gräfin Rumerskirch kam an. Sie erzählte, daß der Justizpalast rauche, angeblich sollten das Hauptpostamt und das Parlament brennen“. „Auf der Wieden glaubte sie Schüsse gehört zu haben“... „Das Gesindel treibt sich auf den Straßen herum. Die Vororte seien ruhig“.<sup>6</sup>

Eine andere Version dieses Ereignisses hielt sie in ihrem Tagebuch fest:

„In St. Pölten ist Generalstreik“... „Einem Radiobericht aus Berlin nach soll der Justizpalast lichterloh brennen, die Gasleitung, Wasser und Elektrizität sind abgedreht, das Parlament ein Trümmerhaufen“... „Die Landvolkswehr wird nicht eingelassen, nur Telefon, Telegraph und Bahnleitungen sind unterbrochen. Inzwischen heißt es wieder die Tschechen marschieren ein, von Frankreich gehetzt wollen sie Wien besetzen“.

Am 17. Juli 1927 hat sie eingetragen:

„Die Polizei habe sich haarsträubend blöd benommen, was Grafen Rumerskirch in große Wut versetzte. Nach anderen Botschaften soll das Grundbuch verbrannt worden sein“.

Am 27. Juli 1927 heißt es weiter:

„Ich hätte mir vorgestellt, daß ein Tag in Wien so schön sein könnte“...

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<sup>6</sup> Die Ereignisse des 15. Juli 1927 in Wien werden im Tagebuch Edith Poradas in mehreren Versionen geschildert. Eine genaue Auflistung der Vorkommnisse in Wien findet sich in Wilhelm J. Wagner, Bildatlas der österreichischen Zeitgeschichte 1918-1938: „18 Uhr: Justizpalast mit Ausnahme des rechten Seitentraktes in Flammen... 00.00 Uhr: Brand des Justizpalastes eingedämmt. Streik beginnt bei Telefon- und Telegraphenämtern“...

Diese Tagebucheintragungen zeigen ihre besondere Vorliebe für ihre Heimatstadt Wien. Am liebsten wäre sie auch noch nach 1938 in Wien geblieben, wenn ihre Eltern und Freunde sie nicht davon abgehalten hätten.

Im April 1928 unternahm der Vater mit seinen beiden Töchtern eine Reise nach Deutschland. In Frankfurt am Main besuchten sie die Synagoge und den jüdischen Friedhof, am darauffolgenden Tag die Universität Heidelberg und Edith bemerkt in ihrem Tagebuch: „*die musste ich mir doch anschauen, wenn ich später dort studieren will*“. 1929 trat Alfred Porada mit seiner Familie vom mosaischen Glauben zum Helvetischen Bekenntnis über.

Als Achtzehnjährige schrieb sie, am 22. August 1930, in ihr Tagebuch:

„Reifer bin ich insofern, als ich gelernt habe, was arbeiten ist“... „Ich arbeite gerne! Und das gibt mir eine große Beruhigung für die Zukunft, ich hoffe, daß ich in meiner Arbeit Befriedigung finden werde. Ich wünsche, daß mir Gott die Möglichkeit gibt, als erwachsener Mensch meinen Beruf so auszuüben, wie ich es mir heute in meinen Träumen vorstelle.“

Eine kurze Notiz zu ihren Wünschen und Träumen hat sie mit dem Datum 10. Februar 1937 hinzugefügt: „*Siegelzylinder – Traumerfüllung!*“

### *Studium in Wien*

Ein Studium war vor dem 2. Weltkrieg für eine Tochter aus großbürgerlichem Hause nicht ohne weiteres vorgesehen. Wichtig war es, in den Sprachen Englisch und Französisch durch Privatlehrer möglichst früh und gut ausgebildet zu werden, was bei Edith und Hilde der Fall war. Edith aber hatte den Wunsch, Archäologie zu studieren. Dem stand grundsätzlich nichts im Wege.

Sie berichtet in: “Understanding Ancient Near Eastern Art: A Personal Account” (1995d)<sup>7</sup>, dass in Wien, als sie noch das Gymnasium besuchte, der „Deutsche Orientalistentag“ stattfand, zu dem ein Cousin ihrer Mutter, Moritz Sobernheim, Professor für arabische Literaturgeschichte und Islam-

<sup>7</sup> Jack M. Sasson [et al.], *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, vol. IV, New York 1995, S. 2696; leicht verändert abgedruckt als “Personal Statement”, in: Edith Porada, *Man and Images in the Ancient Near East*. Frick Collection, Anshen Transdisciplinary Lecturships in Art, Science and the Philosophy of Culture, Monograph 4, Wakefield, Rhode Island and London. In *Celebration of a Life: Edith Porada*, 93-163.



kunde, aus Berlin angereist war.<sup>8</sup> Er nahm Edith zu mehreren Vorträgen mit, wobei einer auf sie besonderen Eindruck machte. Ernst Herzfeld berichtete über die Ausgrabungen auf dem Tell Halaf in Nord-Syrien, wo Keramik des 5. Jahrtausends ebenso wie Reliefs des frühen ersten Jahrtausends gefunden wurden. Herzfeld datierte die Keramik und die Reliefs in die gleiche Zeit, nämlich in das vierte Jahrtausend. Eine lebhafte Debatte begann, einige betagte Herren verließen kopfschüttelnd den Saal.

Bei einem Mittagessen sprachen der Ägyptologe Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing und Moritz Sobernheim über Ediths Zukunft. Sobernheim wusste bereits, dass Edith die Absicht hatte, Archäologie zu studieren und fragte sie, welches Gebiet der Archäologie sie bevorzugen möchte. „*Kreta und Mykene*“ antwortete sie spontan. Sobernheim äußerte sich dazu ablehnend: „*That field is overrun. You will study the ancient Near East. Your professor will be Victor Christian*“ (1995d, 2696).

Nach Abschluss des Gymnasiums ging sie an die Universität Wien zu Professor Viktor Christian, der ihr bald vorschlug, über Siegel der Akkad-Zeit (2340-2150 v. Chr.) zu arbeiten. Ihm war bekannt, dass Moritz Sobernheims Schwester, Frida Hahn in Berlin, über eine ansehnliche Sammlung vorderasiatischer Siegel verfügte. Man fand, dass eine junge, ehrgeizige Studentin wie Edith sich damit befassen sollte. Um die akkadzeitlichen Siegel vor allem der Familie Hahn und des Vorderasiatischen Museums in ihre Dissertation einzubeziehen, begab sie sich 1932/33 nach Berlin, der Heimatstadt ihrer Mutter. Dieser Aufenthalt und ihre Arbeiten am Vorderasiatischen Museum in Berlin scheinen sie so sehr in Anspruch genommen zu haben, dass sie nicht mehr genügend Zeit fand, lange Schilderungen in ihr Tagebuch zu schreiben. Im Winter 1934 klebte sie Fotos und Zeitungsausschnitte ein mit Aufnahmen von Unter den Linden, Brandenburger Tor, Pariser Platz mit Hotel Adlon, Universität Berlin sowie Reichstagsgebäude mit Siegestsäule.

Unter den Ansichtskarten im Tagebuch befand sich auch eine mit dem Text: „*Deutschland ist erwacht!...*“ Die Karte, ein Spendenaufruf für die Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter-Partei (NSDAP), kam vermutlich zufällig in Ediths Hände und wurde als Kuriosität in ihrem Tagebuch aufbewahrt. Die Porträts auf dieser Karte zeigen und benennen drei Herren mit ihrer damaligen Titulatur: Reichspräsident Generalfeldmarschall von Hindenburg, Reichskanzler Adolf Hitler, Führer der NSDAP, und Reichsminister Franz Seldte, Bundesführer des Stahlhelm-Bundes der Frontsoldaten. Auf dieser Karte wird unter den Porträts zitiert: „*Deutschland, du mein Va-*

<sup>8</sup> Moritz Sobernheim (1872-1933) war Zionist und Präsident der „*Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums*“. Die Machtergreifung Hitlers in Deutschland hat er nicht erlebt, da er bereits Anfang Januar 1933 verstorben ist.

terland“ ... „nach der Melodie von *Gaudeamus igitur*“. Sie bemerkte dazu: „... diese grausliche Karte, denn eine andere ist im Hahn'schen Hause nicht aufzutreiben“.

In Ediths Tagebuch befindet sich auch das Foto eines jungen Mannes aus dem Jahre 1936, auf dessen Rückseite sie vermerkt hat:

„Ein Totenkopf-Husar mit vorschrittmäßiger Uniform“... „in Zivil sieht er freundlicher drein“.

Das zeigt, dass Edith Porada nach der Machtergreifung der NSDAP in Deutschland Anfang 1933 und wahrscheinlich schon einige Zeit davor, im Hause von Georg und Frida Hahn in Berlin wohnte<sup>9</sup> und wahrscheinlich dort zumindest einen Teil ihrer Dissertation verfasst hat. Den Rat ihres Lehrers Viktor Christian befolgte sie und bearbeitete in ihrer Dissertation erstmals die Siegel der Akkad-Zeit aus der Sammlung Hahn.

Ediths besondere Beziehung zu Berlin ist sicher auch darauf zurückzuführen, dass ihre Mutter Berlinerin war und ihre Eltern in Berlin geheiratet hatten. Sie scheint allerdings zum Zweck der Abfassung ihrer Dissertation erstmals in Berlin gewesen zu sein.

Edith Poradas Lehrer, am „Orientalischen Institut“ (jetzt Institut für Orientalistik) der Universität Wien, Viktor Christian (1885-1963), wollte sich nach Abschluss seines Studiums der Geschichte und Geographie für das Lehramt an Mittelschulen der Semitistik widmen. Bei Ernst Sellin (1867-1946) lernte er Hebräisch, bei David Heinrich Müller (1846-1912) allgemeine Semitistik. 1909 schrieb er bei Friedrich Hrozný (1879-1962) seine Dissertation: „*Die Namen der assyrisch-babylonischen Keilschriftzeichen*“ und promovierte „*sub summis auspiciis Imperatoris*“<sup>10</sup> zum Dr. phil. Seit 1914 war Christian Mitglied der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien und Assistent in der ethnographischen Abteilung des k. k. Naturhistorischen Hofmuseums. Für seine Weiterbildung ging er nach Berlin zu Fried-

<sup>9</sup> Der Eintrag in ihr Tagebuch vom 14. Januar 1933 in Form eines Gedichtes zeigt, dass sie und wahrscheinlich auch ihr Umfeld, davon überzeugt war, die NSDAP könne nicht an die Macht kommen. Etwa zwei Wochen später wurde Adolf Hitler zum deutschen Reichskanzler ernannt. Die Anrede im Gedicht: „*Mein liebes deutsches Volk*“ weist darauf hin, dass sich Edith Porada Anfang 1933 in Deutschland (Berlin) aufhielt. In Österreich war die NSDAP bis zum Anschluss, 1938, verboten. Vgl. Monika Zachhuber (Hg.), *Die Gezeiten des Lebens*, 2013 (Kalender für 2014), S. 24.

<sup>10</sup> Das bedeutet, dass die Matura (das Abitur) „mit Auszeichnung“ bestanden worden ist und das gesamte Universitätsstudium „mit Auszeichnung“ absolviert wurde. „...Imperatoris“, da bis zu seinem Tod, 1916, Kaiser Franz Joseph in Österreich regierte, erst ab 1918 die Republik ausgerufen und alle Adelstitel abgeschafft wurden. Die Promotion: „*sub auspiciis praesidentis*“ ist derzeit noch üblich.

rich Delitzsch (1850-1922), Hugo Winkler (1863-1913), dem Ägyptologen Johann Peter Adolf Erman (1854-1937) und dem Universalgelehrten Felix von Luschan (1854-1924). Es folgten Studien in Cambridge, Oxford und London. 1923 erhielt er die *venia legendi* und wurde bereits 1924 zum Ordentlichen Professor ernannt.

Während Edith Porada 1933/34 in Berlin an ihrer Dissertation arbeitete, wurde die nationalsozialistische Bewegung in Österreich immer stärker, so dass am 19. Juni 1933 ein Verbot für die NSDAP erlassen wurde. Dennoch war Christian seit 1933 illegales Mitglied der in Österreich verbotenen NSDAP. Wegen dieser parteipolitischen Tätigkeit wurde Professor Christian 1934 in den Ruhestand versetzt und nützte die Zeit für Orientreisen. Auf Einladung von J. Jordan besuchte er unter anderem auch das Irak-Museum in Bagdad, um dort zu arbeiten.

Gegen Ende 1934 hat Edith Porada ihre Dissertation eingereicht, genau zu jener Zeit, als Christian angeblich aus „*Ersparnisgründen ... in den zeitlichen Ruhestand*“ versetzt worden war. Das ist offenbar der Grund dafür, dass nicht Christian selbst ein Gutachten über die Dissertation von Edith Porada verfasste, sondern Prof. Dr. Czermak<sup>11</sup> (**Abb. 3**) und Dr. Wilke<sup>12</sup> (**Abb. 4**). Der Erstbegutachter beruft sich auf das Urteil ihres Lehrers, Viktor Christian.

Christian wurde 1936 an der Universität Wien reaktiviert, 1938 zum Korrespondierenden Mitglied der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien gewählt – die gleiche Auszeichnung, die 1980 auch Edith Porada zu Teil wurde – 1939 war er bereits Wirkliches Mitglied der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien und Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Wien. Eine Berufung nach Berlin lehnte er ab. Ebenso wurde von Christian abgelehnt, neben seiner Tätigkeit am „Orientalischen Institut“ der Universität Wien im Rahmen der „Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für den Vorden Orient“ die von Heinrich Himmler gegründete „Forschungsgemeinschaft Deutsches Ahnenerbe“, eine pseudo-wissenschaftliche Institution, zu leiten. In einem Brief an Walter Wüst, dem Präsidenten dieser Forschungsgemeinschaft, schrieb er 1942:

„Menschen, die sich wie ich Mühe geben, nur gerade Wege zu gehen, sind unbequem. Man hat sie nicht in der Hand und kann sie daher auch nicht ohne weiteres wie Spielsteine im Spiel verschieben.“

<sup>11</sup> Wilhelm Czermak (1889-1953) war Ägyptologe und Afrikaforscher an der Universität Wien.

<sup>12</sup> Das Forschungsgebiet von Fritz Wilke (1879-1957) war Biblische Archäologie.

Persönliche Äußerungen Edith Poradas über ihren Lehrer, Viktor Christian, sind nicht bekannt. Sie erwähnt ihn in: *„Understanding Ancient Near Eastern Art: A Personal Account“*<sup>13</sup> dreimal; zunächst als ihren Professor, der ihr als Dissertationsthema, die Glyptik der Akkad-Zeit vorgeschlagen hat. Er war offenbar 1932/33 aus Berlin zurückgekommen und wusste damals schon, dass Frida Hahn über eine umfangreiche Siegelsammlung verfügte, die alle Epochen der vorderasiatischen Kulturgeschichte umfasst. Ferner erwähnt sie, dass sie bei Christian die philologische Ausbildung erhielt, Sumerisch und Akkadisch lernte, die Grundlage für alle weiteren Studien. Ihre dritte Erwähnung von Christian bezeugt sein besonderes Interesse für die Archäologie. Christian präsentierte in den Lehrveranstaltungen das Material, das er aus verschiedenen Grabungspublikationen gesammelt hatte.

Christians archäologisches Interesse bezeugt eine umfangreiche Publikationsreihe, die er begründete, von der aber nur der erste Band (Text- und Tafelband) erschienen ist: *„Altertumskunde des Zweistromlandes von der Vorzeit bis zum Ende der Achämenidenherrschaft“*.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Porada 1995d, 2696f.

<sup>14</sup> Eine langjährige Planung ging diesem Werk voraus. Während dieser Arbeit besuchte er mehrmals die „Vorderasiatische Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen“ in Berlin, das Britische Museum in London, das Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, den Louvre in Paris, die Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire in Brüssel, das „Museum orientalischer Altertümer“ in Istanbul und viele andere. Sammlungen in den USA blieben ihm unbekannt. Für die Möglichkeit, eine Studienreise in den Vorderen Orient zu unternehmen, dankt er Aage Schmidt in Kopenhagen und W. F. Albright in Baltimore. Er begann „im Frühjahr 1935 trotz schwierigster persönlicher Verhältnisse“ seine *Altertumskunde des Zweistromlandes* zu verfassen. Es wurde ihm auch die Mitarbeit an den dänischen Grabungen in Hama, Syrien, ermöglicht, die unter der Leitung von Harald Ingholt standen.

## Beurteilung der Dissertation

licand. phil. *Edith Porada*

Das Material an Rollsiegeln der Akkadzeit ist sehr verstreut. Es war daher ein ausgedehntes Literaturstudium nötig (siehe im Anhang das Verzeichnis der benutzten Siegelsammlungen), aber auch unveröffentlichtes, wertvolles Material aus der Sammlung Friede Hahn in Berlin und aus der vorderasiatischen Abteilung des Berliner Museums ist mitaufgenommen und verarbeitet. Somit gibt Porada erstmalig einen Ueberblick über das noch nicht gesammelte und verstreute Material. Ihre Typengliederung ist sehr brauchbar und wird sich daher für die Bestimmung neu auftauchender Siegel dieser Periode gewiss nützlich erweisen. Die Abgrenzung gegen die vorangehende und die folgende Periode ist treffsicher herausgearbeitet, nur bei der Gruppe der ornamentalen Tierkampfbilder hätte man den Versuch machen können, eine schärfere Scheidung zwischen vorakkadischen und akkadischen Vertretern dieser Motive durchzuführen.

Etwas skeptisch steht man den mythischen Ausdeutungen der vielen Szenen gegenüber, da in der geschriebenen Überlieferung die Anhaltspunkte hierfür gering sind. Dagegen ist das illustrierte Verzeichnis der auf den akkadischen Siegeln vorkommenden Tiere, Pflanzen, Waffen, Kleider u. s. w. sehr nützlich, da hierdurch eine nicht zu unterschätzende Vorarbeit für kulturhistorische Untersuchungen geleistet wurde, und die auf verschiedenen Gebieten willkommen sind. Zudem werden diese Details, die herausgearbeitet sind, bei der Bestimmung unsicherer Stücke, wertvoll sein.

Zusammenfassend kann die vorliegende Dissertation als eine Arbeit gelten, die unter entsprechenden Kürzungen als wertvoller wissenschaftlicher Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Akkadzeit veröffentlicht werden könnte, wie Prof. Christijan meint, unter dessen Aegide die Dissertation gearbeitet wurde, weshalb ich vor Niederschrift der Begutachtung in wissenschaftlicher Rücksprache sein Urteil eingeholt habe.

Die Dissertation wird hiemit als reif bezeichnet.

1. März 1935.

*W. Czernak*

Abb. 3: Gutachten über Edith Poradas Dissertation, verfasst von Wilhelm Czernak.

*Die Dissertation und bedeutende Veröffentlichungen*

Die Gliederung der Dissertation Edith Poradas beginnt mit den Themen der Darstellungen auf akkadzeitlichen Rollsiegeln, wobei sie 26 Gruppen unterscheidet, in denen sie versucht – soweit es nach damaliger Kenntnis möglich war – die Beispiele innerhalb der Periode chronologisch einzuordnen. Es folgt die vergleichende Betrachtung von Darstellungsvarianten bei Gottheiten, Helden, Mischwesen, Tieren und Pflanzen, wobei im derzeit verschollenen Original der Dissertation selbst angefertigte Zeichnungen verschiedener Details als Vergleiche beigegeben waren. Einem längeren Abschnitt mit „Anmerkungen“ folgt das Verzeichnis der 542 Siegel, wobei einige mit „a“ und „b“ eingefügt worden sind.<sup>15</sup>

Außer den Sammlungen großer Museen wurden neben der Hahn'schen Sammlung auch andere, zum Teil unpublizierte Privatsammlungen aufgenommen. Es handelt sich dabei um die Sammlungen von Sarre<sup>16</sup>, Speleers, Southesk, Peek,<sup>17</sup> Privatsammlungen, die von den Erben meist veräußert worden sind und deren Verbleib derzeit nur schwer oder nicht zu eruieren ist. Eine Liste der Museen und Privatsammlungen mit den Inventarnummern der Siegel findet sich am Ende der Dissertation. Ein Literaturverzeichnis und ein Verzeichnis der Abbildungen, der von ihr angefertigten Zeichnungen, schließen die Arbeit ab. Von den aufgelisteten Zeichnungen sind 21 nach Rollsiegeln der Sammlung Hahn angefertigt worden.<sup>18</sup>

In Berlin standen ihr außer der Hahn'schen Privatsammlung auch die umfangreiche Siegelsammlung des Vorderasiatischen Museums zur Verfügung, deren Veröffentlichung durch Anton Moortgat erst 1940 erscheinen würde. Ob sie bei ihrem Berlin-Aufenthalt 1932/34 mit Moortgat in Kontakt stand, ist nicht bekannt.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Näheres zur Dissertation im Artikel von Erika Bleibtreu am Ende des Buches, in dem die bearbeiteten Siegel identifiziert und ihre Liste von Bildmotiven sowie ein Verzeichnis der für die Siegelzylinder verwendeten Materialien und Gesteine angefügt wird.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. den von Hans Ulrich Steymans verfassten Artikel in diesem Band.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. die Literaturangaben zum Beitrag „In memoriam Edith Porada (1912-1994): Zur nicht publizierten Dissertation“ in diesem Band.

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. den von Irit Ziffer verfassten Artikel in diesem Band.

<sup>19</sup> Anton Moortgat (1897-1977) war ab 1929 Mitarbeiter in der Abteilung „Alter Orient“ der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin (jetzt Vorderasiatisches Museum) tätig, wo sich die Rollsiegel befinden, die in die Dissertation einbezogen wurden.

Die vorliegende Arbeit zeichnet sich durch die  
 Sammlung eines außerordentlich umfangreichen  
 weit zerstreuten Materials und durch die  
 saubere Durchführung der Aufgabe aus. Die  
 Sichtung des Stoffes sowie die Beleuchtung,  
 Zergliederung, Erläuterung und Bewertung der  
 einzelnen Bilder erfolgt nach methodisch  
 einwandfreien Gesichtspunkten und setzt eine  
 tiefgründige Beschäftigung mit dem Gegenstand  
 voraus. Die Fachliteratur ist ausgiebig herangezogen,  
 das Urteil klar und begründet. Ob die  
 mythologische Ausdeutung im einzelnen immer  
 das Richtige trifft, muß  
 freilich dahingestellt bleiben. Dagegen  
 sind die kulturgeschichtlichen Klippfolgerungen über-  
 zeugend und das Gesamtbild überzeugend.  
 Die Arbeit verdient mithin als eine sehr  
 gute Leistung im vollen Sinne des Wortes  
 der Reihe.

München 26. 4. 35.

Wilke

Abb. 4: Gutachten über Edith Poradas Dissertation verfasst von Fritz Wilke.

Der handschriftliche Text lautet:

Die vorliegende Arbeit zeichnet sich durch die Sammlung eines außerordentlich umfangreichen weit zerstreuten Materials und durch die saubere Durchführung der Aufgabe aus. Die Sichtung des Stoffes sowie die Beleuchtung, Zergliederung, Erläuterung und Bewertung der einzelnen Bilder erfolgt nach methodisch einwandfreien Gesichtspunkten und setzt eine tiefgründige Beschäftigung mit dem Gegenstand voraus.

Die Fachliteratur ist ausgiebig herangezogen, das Urteil klar und begründet. Ob die mythologische Ausdeutung im einzelnen immer das Richtige trifft, muß

freilich dahingestellt bleiben. Dagegen sind die kulturgeschichtlichen Schlußfolgerungen überzeugend und das Gesamtergebnis bedeutsam.  
Die Arbeit verdient mithin als eine sehr gute Leistung im vollen Umfang das Prädikat der Reife.

Wien 26.4.35

Wilke

Edith Porada hatte folglich zwei größere damals noch nicht publizierte Sammlungen zur Verfügung, um sie in ihre Dissertation einzubeziehen. Sie hat insgesamt etwas mehr als 542 Siegel der Akkad-Zeit beschrieben, thematisch geordnet und datiert. Im Vergleich dazu sei erwähnt, dass Rainer Michael Boehmer, etwa 30 Jahre später, 1965, in *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit, Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie Bd. 4*, 1.695 akkadzeitliche Siegel in seine Arbeit aufnehmen konnte, von denen etwas weniger als ein Drittel, nämlich 571, aus regulären Grabungen stammen. Nur etwa der Hälfte, um genau zu sein 726, der besprochenen Siegel sind Fotos moderner Abrollungen beigegeben.

Ein weiterer Vergleich ist nicht uninteressant: Karin Rohn hat sich in ihrem 2011 erschienen Band: *Beschriftete mesopotamische Siegel der Frühdynastischen und der Akkad-Zeit, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 32*, auf beschriftete Siegel beschränkt und 604 Siegel den verschiedenen Stufen der Frühdynastischen und der Akkad-Zeit zugewiesen.

Solche Vergleiche veranschaulichen den Fortschritt dieser Wissenschaft innerhalb von fast 80 Jahren. Den Ausgangspunkt für Edith Poradas spätere Arbeiten bildete ihre bisher nicht veröffentlichte Wiener Dissertation. Es ist zu bedenken, dass die technischen Möglichkeiten z.B. für Literatursuche und Verarbeitung des Bildmaterials in den 30er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts in keiner Weise mit den heute verfügbaren zu vergleichen sind. Nur kleinere Untersuchungen und Sammlungs-Publikationen standen ihr damals zur Verfügung. Sogar das Handbuch der altorientalischen Siegelkunde von Henry Frankfort *Cylinder Seals. A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, das einen Überblick über alle Epochen der mesopotamischen Glyptik bietet, gab es noch nicht, da es erst 1939 in London erschienen ist.

In dem ersten von ihr veröffentlichten Artikel in der damals von Scheil, Thureau-Dangin und Contenau herausgegebenen *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale* 35, 1938, 1-13, sind von den 36 akkadzeitlichen Siegeln der Sammlung Hahn 13 beschrieben und mit Edith Poradas Zeich-



nungen versehen: „Treize cylindres-sceaux de la collection Hahn datant de l'époque d'Agadé, par Édith de Porada“.<sup>20</sup> Die Verwendung von Adelsprädikaten wie „von“ oder „de“ ist in Österreich seit 1918 verboten, in Deutschland, Frankreich, England und vielen anderen Ländern aber nach wie vor gestattet und üblich. Was die Sammlung Hahn betrifft, so befindet sie sich seit 1965 im Israel-Museum in Jerusalem und wurde bisher noch nicht vollständig publiziert.

In ihrem zweiten Artikel, der ebenfalls 1938 erschienen ist, behandelt sie 60 Siegel des Franziskanerklosters Flagellatio in Jerusalem. Sie musste folglich 1938, auf dem Weg nach den USA, in Jerusalem gewesen sein.

In den Jahren 1940 bis 1942 erhielt sie ein Forschungsstipendium von der American Philosophical Society, 1943 wurde sie Lektorin am Queens College of the City of New York, 1944 bekam sie ein Research Fellowship der American Schools of Oriental Research, 1946 ein weiteres der American Philosophical Society, sowie 1947-49 eines der Bollingen und 1950-58 der Guggenheim Foundation. In „Understanding Ancient Near Eastern Art: A Personal Account“ (1995b) gibt sie Einblick in ihre Sicht bezüglich wichtiger Denkmäler des Vorderen Orients im Vergleich zu älteren Interpretationen und zeitgenössischen Ansichten von Kollegen. Die Grundlagen, auf die sie aufbauen konnte, waren die bis dahin erschienenen Grabungsberichte, Sammlungspublikationen und kunsthistorischen Arbeiten.

Bereits 1946 beauftragte die damalige Direktorin der Pierpont Morgan Library, Bella da Costa Greene, sie mit der Bearbeitung der dort befindlichen umfangreichen Siegelsammlung. Edith Porada sagt von sich selbst:

„1946 entrusted to a young, unknown foreigner the work on what was then the greatest and finest private collection of cylinder seals, paralleled only by those of the British Museum and the Louvre. I was quite conscious then of the fact that such generous faith in an untried young scholar was possible only in the United States – and this I still believe“ (1995d, 2696f).

Das umfangreiche zweibändige Werk, das immer noch als Standardwerk der Glyptik gilt, ist 1948 erschienen: *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library* in Zusammenarbeit mit Briggs Buchanan und einem Vorwort von Albrecht Goetze, in der Reihe: *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections, The Bollingen Series XIV*. Die Lesung der sumerischen und akkadischen Siegelinschriften stammt von Leo Oppenheim (1948a). Der amerikanische Multi-Milliardär, Pierpont Morgan, verstorben 1913, wird als „der größte Sammler von Kunstwerken“ bezeichnet.

<sup>20</sup> Die Zeichnungen sind nachgedruckt im von Irit Ziffer verfassten Artikel in diesem Band.

Er hat der nach ihm benannten Bibliothek 1.157 Rollsiegel von der Uruk-Zeit bis zur Zeit der Achaimeniden hinterlassen.

Bezeichnend für den kritischen Geist Edith Poradas ist, dass sie über ihr großes Werk selbst eine ausführliche Rezension im *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 4, 1950, 155-162, veröffentlicht hat, was ihr Gelegenheit gab, auch Verbesserungen der Terminologie vorzuschlagen.

Als Nebenprodukt ihrer umfangreichen Katalogisierungsarbeit für dieses Standardwerk könnte ihre Einführung in die Kunst der Rollsiegel zu verstehen sein, in der anhand ausgewählter Siegel die Stile aller Epochen der mesopotamischen Kunstgeschichte erklärt werden: *Mesopotamian Art in Cylinder Seals of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, erschienen 1947 in New York. Dieser Überblick über die verschiedenen Formen, Darstellungs- und Datierungsmöglichkeiten kann als Vorläufer angesehen werden zu dem 40 Jahre später von ihrer Schülerin, Dominique Collon, verfassten Buch *First Impressions. Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*, <sup>1</sup>1987, <sup>2</sup>2005.

Während der Bearbeitung der Sammlung der Pierpont Morgan Library erschienen 1946-1948 bereits mehrere Artikel in wichtigen Fachzeitschriften wie dem *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 5, 1946, 257-259: "The Origin of Winnirke's Cylinder Seal", Zuordnung und Deutung einer Siegelabrollung auf einer in Nuzi gefundenen Tontafel. Dabei gelang es, Einflüsse und Handelsbeziehungen sowohl mit West-Syrien als auch dem östlichen Elam nachzuweisen. Ihre 1947 erschienene Monographie "*Seal Impressions of Nuzi*" in der Reihe *Annals of the American Oriental Society* 26, gilt nach wie vor als Standardwerk der mitannischen Glyptik.<sup>21</sup> Es werden darin mehr als 1000 Siegelabdrücke eines Tontafelarchives (*Tehip-tilla* Archiv) analysiert, das sich auf fünf Generationen einer Familie erstreckt. Datiert wird dieses Archiv etwa in die 2. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Edith Porada hat dieser Monographie etwa 50 selbst angefertigte Zeichnungen beigegeben.

Ein Artikel in *Orientalia* 16, 1947, 145-165 bietet: "Suggestions for the Classification of Neo-Babylonian Cylinder Seals". Dabei versucht sie anhand von stilistischen Kriterien assyrische und babylonische Rollsiegel des frühen 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. voneinander zu unterscheiden und chronologisch genauer einzuordnen.

Als Beispiel für die Bearbeitung der bei Grabungen auf Zypern gefundenen Rollsiegel ist ein Artikel in *American Journal of Archaeology* 52, 1948, 178-198 zu erwähnen: "The Cylinder Seals of the Late Cypriote

<sup>21</sup> Eine von Diana L. Stein verfasste Bibliographie, die sich ausschließlich auf Nuzi und mitannische Glyptik bezieht, findet sich in: David I. Owen und Gernot Wilhelm (Hg.), *Studies in the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, vol. 7, *Edith Porada Memorial Volume*, Bethesda, Maryland, USA, 1995, 2.

Bronze Age”. 1951 erschien in Zusammenarbeit mit dem irakischen Kollegen Faraj Bismachi in der Zeitschrift *Sumer* 7, 65-68, ein Beitrag: “Nergal in the Old Babylonian Period”.

Um zu zeigen, dass Edith Porada nicht ausschließlich Themen der Vorderasiatischen Glyptik in ihren Arbeiten behandelte, sei ihr Beitrag in der Zeitschrift *Archaeology* 6, 1953, 208-210, erwähnt: “An Ornament from an Assyrian Throne”. Eine Monographie, die sich mit assyrischen Reliefs beschäftigt, verfasste sie in Zusammenarbeit mit Susanna Hare, erschienen 1945: *The Great King... King of Assyria*. Es handelt sich dabei um die erste Publikation der im Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York befindlichen Sammlung assyrischer Reliefs des 9. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., der Zeit Aššurnasirpals II. (883-859 v. Chr.).<sup>22</sup> Es werden darin nicht nur ausgezeichnete Fotos der Reliefs des Fotografen Charles Sheeler, sondern auch Erkenntnisse über die Bemalung der Wandreliefs und die Ausstattung der Räume des sog. Nordwest-Palastes in Kalḫu (Nimrūd) geboten. Sie vergleicht die vielen Wiederholungen von Szenen, die – außer im Thronsaal und im West-Flügel dieses Palastes – vorherrschende Monotonie der Wandreliefs, mit Abrollungen von Siegelzylindern, die, beliebig fortgesetzt, ebenfalls aus Wiederholungen des gleichen Motivs bestünden. Der Zusammenhang zwischen Groß- und Kleinkunst wird dabei angesprochen. Die zahlreichen Rollsiegel, die bisher publiziert sind, könnten Denkmäler verlorener oder nur geringfügig erhaltener Großkunst der jeweiligen Epoche widerspiegeln, eine Informationsquelle, die bisher viel zu wenig beachtet worden ist.

Den Ost-West-Beziehungen widmen sich eine größere Anzahl von Artikeln Edith Poradas, z.B. in der Festschrift für Hetty Goldman: *The Aegean and the Near East. Studies presented to Hetty Goldman*, 1956, der Ausgräberin von Tarsus in der Türkei. Während der Hethiterherrschaft spielte Tarsus (Mersin) als Hafenstadt Kilikiens eine wichtige Rolle bei Handelsbeziehungen. Edith Poradas Beitrag darin: “A Lyra Player from Tarsus and his Relations”, 185-211, bezieht sich auf einen Skaraboid, zu dem sie mehrere Parallelen im British Museum fand, die ein genaueres Verständnis des kulturellen Zusammenhanges ermöglichen. Zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen kam sie bei der Bearbeitung eines Fayence Zylinders im Mitanni-Stil, der auf der Akropolis von Mykene gefunden wurde: “A Fayence Cylinder” in: *The Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens* 52, 1957, 197-206.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. Janusz Meuszyński, *Die Rekonstruktion der Reliefdarstellungen und ihrer Anordnung im Nordwestpalast von Kalḫu (Nimrūd)*. Baghdader Forschungen 2, 1981 und Samuel M. Paley – Richard F. Sobolewski, *The Reconstruction of the Relief Representations and their Positions in the Northwest-Palace at Kalḫu (Nimrūd) II*. 1987.

Daneben verfasste sie auch mehrere Beiträge zu Ausstellungskatalogen wie z.B. *Man in the Ancient World*, eine Ausstellung am Queens College, New York: *Exhibition of Pre-Christian Objects from the Regions of the Near East, Egypt and the Mediterranean*, 1958.

Ein wichtiges Denkmal Vorderasiatischer Kunst, dem sich Edith Porada widmete, ist "The Hasanlu Bowl", in: *Expedition: The Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* I/3, 1959, 19-22. Es handelt sich dabei um eine Goldschale mit Reliefdarstellungen von Göttern, Helden und Mischwesen, die nicht nur iranische, sondern auch andere Stilelemente in sich vereinigt. Sie kam bei Grabungen von Robert Dyson Jr. am Hasanlu Tepe, 1958, im iranischen Aserbaidschan, südlich des Urmia-Sees, zu Tage und gehört zu den wenigen freigelegten Objekten, deren Fundumstände genau bekannt sind.

Mit der Bearbeitung eines akkadzeitlichen Siegels, das von Sir Leonard Woolley in Ur gefunden worden ist, nimmt sie das Thema ihrer Dissertation wieder auf: "Notes on the Sargonid Cylinder Seal, Ur 364", in *Iraq* XXII, 1960, 116-123. Sie versucht damit zum Verständnis der auf diesem Siegel dargestellten Szenen beizutragen.

Mit der Monographie *Alt-Iran, die Kunst der vorislamischen Zeit* unter Mitarbeit von Robert H. Dyson mit einem Beitrag von C. K. Wilkinson, erschienen in 1. Auflage 1962 (eng. 1965, franz. 1982) in der Reihe *Kunst der Welt, ihre geschichtlichen, soziologischen und religiösen Grundlagen*, hat sie besondere Popularität erlangt.

Eine weitere Monographie behandelt die Glyptik von Tšoga Zambil, dem antiken Dür-Untaş, südöstlich von Sūsa: *Tchoga Zanbil (Dur Untash)* Band IV, *La Glyptique. Légendes des Cylindres par Erica Reiner* erschienen in der Reihe: *Mémoires Délégation Archéologique en Iran* als Band 42, 1970, ein Standardwerk der elamischen Glyptik.

Der weitgehend auf ihrem Hagengut (**Abb. 5**) erarbeitete und von Edith Porada als Monographie betrachtete Beitrag im *Archiv für Orientforschung* 28, 1981-82, 1-70: *The Cylinder Seals Found at Thebes in Boeotia*, ist die Erstveröffentlichung einer Sammlung von Rollsiegeln aus Lapislazuli, die allein wegen des kostbaren Materials als besonders wertvoll gelten. In der Stadt Theben, im südöstlichen Griechenland, waren bei Grabungen auf der mykenischen Akropolis 38 Rollsiegel des 13. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. zu Tage gekommen.



Abb. 5: Edith Porada und Erika Bleibtreu bei Rast und Gespräch während eines Spaziergangs durch den Forst des Hagenguts um 1980.

Edith Porada hat gelegentlich Objekte aus Privatsammlungen publiziert, darunter Rollsiegel aus der sehr umfangreichen Sammlung von Jonathan Rosen in New York, außerdem kleine rundplastische Figuren wie z.B. aus der Sammlung Shelby White und Leon Levy die Nachbildung einer Bergziege in “Mountain Goat”, in *Glories of the Past. Ancient Art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection*, 1990, 49-51 oder eine Statuette aus einer Kupfer-Legierung in “A Male Figure in the Style of the Uruk Period”, in: *Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan*, vol. V: *Near Eastern Studies Dedicated to H. I. H. Prince Takahito Mikasa on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, 1991, 335-347, Abb. 1-9.<sup>23</sup>

1993 war Edith Porada in die Frick Collection, New York, eingeladen, um einen Vortrag zum Thema: “Man and Images in the Ancient Near East” zu halten. Wegen ihrer Erkrankung konnte sie nicht anwesend sein. Ihren Beitrag verlas John Russell von der Columbia University. Erschienen ist er ein Jahr nach ihrem Tod, 1995, in Form einer Monographie unter demsel-

<sup>23</sup> Diese Statuette wird von Frans A. M. Wiggermann, „Exit Talim: Studies in Babylonian Demonology“, in *Jaarbericht ex Oriente Lux*, Leiden 1983, 90-105 als *lahmu* identifiziert und diente nach Porada als Licht- oder Räucherständer.

ben Titel als *Anshen Transdisciplinary Lecturships in Art, Science and the Philosophy of Culture, Monograph 4*, 21-76.<sup>24</sup>

*Forschungen, Lehrtätigkeit und Auszeichnungen in den USA*

In New York wohnte Edith Porada anfangs gemeinsam mit ihrem Vater in 38th Street in Chelsea, bis dieser auf dem Hagengut in Österreich starb. Später lebte sie in einer kleinen Wohnung in 400 West 119, Butler Hall 13 R. Am Queen's College of the City of New York unterrichtete sie 1950-1958 allgemeine europäische Kunstgeschichte, für die sie nicht ausgebildet war, aber es gelang ihr vorzüglich, diese Tätigkeit zur Zufriedenheit auszuüben.

1956 wurde sie in der Pierpont Morgan Library zum „Honorary Curator of Seals and Tablets“ bestellt. Sie machte diese umfangreiche Sammlung mit mehr als tausend Objekten für Forscher und Studenten aus aller Welt zugänglich. Die Sammlung der Pierpont Morgan Library wurde zum größten und angesehensten Zentrum für Siegelforschung. Dazu trug auch ihr 1948 erschienenes Standardwerk: *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals...* wesentlich bei.

Sie begründete 1966 ein Seminar an der Pierpont Morgan Library: „Archaeology of the Eastern Mediterranean, Eastern Europe, and the Near East“, an dem nicht nur Studenten der Vorderasiatischen Archäologie, sondern auch anderer Fachgebiete teilnahmen. Sie leitete es bis zu ihrem Tod. Ehemalige Teilnehmer an diesen Seminaren sind an Universitäten und Museen vieler Länder tätig. Für deren Publikationen bilden nach wie vor Edith Poradas Forschungsergebnisse Grundlagen für weitere Arbeiten.

Seit 1958 lehrte sie als „Assistant Professor of Archaeology“ und von 1962-1964 als „Associate Professor“ am „Department of Fine Arts and Archaeology“ der Columbia University, New York, antike Kunstgeschichte des Vorderen Orients und konnte sich dabei ihrem Spezialgebiet, der Glyptik Mesopotamiens, widmen. Ihre Ernennung zum „Full Professor“, dem „Arthur Lehmann Professorship“ an der Columbia University, erfolgte 1963/64. Diese Professur hatte sie bis zu ihrer Emeritierung 1984 inne.

1967 wurde sie mit dem Ehrendoktorat des Smith College ausgezeichnet und 1969 zum „Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Letters“ ernannt.

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<sup>24</sup> In diesem Buch folgen eine Antwort von Franciscus A. M. Wiggermann zum Vortrag (77-91) und ein autobiographisches „Personal Statement“ (93-158) von Edith Porada.

Anfang der 1970er Jahre leitete sie Ausgrabungen der Columbia University in Phlamoudhi den Ausläufern des Kyrenia Gebirges an der Nordküste Zyperns, um ihren Studenten die Möglichkeit zu geben, an Grabungen aktiv teilzunehmen. Die hauptsächlich von der Columbia University, New York, betriebenen Grabungen brachten Funde der Späten Bronzezeit (etwa 1650-1200 v. Chr.) bis in römische Zeit zu Tage. In The New York Times vom 26. März 1994 heißt es:

„She organized and directed Columbia’s excavations on the Phlamoudhi plain near the Mediterranean in northeast Cyprus in the early 1970’s. Digging on a remote hill, the explorers found a sanctuary of the Hellenistic period and evidence of close commercial ties between Cyprus and the Greek islands in the late Bronze Age about 1500 B.C.”

Sie beurteilte ihre Studenten kritisch und sah deren wissenschaftliche Befähigung wie auch deren Charakter. Sie setzte sich auch nach Abschluss der Studien ihrer Schüler für sie ein und war stets für deren Probleme offen und eine gute Ratgeberin. In wissenschaftlicher Hinsicht war sie für andere Meinungen aufgeschlossen und diskussionsfreudig. Persönliche Bescheidenheit und Humor zeichneten sie aus. Sogar in ihrer kleinen Zweizimmerwohnung mit Kochnische in New York, die mit Büchern vollgestopft war, empfing sie Besuche von Kollegen und Studenten.

Diskussionen mit Kollegen verschiedener Fachrichtungen waren für alle Beteiligten anregend. Ihre Teilnahme an vielen Kongressen wie der jährlich statt findenden *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* zeigten ihr vielseitiges Engagement. Sie korrespondierte häufig und gerne mit Kollegen aus aller Welt. Ihre unzähligen Briefe können noch genaueren Aufschluss über ihre Thesen zu archäologischen Problemen geben, die sie mit Kollegen, Studenten und anderen Mitarbeitern diskutierte.

Seit 1977 war sie Ordentliches Mitglied des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes in Berlin und Korrespondierendes Mitglied der British Academy in London. Im selben Jahr wurde ihr vom Archaeological Institute of America die Goldmedaille für hervorragende archäologische Leistungen verliehen. Die Begründung für diese Ehre lautet:

Edith Porada „has become the world’s authority on ancient seals... She has opened the eyes and minds of archaeologists to the wealth of information on art, architecture, material culture, religious beliefs, mythology, economic, political, and intellectual life, cultural contacts, chronology, and history which are to be found on the seal stones with their miniature world of signs, images, intrinsic beauty and testimony.”

1978 wurde sie “Member of the American Philosophical Society” und 1980 „Honorary Fellow of the Pierpont Morgan Library“, sowie Korrespondierendes Mitglied der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, wo es in der Würdigung und Begründung für ihre Aufnahme heißt:

„Frau Porada ist eine der besten Kennerinnen der Archäologie des Alten Orients und kann als die grosse Autorität für die Siegelzylinder Vorderasiens wie des östlichen Mittelmeerbereiches angesprochen werden. Auch für die Glyptik der kretisch-mykenischen Welt zeichnet sie sich durch überragende Kenner-schaft aus. Darüber hinaus hat sie mit ihren Publikationen über die Kunst des Alten Iran und über die Königreiche der Sumerer, der Babylonier und der Perser Hervorragendes geleistet. Mit an der Spitze der Forschung steht sie mit ihren Ausgrabungen auch für das Altertum der Insel Cypern. So kann sie zu den bedeutendsten Forschern gezählt werden, die von Wien ausgehend zu einer grossen internationalen Anerkennung gelangten.“

Auch nach der Auswanderung in die USA war Edith Porada Österreich durch ihren Besitz, das Hagengut, weiterhin verbunden. Regelmäßig verbrachten sie und ihre Schwester ihren Urlaub dort (**Abb. 6**).



Abb. 6: Hilde Randolph (geb. Porada) (1914-2012), Ediths Schwester, Käthe Anna von Porada (geb. Magnus) (1891-1985), Ediths Mutter, und Edith Porada in Österreich Anfang der achtziger Jahre.

1983 wurde ihr zu Ehren an der Columbia University die nach ihr benannte Professur: „Edith Porada Professorship of Ancient Near Eastern Art and Archaeology“ eingerichtet.



Am 29. Oktober 1988 erhielt sie im Palazzo Bernardo in Venedig den internationalen Preis: „Cavalli d'oro di San Marco“ vom Centro Veneto Studi e Ricerche sulle Civiltà Orientali verleihen. Die goldenen Pferde von San Marco in Venedig nahm sie als vierte Preisträgerin entgegen nach Sabatino Moscati, 1985, Ekrem Akurgal, 1986 und dem Indologen Oscar Botto, 1987.

1989 wurde ihr an der Columbia University das Ehrendoktorat verliehen für

„profound connections between the human experience and the interpretation of cylinder seals. For three decades you have inspired Columbia students with the beauty and wisdom of the Orient, leavened by your sparkling wit.“

Ihr Leben war von unermüdlicher Arbeit, intensiver Beschäftigung mit dem einmal gewählten Thema, vorwiegend der vorderasiatischen Glyptik geprägt. Ihre Standardwerke werden uns für immer als Quelle wichtiger Informationen dienen.

Wie ich nach langjähriger freundschaftlicher Verbundenheit mit Edith Porada abschätzen kann, waren neben ihren wissenschaftlichen Erfolgen auch ihre menschlichen Qualitäten bewundernswert und vorbildlich.





Edith Porada im österreichischen Dirndlkleid, das sie gerne auf dem Hagengut trug.

## SIEGELSAMMLUNGEN



Edith Porada auf dem Hagengut in den 1980er Jahren

Fotos Dominique Collon und Hilde Undasch

## The Akkadian Seals in the Hahn-Voss Collection\*

Irit Ziffer

Edith Porada's career as a scholar, teacher and curator in the field of ancient Near Eastern Art begins at the University of Vienna, where she studied for five years, from 1930-1935, and with Victor Christian earned her Ph.D. in 1935 at the age of 23, writing her dissertation on glyptic art of the Akkad period, 2230-2150 BCE. In her dissertation Porada discussed seals in the collection of the Hahn Family, Berlin, cousins of a distant cousin of her mother's. This cousin of her mother's, a professor of Arabic literature in Germany, came to Vienna to attend the International Meeting of Orientalists, which was then held in the city, while Porada was still attending the Gymnasium. He encouraged her to attend the meeting, which had left a deep impression on the young woman, who had subsequently expressed her wish to study archaeology. Porada was particularly enchanted by Ernst Herzfeld's lecture. Under this impression, she expressed her wish to study the Aegean world, but the cousin's verdict was to work on the topic of the ancient Near East, under Victor Christian.<sup>1</sup> Ernst Herzfeld, a key figure in ancient Near Eastern and Islamic art, was instrumental in augmenting the Hahn collection (see below).

In her dissertation Porada discussed the Hahn seals topically, but did not include images of them. However, thirteen seals in the Hahn Collection, all of which represent the theme of combat between heroes and animals were published in 1938, in an article entitled "Treize cylindres-sceaux de la collection Hahn datant de l'époque d'Agadé" (Porada 1938a). The drawings of the seals were prepared by Edith Porada. Her hand is distinguishable for its rigor in this study as well as in all of her publications. Reproducing cylinder-seal designs was as close and as intimate a contact of the present day scholar with the ancient artist. Some of Porada's original cards in the Hahn-

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\* I owe a debt of gratitude to Arina-Laura Peri, Rodney E. Soher Curator of Western Asiatic Antiquities for her invaluable support and good advice and to Michal Dayagi-Mendels, Tamar and Teddy Kollek Chief Curator of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, for allowing me to study the seals and for permission to publish them in this volume.

<sup>1</sup> Porada 1995b: 93-95.

Voss collection include her drawings. The original cards, now at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, of which some are written in German, others in English, exemplify Porada's methodological guidelines in interpreting an ancient work of art: "A meticulous description of a creation's formal components is a prerequisite to identifying its style and interpreting its iconography. Intimate contact with a pictorial source is conducive to the 'imaginative participation' of a modern onlooker, enabling one's comprehension of the artistic work and its interpretation even after a lapse of thousands of years."<sup>2</sup> When first initiated into glyptic art by my teacher and mentor, the late Professor Pirhiya Beck, herself a student of Porada's (1964-1967), Pirhiya reiterated her teacher's recommendation that the best way of acquainting oneself with glyptics should include both a verbal description and the drawing of the seal design.

### *The Hahn Collection*

Dr. Georg Hahn (died Rio de Janeiro, 24.4.1953 age 90) owner of the Hahnschen Werke in the Rheinland and his wife Frida Hahn (died Rio de Janeiro, 12.7.1955 age 81), collectors of Near Eastern art in Berlin, were patrons of the studies of Assyriology and Hittitology. In the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century they were part of Hugo Winckler's circle and his great supporters, especially when in 1906 Winckler undertook his first expedition to Boğazköy. From this excavation the Hahns received the tithe of the Aleppo Contract (KBo I, 6) and the letter of Naptera (= Nefertari), the wife of Ramesses II to Petkhep (= Queen Puduhepa (KBo I, 29)), which were the first artifacts in their collection, formed with the aid of Hugo Winckler. After WW I Georg Hahn became member of the Board of the Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft, founded by Winckler, a position he held until 1936. Through his active involvement and support, the society's publications were made possible in the dire times of post-war inflation.<sup>3</sup> In 1930 Julius Lewy published the Cappadocian tablets in the Hahn collection.<sup>4</sup>

Ernst Herzfeld had a close relationship with the Georg Hahn family in the Villa Tiergartenstrasse 21, Berlin. Frida Hahn's brother, Moritz Sobernheim, an Arabist scholar who initiated his sister to the studies of the Near East, traveled the Middle East with Herzfeld in order to record monuments in Aleppo, Hama and Homs for the corpus of Arabic inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> In 1922 Hahn also paid for the shipment of finds excavated at Samarra by

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<sup>2</sup> Porada 1982c: 502-503.

<sup>3</sup> Weidner 1954-1956: 493-494.

<sup>4</sup> Lewy 1930.

<sup>5</sup> Weidner 1954-1956: 493; Kröger 2005: 45-98 (49 and fig. 4).

Herzfeld and Friedrich Sarre in 1911-1913 to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin (today's Museum für Islamische Kunst). Herzfeld's archaeological activity was facilitated through funds of a private company, Gesellschaft zur Förderung von Ausgrabungen und Forschungsreisen GmbH, (founded 1923, dissolved 1929) to promote travels and foster excavations, and unofficially, to acquire works of art for scholarly collections and museums.<sup>6</sup> An archaeologist, historian and a collector, Herzfeld also acquired antiquities for himself and for various clients (though desperate not to be known as an art dealer), among them the Hahn Family in Berlin. His last visit with the Hahns in Berlin was probably in the summer of 1933. To the Hahns Herzfeld sold seals and gold jewelry, among which was possibly the exquisite 'Dilbat necklace', purchased in 1947 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art through a New York dealer on behalf of Dr. Hahn who was then living in Mexico. After this acquisition, Hahn made a gift of four Old Babylonian cylinder seals to the Museum.<sup>7</sup>

Herzfeld intended to publish the Hahn cylinder seals, but never found the time to do so. As mentioned above, Porada published a selection of thirteen Akkadian seals she had studied for her dissertation. Elizabeth Douglas van Buren discussed some Hahn seals describing the sun god between gates in her 1947 article. These published seals were also discussed by Boehmer (1965), of which one inscribed seal was published by D. O. Edzard.<sup>8</sup> In the catalogue published on the occasion of the inaugural exhibition of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, more seals were included, reflecting the time range of the collection. Over the years, individual seals were published by the curators of the Israel Museum in various studies, where the collection is kept.

### *The Hahn-Voss Collection in Israel*

In his article "Introduction to the History of the Seal Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem 1995", Elie Borowski, founder of the Bible Lands Museum documented his life-long passion for ancient art in miniature (which eventually became the topic of his dissertation in Basel)<sup>9</sup> and the formation of the extraordinary seal collection of the Bible Lands Museum. His account is dotted with names and encounters, relations with both antiquities dealers and ardent collectors as well as with directors of museums. Among the collectors mentioned in Borowski's memoirs is Anne-

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<sup>6</sup> Kröger 2005: 47, 49, 50, 55, 63, 73, 79.

<sup>7</sup> Lilquist 1994: 29-36.

<sup>8</sup> Edzard 1965: 12-20.

<sup>9</sup> Published: Borowski 1947.

Marie Voss, daughter of the Hahn family, who inherited the collection from her mother Frida. How the collection arrived in Israel is narrated in Borowski's most valuable introduction to his own collection,<sup>10</sup> which illuminates the era's world of collecting in Europe.

"In 1958, Anna-Maria Voss from Dusseldorf visited my home in Basel. I knew about her parents' collection of seals and tablets and that she was a daughter of the wealthy Hahn, financier of the Mannesmann Industries, collector and art patron. She asked my assistance in enhancing the jewelry and seal collections that she had inherited from her mother. I agreed to improve only her collection of glyptic art. After Dr. Rudolf Schmidt,<sup>11</sup> Anna Maria was next in succession to benefit from the Gejou<sup>12</sup> cylinders. Upon my inquiry as to what had happened to the Hahn tablets, she told me that they had been dispersed, and that some had been bought by the Erlenmeyers.<sup>13</sup> Seven years earlier, the Erlenmeyers had begun to collect seals and texts after I sold them my famous 60 mm long brocade style lapis lazuli cylinder from the Gejou collection. I was pleased that Anna Maria was holding on to the over 300 seals. In 1961 her physician informed me that she was considering donating the collection over to the British Museum. I hastened to Dusseldorf and reminded her of my vision of a museum of civilizations of the Bible in Jerusalem. She argued that Jerusalem was a provincial village in terms of art. I agreed with her, and emphasized that our common suffering during the war obliged us to raise high the flag of justice and Israel. Afterwards, I solemnly pledged to her that I would dedicate my life to creating a world centre for education about biblical cultures and art history in Jerusalem. She died unexpectedly a year later in Dusseldorf. At her funeral, her executor (of the will), Professor D. Ernst Wolff of Basel, approached me and con-

<sup>10</sup> Borowski 1995: 11-22.

<sup>11</sup> The Swiss collector Rudolph Schmidt (1900-1970) created his collection mainly during the 1930s-1940s. In cataloguing the collection Schmidt sought Borowski's aid. The collection was subsequently published in Borowski 1947. In 1980 Mrs. Erica Peters Schmidt, Rudolph Schmidt's sister (1899-1988) who inherited the collection, supported by her two sons, decided to donate the collection to the University of Fribourg (now: Bible+Orient Museum), CH. The gift entered the collections in 1981, see Keel – Keel-Leu 1996: 26-27; Keel 2004: xiii-xvii.

<sup>12</sup> The Armenian H. E. Gejou, owner of some of the Gudea statues sold to the Louvre and the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, provided his expertise as consultant to collectors in Paris. Borowski acquired a seal collection, which had been selected with great enthusiasm by Gejou, from an heiress to an estate through the mediation of Charles Raton, official expert to Drouot auctioneers in Paris.

<sup>13</sup> Mrs. Marie-Louis Erlenmeyer and her husband, Professor Hans Erlenmeyer, Professor of Chemistry at the University of Basel, were both ardent students of archaeology. Their choice collection included cuneiform writing over its long history on clay, stone and copper, and boasted an unparalleled group of pictographic tablets. The Erlenmeyer collection of pictographic and cuneiform texts was sold by the Erlenmeyer Foundation for Animal Welfare established by Mrs. Erlenmeyer in 1981 at Christie's Great Rooms, London, in December 1988, see Anonymous 1988. The rest of the collection was sold on behalf of the same foundation in two parts by Sotheby's: 1992, 1997.



fided that Anna Maria had disclosed my pledge concerning Jerusalem to him. Since her nieces were her heirs, and there were no instructions about the disposal of the collection, he suggested I should visit members of the family and convince them to give the collection to Jerusalem. I did so over the two next years. Finally, Wolff and I met in the beginning of 1965 at the Israeli Embassy in Berne, Switzerland, and the collection was brought to Jerusalem. Dr. P.P. Kahane, Curator at the Israel Museum, sought my participation in the preparations for the opening of the museum in 1963. The same year Teddy Kollek,<sup>14</sup> Chairman of the Board of the planned Israel Museum, visited me in Basel and I also promised him a contribution for the opening. I conveyed to friends and acquaintances my belief that archaeology is one of the greatest gifts to mankind, since it opens a window to our past, from which we can learn guidance for the future. In order to promote the interest of the Israel Museum among collectors and friends, I asked some of them to participate in the opening of the Museum by lending me pieces from their collections... My objects and those on loan were displayed in a separate upper room devoted to objects from neighboring civilizations. In this way, I introduced the concept of the need for a future gallery in the Israel Museum dealing with the civilizations surrounding ancient Israel."

The collection of 428 cylinder and stamp seals ranging from the Proto-Literate period to Sasanian times, was a gift to the State of Israel by the Hahn-Voss family. Mr. and Mrs. Hahn of Rio de Janeiro and Mr. and Mrs. Peter Hahn, Surrey, England, as well as Mr. and Mrs. John Emerson Hahn, Los Angeles, were helpful in bringing to Jerusalem the collection of their sister and sister-in-law, the late Anne-Marie Hahn-Voss. Professor D.E. Wolff completed the legal formalities in connection with this donation. Professor Tallay Ornan of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, until 2007 Rodney E. Soher Curator of Western Asiatic Antiquities, remembers a Hahn family member who visited the Israel Museum in the early 1990s telling her that the collection arrived via France as diplomatic mail.

On the occasion of the opening of the Israel Museum in September 1965, the Samuel Bronfman Biblical and Archaeological Museum (today the Samuel and Saidye Bronfman Archaeology Wing) arranged seven special exhibitions, one of which was dedicated to the Hahn-Voss Collection of cylinder- and stamp-seals. On this festive occasion Borowski lent several pieces from his own collection and prepared the catalogue of both the Hahn-Voss and his own objects for this inaugural exhibition.

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<sup>14</sup> Mayor of Jerusalem during 1965-1993. Hungarian born, raised in Vienna.

*Catalogue of Hahn-Voss Akkadian cylinder seals*

In 1965 the entire Hahn collection was donated to the State of Israel. The collection was accessed in the Israel Antiquities Authority (then the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museum) and is kept as a long-term loan at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, along with Porada's hand-written green cards. There is no telling when Porada prepared the cards or how the items were originally accessed in the Hahn collection. The order of Hahn numbers suggests that the seals were registered upon acquisition, since it does not reflect a thematic classification. In her dissertation Porada classified the seals according to their topics. Hence I thought it best to list the Hahn-Voss seals according to Porada's dissertation listing. The Hahn-Voss collection in Israel includes seals not published in Porada's dissertation, perhaps seals of repetitive nature and of lesser quality in style, or such that were possibly acquired after Porada's dissertation. These are listed at the end of Porada's catalogue according to IAA registration numbers. Some cards have no Hahn numbers at all. Seals listed in Porada's dissertation as Hahn items, whose description does not pair with any of the Hahn seals in Jerusalem, I mention within Porada's catalogue. To avoid any confusion in the future I would recommend referring to the seals in the Hahn-Voss collection by their IAA numbers. As for the material of the seals, Porada's definitions precede those added to the cards by a consultant mineralogist.

*Heroes and animals in contest*

The most popular theme in Akkadian seals is the hero-animal combat scene. The theme, which includes combinations of men, monsters and wild animals originates in Early Dynastic glyptic art and continues down to the Kassite period. The change is in style. Overcoming a powerful beast or monster must have carried some organizing and governmental significance. The theme appears in inscribed, dedicatory seals.<sup>15</sup>

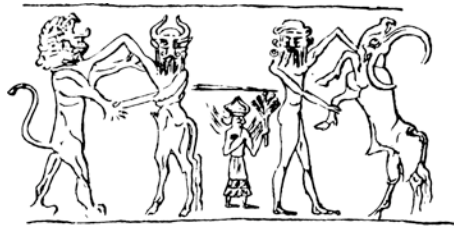
In her glyptic class Pirhiya Beck gave her students some clues on Akkadian glyptic style: a hallmark of hero-animal combat is the rhomboid shape created by the unusually long and unnaturally bent arms of the hero grasping the leg of its opponent, which created a spacious composition. This loose composition contrasts with the tight compositions of combats of the Early Dynastic „Figurenband“. Again, Pirhiya quoted Porada on this stylistic feature. As mentioned above, Porada published thirteen seals of this group as “Treize cylindres-sceaux de la collection Hahn datant de l'époque d'Agadé” (Porada 1938a). The “Hahn numbers” of three seals in this col-

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<sup>15</sup> Zettler 1977: 33-39.

lection mentioned in Rainer Michael Boehmer, 1965, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit*, Berlin, recently quoted by Rohn 2011<sup>16</sup> are in fact the figure numbers as they appear in Porada's article.

**Fig. 1: Porada cat. no. 1, Hahn 62 = IAA 1965-49**



Drawing by Edith Porada 1938:187, no. 1

Highly polished greenish silicified volcanic tuff, 30x19 mm. Two pairs of combatants: a rearing lion subdued by a bull-man; a nude hero with six locks (Lahmu, "Hairy One", then identified as Enkidu)<sup>17</sup> overpowering a rearing water buffalo.<sup>18</sup> Between the two combating pairs strides a small deity in a fringed dress identified by a plant with central stem and three offshoots on both sides held in her hand and branches (rays?) emerging from her shoulder, characterizing her as a vegetation goddess. In her dissertation (1934) Porada interpreted the plant as an ear of grain; in her article (1938a) it is a seven-branched plant. Above the goddess is a horizontal line delimiting the space for an inscription.

Published: Porada 1938: 187.192, no. 1; Boehmer 1965, 34, 35, 45, 46, 97, no. 558.

<sup>16</sup> Rohn 2011.

<sup>17</sup> Wiggermann 1993-1997: 242, fig. 1.

<sup>18</sup> The water buffalo was probably imported from India for the founder of the Akkadian dynasty, Sargon of Akkad. See: Boehmer 1975: 1-19.

**Fig. 2: Porada cat. no. 3, Hahn 61 = IAA 1965-59**



Drawing by Edith Porada 1938:187, no. 2.

Highly polished black hard serpentine – black chert. 27.2x17 (16) mm. Water buffalo subdued by a nude hero with locks wearing a belt; bull-man fighting a lion. Porada noted the fine execution of the seal, showing the skin folds under the lion's mane. She also noted that the seal was re-cut during the Akkad-period: a tree was cut over the inscription.

Published: Porada 1938: 187. 192, no. 2; Boehmer 1965, no. 585; Rohn 2011, no. 291.

**Fig. 3: Porada cat. no. 51, Hahn 293 = IAA 1965-58**



Drawing by Edith Porada 1938: 188, no. 4.

Greenish-grey fine grained serpentine, 28.2x17.9 (17.8) mm. Two contesting groups: a group of three, comprising a bull-man attacking a rearing lion, whose head and tail are grasped by a nude hero in profile; a bearded hero attacking a water-buffalo. Pair of facing scorpions between the groups.

Published: Porada 1938, 188.192, no. 4; Boehmer 1965, 36, 38, 39, 43: no. 667.

**Fig. 4: Porada cat. no. 58, Hahn 13 = IAA 1965-64**

Drawing by Edith Porada 1938: 191, no. 9.

Olive green serpentine – Serpentine (?) greenish calcsilicate rock with marble fine grained, 26.2x15.7 mm. Two contesting pairs: a kilted, bearded hero attacks a water-buffalo. A second bearded hero in the nude attacks a rearing water buffalo, whose tail hangs between its legs. The arching horns of the beasts interlock. Both heroes wear their locks of hair rolled in a chignon.

Published: Porada 1938: 191.193, no. 9; Boehmer 1965, 36, 39, 42, 46: no. 641.

**Fig. 5: Porada cat. no. 59, Hahn 60 = IAA 1965-57**

Drawing by Edith Porada 1938: 188, no. 5.

Highly polished serpentine – Black chert, 33.5x21.5 mm. Lion subdued by a bull-man; a hero wearing a head-band, swathed kilt tied at the back and shoes with upturned toes terminating in globules attacks a rearing bull while turning his head backwards. Both animals are grasped by the front leg. There are an axe between bull's front and hind legs and a branch-like tree between the two contesting groups.

Published: Porada 1938: 188.192, no. 5; Boehmer 1965, 30, 32-34, no. 516.

**Fig. 6: Porada cat. no. 75, Hahn 67 = IAA 1965-50**

Drawing by Edith Porada 1938: 190, no. 6.

Green chert (radiolarite), 32.5x21 mm. Two pairs of heroes: on the left, a bearded hero wearing a horizontally marked headdress and a fringed kilt attacks a lion looking backwards, reed thicket (Porada: wings, thus in dissertation catalogue, or flames according to *RA* publication from which three plants sprout) in the background;<sup>19</sup> before the rearing lion is a small recumbent lion. Bull subdued by a hero with headband, wearing swathed kilt and shoes with upturned toes (compare IAA 65-57). There are a pine tree between the hero's legs and the rearing bull and an eight-pointed star between the heads of lion and bull. Boehmer pointed out the musculature of both heroes' legs, comparable to Naram-Sin's legs in his victory stele and the Akkadian stele from Telloh, as well as the similar lengths of the hero's fringed skirt and that of Naram-Sin's.

The inscription reads: <sup>lú</sup>túg-gaba/du<sub>8</sub>

Published: Porada 1938: 190.192, no. 6; Boehmer 1965, 36, 38, 42, 43, 45, 46, no. 659; Inscription: Edzard 1968-1969, 13: 10.34; Rohn 2011, no. 422.

<sup>19</sup> Compare Boehmer 1965: no 730, fig. 238.

**Fig. 7: Porada cat. 94, Hahn 72 = IAA 1965-60**



Drawing by Edith Porada 1938: 191, no. 7.

Dark green serpentine – Greenish chert, 21.7x12 mm. Two bearded heroes in kilts and rilled caps (thus in Porada 1934)/basket-form headdress (1938a) or feather crowns (as stated on the card). One grasps a mouflon, the other subdues a rampant bull, who turns its head away from his attacker. Standing back to back, the heroes turn their heads toward each other.

Published: Porada 1938: 191.193, no. 7. Boehmer 1965, 24, 27: no. 441.

**Fig. 8: Porada cat. 96, Hahn no. 16 (on original card: 70)  
= IAA 1965-79**



Drawing by Edith Porada 1938: 191, no. 8.

Shell (gastropod), 29.2x15.7 mm. Centered scene: two kilted heroes, each wearing a feather crown, attack and restrain two rearing horned animals flanking a tripartite plant with blade-shaped leaves on cone, symbolizing a mountain. The hero in kilt on the right grasps the animal behind the horn and by its tail. The hero on the left wears a fringed skirt and grasps the animal by its horn.

Published: Porada 1938, no. 8; Boehmer 1965, 24, 27, 29: no. 433.

**Fig. 9: Porada cat. no. 99, Hahn 65 = IAA 1965-67**

Drawing by Edith Porada 1938: 194, no. 10.

Light olive green very fine ground serpentinite, 18.9x13.2 mm. Two hero-groups: A group of three, comprised of a goat grasped by bearded naked hero with belt, whom a rampant lion, looking back, grasps from the rear; and a bearded hero with belt wrestling with lion. There are an eight-pointed star above the goat and an inscription between the two groups.

Inscription: *uru-ḫiḫ-[du]*

Published: Porada 1938: 194.193, no. 10; Rohn 2011, no. 48, pp. 48, 147 (inscription), 207.

**Fig. 10: Porada cat. no. 107, Hahn 63 = IAA 1965-65**

Drawing by Edith Porada 1938: 188, no. 3.

Rock crystal, 25.8x16.2 (15.5) mm. Two symmetrical mirror scenes of contest, each consisting of a rearing, roaring lion looking back grasping a falling water buffalo by the rear leg and thigh. Space between two pairs of contestants to accommodate inscription.<sup>20</sup>

Published: Porada 1938: 188.192, no. 3; Boehmer 1965, 38, 46: no. 756.

<sup>20</sup> Compare Boehmer 1965: nos. 754, 758, 759 figs. 253, 254, 255.



**Fig. 11: Porada cat. no. 135, Hahn 74** (on original collection card: 77)  
= IAA 1965-51



Drawing by Edith Porada 1938: 194, no. 11.

Shell (gastropod), 32x17 mm. Group with a bearded naked hero with belt in the center grasping two rearing horned animals looking backwards towards attacking lions. The horns are finely ribbed and the lion's manes are pronounced by horizontal tufts. Terminal: <sup>d</sup>u t u/Šamaš – sun sign and a crescent moon above.

Published: Porada 1938, 194.193, no. 11; Boehmer 1965, no. 245; Rohn 2011: no. 751.

**Fig. 12: Porada, cat. no. 147, Hahn 310 = IAA 1965-53**



Drawing by Edith Porada 1938: 194, no. 12.

Hard black serpentine – Black chert, very fine grained, 27.7x18.1 mm. Two horned animals are attacked by lions grasping their necks. Between the hind legs of the attacked animals there is a V-shape, which, according to Porada, is a schematic reminder of the human tamer of the contestant pairs. The addorsed attacked animals looking backwards impart great vigor to this cross-shaped centered scene. Terminal: sun god sign.

Published: Porada 1938: 194.193, no. 12; Boehmer 1965: no. 382, pp. 17, 18, 85; Rohn 2011: no. 740.

**Fig. 13: Porada cat. 148, Hahn 4a** (on original card the Hahn number is 49) = **IAA 1965-61**

Lapis lazuli, 11x5 mm. A lion attacks one of two antelopes grasped by hero. Although the Hahn number on the card differs from the one in Porada's dissertation, the stone and the small size of the seal (10:5), noted by Porada on p. 41 of her dissertation, as well as its place in the thematic sequence of small seals cut in precious materials: lapis lazuli and translucent quartz, confirm the identification of Porada cat. 148 with IAA 65-61. Such seals were not intended for use but to be worn as amulets.

Three seals **Porada cat. nos. 159, 160, 161** (pp. 42-43) depict a single centered group consisting of crossed lions attacking horned animals. 159 and 160 are attributed to the transitional phase ED III-Akkad period.

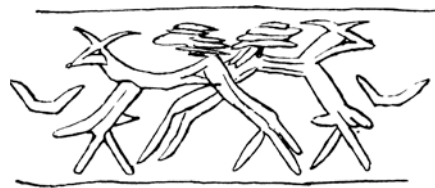
**Fig. 14: Porada cat. no. 159, Hahn 35 = IAA 65-32**

Shell (gastropod,) 22x11.5 mm. The tightly packed composition comprises two crossed lions, each attacking a horned animal. Terminal: a scorpion separated by horizontal line from the empty space above, intended for inscription. Porada included the seal within the Akkadian dissertation catalogue (pp. 42-43). In her hand on the card: "The seal could be ED II but corporeality of figures speaks against that." Also in her hand at bottom right of the card: ED III.

**Fig. 15: Porada cat. no. 160, Hahn 46 = IAA 1965-33**

Lapis lazuli, 16.8x9.7 mm. This even more archaic seal is "so fine one could imagine it being worn by a child" (p. 43). The tightly packed group comprises two crossed lions attacking bull and horned animal respectively. Terminal: scorpion separated by two horizontal lines from the space above intended for inscription. Porada's note on the card: cf. Corpus I: 84.

**Fig. 16: Porada cat. no. 161, Hahn 75 = IAA 1965-54**



Drawing by Edith Porada 1938: 195, no. 13.

Black serpentine – Greenish chert, 25x17.5 mm. Centered scene: crossed lions attacking horned animals looking backwards. Terminal: crescent moon. In her dissertation Porada commented on the ornamental effect of this highly stylized depiction, resulting in almost linear animals (p. 43).

Published: Porada 1938: 195.193, no. 13; Boehmer 1965, 16, 17, no. 347.

**Fig. 17: Porada cat. no. 166, Hahn 66 = IAA 1965-52**

White and grey veined marble. Top broken off, preserved height 30.2x20.7 mm. A bearded, kilted hero holding a dagger fights a similarly armed opponent. Group of three: A bull man attacks a lion, speared from behind by a nude hero with locks.

Inscription: ʾi-ti-lum d u b-s a r “Itilum, scribe”.

*Battles of the gods*

In the contest formula human-form gods replace the vanquisher and the attacked. A scene combining hero-animal contest and combating gods also exists.<sup>21</sup> The groups may be pairs of gods or a triple-figure group, where two gods attack a third. The vanquishing gods are often rayed.

**Porada cat. 192a**, allegedly **Hahn 77**, does not fit the description on p. 61 of the dissertation. There is no god flung high up by his attackers, of which one is surrounded by flames. Hahn 77 was accessed in Israel as IAA 65-76. Porada’s description on the original card reads: “Shell. Two gods vanquishing third held upside down, god at right raising his foot over large vessel on stand. Third god reclining on mountain grasped by miter and threatened with a mace by fifth god, broken mace beside reclining god. Terminal: star spade” The card description can best be matched with Porada’s dissertation **cat. 191**. Although Porada did not describe cat. no 191 in detail, she emphasized the triple group arrangement, the lack of flames/rays, the horizontal striations of the mountain scales, and the careless execution of the seal, features which appear in seal Hahn 77 = **IAA 65-76**.

In Porada’s dissertation cat no. 191 is not illustrated. The lack of illustration would confirm our attribution of 191 to the Hahn collection 77, since the Hahn seals published in the dissertation were not illustrated.

Moreover, in the catalogue of figures the reference to cat. 191 is De Clercq 181. De Clercq 181 is also the reference for Porada’s cat. 184

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<sup>21</sup> Bleibtreu 1996: 53-63.

(schwarzer Porphyr), depicting three pairs of gods, which has the reference to de Clercq 181bis = 181, see also Porada's list of figure sources.

The description of cat. no. 184 includes a figure with boomerang (Krummholz) riding a quadruped. However in Porada's illustration for cat. 184 there is no ridden quadruped.

Hence **Fig. 18: IAA 1965-76** is perhaps the best candidate to be matched with **Porada cat. 191 = Hahn 77**. Shell brownish gastropod, 36.5x22 mm. The seal is ascribed to triple group combats of slightly less elaborated style, therefore to be considered as slightly later in the Akkad period. There are two groups of battling gods, all wearing a simple horned crown. A god armed with a mace strikes another god, who falls back on a mountain, grabbing him by the miter. Porada described the mountain as horizontally striated, which is not the case of IAA 65-76, where the mountain has the usual scales. Two gods vanquish a third, held upside down by his legs. The god on the left raises his foot over a large vessel in a stand. The lack of rays seems to be in favor of the identification. Terminal: sun god sign.

### *Sun God seals*

In Mesopotamian belief, the sun god visited the netherworld at night. In heaven's interior, below the earth and invisible to human eyes, was the White House where he rested at night. The sun god left heaven's interior before rising over the eastern horizon in the morning. The concept of the interior of heaven required entry and exit through doors with their whole paraphernalia of bolts, keys and gatekeepers. The road between sunset and sunrise was conceived as a tunnel passing through twin-mountain, which guards sunset and sunrise, hence stretching from the western horizon to the eastern horizon. The sun god made his way through the tunnel during one night. The Old Akkadian seals show attendants opening the gates of heaven for the anthropomorphic sun god ascending between the twin mountain peaks at various stages of the sunrise.<sup>22</sup> In the Babylonian Gilgameš epic the twin-peaked mountain Mašû was located near the eastern doors of heaven. The sun god holds a curved pruning saw (*šaššaru*) of two-fold function: for cutting his way through the mountains, as well as his emblem in his role as god of justice cutting verdicts.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Heimpel 1986: 127-151.

<sup>23</sup> Collon 1987: 34-35, no. 103; Black – Green 1992: 182-184.

**Fig. 19: Porada cat. no. 200, Hahn 80 = IAA 65-69**

Detail of Hahn 80, drawing by Esther Stark, Israel Museum.

Black serpentine – black chert, highly glossy polish, 38x23.7 mm. Wearing fringed robe, a divine attendant<sup>24</sup> holds one wing of open gate, the other hand grasping tasseled rope. The sun god with rays pushes his way up between two mountains, supporting himself with his left hand on mountain top and brandishing saw in his right hand. Terminal: branch-like tree. The scene depicts the sun god Shamash rising from beneath the mountainous horizon “where he invisibly spends the night”.<sup>25</sup>

Published: Boehmer 1965, 74 no. 1009, fig. 417 and previous bibliography therein.

**Fig. 20: Porada cat. no. 220, Hahn 79 = IAA 1965-70**

Serpentine, rather hard variety, 43x30 mm. Sun god with rays ascending between two mountains, supporting himself on the mountain peak with his right hand, his left foot placed on another mountain. There is a gate at either side of the rising god, with an attendant grasping the right hand-side gate. Branch-like tree as terminal. Crescent above bowl on stand between sun god and left wing of gate; crescent above eight pointed star between the sun god and the right gate wing.

**Fig. 21: Porada cat. no. 227, Hahn 82 = IAA 1965-72**

Dark green serpentine, 28x7 mm. Two worshippers approach the sun god with rays ascending between two mountains, his right foot placed over the mountain. The bearded worshipper facing the sun god carries a kid. A third worshipper is shown behind the sun god, but there is no gate. Terminal: pine tree.

<sup>24</sup> Streck 2005: 516-517.

<sup>25</sup> Porada 1995b: 126.

**Fig. 22: Porada cat. no. 234, Hahn 81 = IAA 1965-73**

Greyish black hard serpentine – Dark (haematitic?) quartzite, very fine grained, 22.5x12.5 mm. Sun god with rays ascending mountain, holding saw in his right hand and resting his left hand on a mace. A bearded attendant clad in a pleated skirt holds with both hands one wing of an open gate. Mountain indicated by two steps in side-view. Terminal: pine tree on a mountain. Boehmer notes the small size of the single mountain depicted, typical of the Neo-Sumerian period.

Published: Boehmer 1965, 74 no. 1037, fig. 426 and previous bibliography therein.

**Porada cat. no. 258, Hahn 6** is described (p. 109) as archaic, depicting a lion-headed eagle perched on the back of a human-headed bull (Menschenstier). In the Hahn-Voss collection accessed in 1965 there is no seal matching this description.

**Fig. 23: Porada cat. no. 292, Hahn 59 = IAA 1965-63**

Shell (gastropod), 29.2x16 mm. Very worn seal, depicting two groups of contestants. Group of three: bearded hero in skirt and flat cap holding up by its hind legs a reversed lion which a second hero in same attire also grasps, his right foot stepping on the lion's head. Bull man clutching human-headed bull.

*Presentation scenes***Fig. 24: Porada cat. no. 361, Hahn 85 = IAA 1965-80**

Drawing by Esther Stark, Israel Museum.

Red-brown flecked with white marble, 33.5x20.5 (19.5) mm. Presentation scene: Worshipper in fringed robe led towards an enthroned god by a god, who follows two other gods, one raising hand in greeting, the other with outstretched hands. The approaching gods all wear pleated skirts. The en-

enthroned bearded god in a flounced garment sits on a nine-paneled chair and raises his hand in blessing. There is an eight-pointed star above his raised hand. For enthroned god sitting on a nine-paneled chair with eight-pointed star, cf. Boehmer 1965: fig. 548.

**Porada cat. no. 365, Hahn 93; Porada cat. no. 525, Hahn 93**

Porada cat. nos. 365 and 525 share the same Hahn number. There is a big confusion in the description of seals 365-367. According to the dissertation text (p. 133) 365 shows a deity leading two adorants before a divinity, and a little man inserted under the inscription, recalling the Frobenius rock art. Cat. 365 is discussed among the seals depicting presentation before Ea (pp. 130-134), while 525, discussed under "enthroned gods" (pp. 179-183), should be a two-register seal, the upper register depicting a presentation scene, the lower showing three geese swimming on waves (p. 182). Cat. 365, not illustrated in the dissertation, is followed by the illustration of cat. no. 366, a line drawing of Porada cat. 330 (hence 366=330; 366 is cited from Ward (J.P. Morgan 1920): 295; cat. 330 is Van Buren Fig. 23, VA 541, Moortgat 1940: Pl. 30:224), discussed on p. 128, depicting the bird-man led before Ea, the god with streams, by the Janus-like god Usmu, holding a branch. The description of cat. 366 in the dissertation text (p. 133) mentions two water birds flanking a cypress tree placed behind the god's throne, which are missing in the corresponding dissertation figure. As for a kneeling man below the inscription, Porada cat. 333 (BM 89096) is the only seal (in the sequence „Vogelmensch vor dem Richter“), which features the little man kneeling below the inscription (p. 129). With the next seal the confusion is resolved: Porada cat. 367 described on p. 133, is a two-register seal, the upper register showing presentation scene, the lower has a frieze of three water fowl.

**Fig. 25: Porada cat. no. 369, Hahn 83 = IAA 1965-95?**

Grey-brown stone, 24x10 mm. Presentation scene from the end of the Akkad period. A bearded deity wearing a miter with a single pair of horns sits on a throne with a slightly curved seat. A divine being in a fringed robe leads a bare-headed figure similarly clad. A large crescent moon hovers above the god's open palm raised in greeting. According to the text description (p. 134) the seal design has a geometric terminal. However, IAA 1965-95 displays an erased inscription. End of the Akkad period.

**Fig. 26: Porada cat. no. 402, Hahn 84 = IAA 65-87**

Lapis lazuli, 17.2x10.5 mm. Female and male worshipper, the latter carrying a box-like object (bucket?), both raising their hand in greeting, approach a god with a simple miter and rays emanating from his shoulder, who is seated on a simple stool with open-palm right hand. Post Akkadian.

**Porada cat. nos. 410/412:** In Porada's discussion on presentation scenes before a snake god, verbal description and illustrations are mismatched. It begins with the seal illustrated as 410. "No. 410 displays the more-or-less typical composition of these scenes. Before a construction, standing for a door, sits a creature, whose upper part of the body is human, and the lower part shaped as a snake. The spiral-shaped lower part of the body, imparting the seated posture of the being, ends in a fish tail. This snake creature seems to hold a small flat bowl in its hand, above which is a crescent moon. In front of it (the creature) is an hourglass shaped altar with flames, and a star above. Behind the altar stands, hand raised, an adorant or officiant in a tasseled garment, the upper part of which folded" (pp. 137-138).

The description for cat. no. 410, dissertation pp. 137-138 does not match the illustration in the catalogue, which is Bib. Nat. 78=Boehmer fig. 575. Boehmer fig. 575 depicts three beings: a snake god, a worshipper and a doorkeeper shown behind the door, touching it. In Boehmer fig. 575 the open palm of the god's hand does not hold anything, and flames emitted from the hourglass shaped altar are questionable (Boehmer 1965: 102). Cat.410 also shows crescent moon and star between god and worshipper, matching Porada's text description of her cat. no 412, which includes a seated snake god, raising his hand in greeting and an altar emitting small flames as well as „mit beiden Händen hat ein weiterer Diener seitlich die Tempeltür gefasst. Halbmond und Stern sind eingefügt“ (p. 138). The figure for cat. No. 412 is a line drawing (Ward 1910: 364) which shows an interceding figure leading another figure before a snake-god holding a bowl before a door-form. Door keeper, crescent moon and star are missing.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> The confusion in this spans the discussion of figs, 410-416. Fig. 416 shows a lion-headed eagle perched on the rears of two crouching caprids, while the text description speaks of a special door-shape. Cat. Nos. 415, 417 are the same seal from Tell Asmar, where the snake god clutches the tip of its tail (Frankfort 1955: 42, no. 589), which the text of 417 describes. From 417 on text and figures are correctly paired.



**Fig. 27:** It seems that Porada describes **Hahn 96 = IAA 65-82** no. 410 in her dissertation from 1934.



Drawing by Esther Stark, Israel Museum.

**Porada cat. 410, Hahn 96 = IAA 65-82**

Shell (brownish-white gastropod) seal, 30x16.5 mm.

Snake-god facing worshipper, between them hourglass-shaped altar with flames. Crescent and star above altar. Terminal: door.

### *Killing of Anzu*

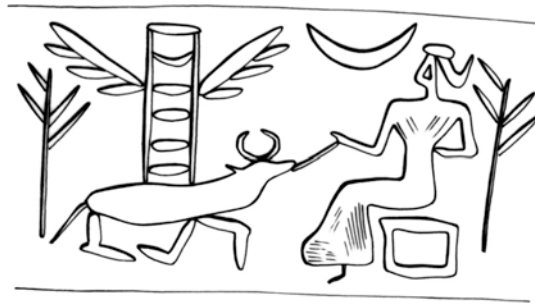
**Fig. 28: Porada cat. no. 426, Hahn 54 = IAA 1965-74**



Drawing by Pnina Arad, Israel Museum, published in Ornan 2010: 242, fig. 15.

Lapis lazuli, 18.5x11.5 mm. A god in a pleated skirt grasps the miter of a naked god, erect mace between. Group of three: A lion-headed Anzu bird, seen from above, is attacked by two gods, the one on the left stabbing the tip of its wing, while the other clubs its head with a mace. Between the two groups there is a stylized plant. The depiction of the vanquished god recalls renderings of the killing of Humbaba and the killing of bull of heaven in art.

Published: Ornan 2010, 242 fig. 15; Photo: N. Slepak.

*The Winged Gate***Fig. 29: Porada cat. no. 431 Hahn 86 = IAA 1965-71**

Drawing by Pnina Arad, Israel Museum, published in Ornan 2001: 6, fig. 4.

Very fine grained homogenous marble, 21x12 mm. Female figure seated on simple stool, holding a recumbent bull by a rope fastened to a ring passing through its nose. The bull carries a winged structure with cross-bars on its back. Tree terminal, and crescent between winged structure and figure. The structure with cross-bars resembles a closed gate, hence the interpretation as winged gate. Amiet interpreted the winged gate as winged temple.<sup>27</sup> The winged gate supported by a recumbent bull appears with a male god, and later with a goddess.<sup>28</sup> Discussing the Ishtar Stele from Ebla, Matthiae associated the bull, winged gate and female figure with the consort of the storm god, syncretised with Ishtar,<sup>29</sup> while Ornan (see below) sought to find a connection between the bull and crescent as indicative of a lunar deity.

Published: Ornan 2001a, 173f; 2001b, 6 fig. 4.

<sup>27</sup> Amiet 1960: 2-3.

<sup>28</sup> Collon 1987: 35.

<sup>29</sup> Matthiae 1989: 127-135.

*Drinking scenes***Fig. 30: Porada cat. no. 478, Hahn 95 = IAA 1965-84**

Drawing by Esther Stark, Israel Museum.

Black serpentine polished – Black chert, 29.2x18. Male worshipper in a pleated robe carrying a small vessel (?) and a female worshipper in a fringed garment approach two bearded figures seated on thrones, drinking through tubes from a common vessel. Porada noted the ziggurat-shaped thrones (p. 173).

**Fig. 31: Porada cat. no. 480, Hahn 94 = IAA 1965-47**

Two figures clad in fringed garments are seated facing each other on stools with cross-bars; they are sipping their drink through tubes from a footed vessel. Palm tree terminal.

**Porada cat. no. 485, Hahn 1** lacks verbal description. It belongs in the sequence of drinking scenes.

*Etana seal***Fig. 32: Porada cat. no. 492, Hahn 97 = IAA 1965-75**

Drawing by Pnina Arad, Israel Museum, published in Ornan 2004: 16, fig. 8.

White shell (gastropod), 36x22 mm. Etana motif: next to a reed pen two crouching dogs are looking up at the eagle-borne bearded man in a fringed skirt. A long-haired buck and a she-goat come out the other side of the reed pen. Above the pen is a kneeling man pushing a large jar in the act of churning. Two deities in simple miters sit facing one another. The bearded, long-haired god in a flounced garment sits on a six-paneled seat, the goddess, wearing a fringed garment, is seated on a stool with a single cross bar. Both gods raise their hands towards globules arranged in two rows of five. These objects, always shown in the upper part of the seal design, probably represent dried *kishk*, made of fermented milk which are left to dry on the roofs and are stored for use in the winter, when they are soaked in water to make a milk drink when there is no fresh milk.

The seal combines two motifs. 1. The Etana motif, comprising a large bird, probably an eagle, in flight, with a bearded man holding onto its neck, while two dogs sit below, looking up. Standing human figures may be added, raising their heads towards the figure being carried away by the eagle. A herd of sheep and goats (represented in the seal by a one species) emerges from a reed sheepfold. The motif has been connected to the Myth of Etana, relating the legend of the king of Kish who, according to the Sumerian King List, was a shepherd who ascended to heaven. According to the myth, the eagle-borne Etana flew to heaven in order to obtain the plant of birth for his barren wife to provide remedy for her infertility and conceive an heir to the throne. 2. Drinking scene.

Steinkeller<sup>30</sup> has demonstrated how the Etana legend was made up of popular motifs, such as the barren wife and the human assisted by an animal as reward for previous service. Cylinder seals, especially of the Akkad period, commonly depict a man flying on the back of an eagle, creating the impression of a visual rendering of the story. Postgate emphasizes the fact that the Akkadian seals precede the written composition by some 500 years, and that there are no seals contemporary with the written legend. He argues that the attribution of the scene to the legend is a mismatch.<sup>31</sup>

Bernbeck supports the idea that the unnatural flight of the eagle-borne figure against the background of a herding scene is mythical.<sup>32</sup> The airborne man as a side motif was integrated in seal compositions, also outside Mesopotamia and in later periods. In the Iranian cylinder seal of the Akkad period, formerly in the Foroughi collection published by Porada,<sup>33</sup> the eagle with a human head above one of its wings, probably an abbreviated form of the airborne figure, is placed above a seated goddess with snakes issuing from her shoulders, who is confronted by a kneeling figure. Delimited by

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<sup>30</sup> Steinkeller 1992: 243-275.

<sup>31</sup> Postgate 1994: 182

<sup>32</sup> Bernbeck 1996: 159-213.

<sup>33</sup> Porada 1964c: 139-143.

undulating horizontal lines is a human bust on a canopied stool placed over the foreparts of a bull, while the hind parts are represented above. In a Mitanian seal from Tell Billa<sup>34</sup> the scene comprising a figure (prostrate) watching the figure being carried away by the eagle is juxtaposed with the motif of the killing of Humbaba. Similarly, on the 9<sup>th</sup> century Hasanlu gold bowl, a human figure carried on the back of an eagle is represented in conjunction with the killing of Humbaba motif.<sup>35</sup>

Published: Borowski 1965, no. 35; Ornan 2004

### *Presentation scenes*

**Fig. 33: Porada cat. no. 509, Hahn 87 = IAA 1965-81**

Shell, brownish (gastropod), 33x18.7 mm. Presentation scene: three figures in fringed robes approach an enthroned figure ("female", cf. Porada 1934: 181). There is a mace in front of each approaching figure. A crescent appears above the enthroned figure. Terminal: tree.

**Porada cat. no. 525, Hahn 93.**

Porada cat. nos. 365 and 525 share the same Hahn number, see discussion of no. 365 above.

**Fig. 34: Porada cat. no. 526, Hahn 88 (on card 87) = IAA 1965-83**

Shell (gastropod), 30x15.7 mm. Presentation scene: A figure ("female", Porada 1934 p. 182) in a fringed garment sits on throne with cross bars. She is stretching out her left hand towards a similarly dressed personage who extends her right hand below the seated figure's elbow, leading a worshipper equally clad in a fringed robe with left hand raised in greeting. Crescent above seated figure's elbow. Terminal: tree.

**Fig. 35: Porada cat. no. 530, Hahn 90 = IAA 1965-85**

Black serpentine – Black chert, lower part of seal broken to preserved height of 15.5x14.5 mm. Seated male and female figures raising cups. Between them is a female attendant with outstretched hands "supporting" their elbows.

<sup>34</sup> Matthews 1991: 32, 41, no. 43; Collon 2002: 36: 2.3.2.

<sup>35</sup> Porada 1959a; Mellink 1966; Winter 1989; see also Ornan 2010: 248-249.

*Akkadian seals not included in Porada's dissertation*

**Fig. 36: IAA 1965-55, Hahn 76**

Greenish-black serpentine - diabase, 21.7x12.2 mm. Centered scene: pair of rearing horned animals with forelegs (defined by horizontal lines) on each other's shoulders looking backwards, attacked by rampant lions.

**Fig. 37: IAA 1965-56, Hahn 49**

White fine-grained marble, 20x11.5 (10.5) mm. Three pairs of contestants: nude bearded hero clutching human-headed bull; bull-man wrestling with lion; hero with feather crown grasping horned animal (Porada's card: stag?). Early Akkad period.

**Fig. 38: IAA 1965-62, Hahn 109**

Brown argillaceous limonitic limestone, very fine grained, 22x13 mm. Two rampant caprids flanking tree, both looking backwards in the same direction. Nude human figure grabs right caprid by the horns and the haunches. Terminal: bird (Porada's card: ostriches!) above scorpion. Post Akkadian.

**Fig. 39: IAA 1965-68, Hahn no. unknown: Porada's card missing**

Brown reddish homogenous chert, 29.2x16 mm. The seal shows two ad-dorsed bearded heroes, each wearing a long robe over a short kilt. The hero on the left attacks a rearing lion, grabbing its snout and forelegs, the hero on the right controls a human-headed bull. Terminal: branch-like tree.

**Fig. 40: IAA 1965-77, no. on Porada's card: 81, and 67 encircled**

Shell (gastropod), 34.3x23(18.8) mm. Very worn seal, not included in Porada's dissertation: sun god with rays ascending between twin mountain peaks. At either side attendant wearing horned miter and pleated robe open the wing of gate.

**Fig. 41: IAA 1965-78**, no Hahn number, no. on card: 724 or 124 in red in Porada's handwriting



Drawing by Pnina Arad, Israel Museum.

Shell (brownish gastropod), 34.5x22.5 mm. Bearded god in a flounced robe sits on a four-paneled throne, left hand raised, receiving a god in pleated dress, who introduces a bird-man led by similarly clad god, grabbing bird-man's shoulder. There are an eight-pointed star and mace between the two, and a crescent moon between enthroned god and first approaching god. All the gods wear simple divine miters.

Akkadian seals depicting the bird-man brought to trial before god are commonly related to the myth of the Anzû bird, who stole the tablets of destiny from Enki/Ea (in the Sumerian version of the myth) or Enlil (in the Akkadian version), and was subsequently slain by Ninurta.<sup>36</sup> Wiggermann proposed a different identification of the bird figure as Enmešarra ("lord [of all] me"), since the bird part of the bird-man is not that of an eagle but an aquatic bird; and since the bird-man is not included in the official iconography of Lagaš, which the Anzû bird should be.<sup>37</sup>

**Fig. 42: IAA 1965-86**, on Porada's card 125, in red no. 5

Greenish serpentinite, 18x9.5 mm, non-perforated. Presentation scene: a human figure, holding branch in the left hand, is seated on a simple throne with a short back-rest. Approaching the seated figure are two figures in pleated (?) dress raising right hand in adoration, branch between them.

The seal may be paralleled with Boehmer 1965, fig. 660 (pp. 113-114), dated Akkadisch III and fig. 710 from Ur (p. 125), dated Post-Akkadian. Porada dated the seal into the Post-Akkadian period.

<sup>36</sup> Green 1993-1997: 249.

<sup>37</sup> Wiggermann 1993-1997: 223, 242.

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## Die Sammlung Friedrich und Maria Sarre

Hans Ulrich Steymans

Edith Porada bespricht in ihrer Dissertation drei Rollsiegel, die sie „Sarre 1“, „Sarre 2“ und „Sarre 3“ nennt. Es handelt sich um Siegel, die Anfang der dreißiger Jahre zur Sammlung des Ehepaares Friedrich und Maria Sarre in Berlin gehörten. Das von Edith Porada „Sarre 1“ genannte Siegel ist infolge der geschichtlichen Verwerfungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in die Privatsammlung von Othmar Keel in Freiburg/Schweiz gelangt. Es befindet sich seit 1988 als Dauerleihgabe in den Sammlungen Bibel+Orient, die der Universität Freiburg/Schweiz gehören, und trägt die Inventarnummer S(ammlung)K(eel) 1988.8 (Zeichnung auf dem Einband dieses Buches, Fotos **Abb. 2** und **Abb. 3**). Wie es unter den Sammlern von Hand zu Hand ging, Lebensunterhalt sicherte und Begehrlichkeiten weckte, ist eine erzählenswerte Geschichte.

Dieser Aufsatz möchte die Geschichte der drei akkad-zeitlichen Siegel erzählen, die Edith Porada aus der Sammlung Friedrich und Maria Sarre in ihre Dissertation aufgenommen hat. Darüber hinaus soll die Lebensgeschichte dieser Sammler nachgezeichnet werden. Ihre Rollsiegelsammlung gibt es nicht mehr. Es gelang in den Nachforschungen für diesen Aufsatz nicht, für jedes Siegel der Sammlung aufzuklären, wie es aussah und wohin es gelangt ist. Jene wenigen, von denen der derzeitige Aufenthalt herauszufinden war oder von denen es veröffentlichte Fotos gibt, werden hier gezeigt und besprochen. Bei meinen Nachforschungen halfen mir die teils mündlichen, teils schriftlichen Informationen von Thomas Sarre, ein Enkel von Friedrich Sarre, Martin Flashar und Jens Kröger, Freunde der Familie Sarre, Micaela und Günter Puhze, in deren Galerie Günter Puhze GmbH Kleinodien der Sammlung Sarre gehütet wurden und werden, sowie Othmar Keel, der neben dem akkad-zeitlichen Siegel noch eines aus neuassyrischer Zeit, das ehemals zur Sammlung Sarre gehörte, nach Freiburg/CH gebracht hat.

Zunächst zeichnet dieser Aufsatz die Lebensgeschichte von Friedrich und Maria Sarre und das Schicksal ihrer Sammlungen nach. Dann rücken die drei akkadzeitlichen Siegel aus der Sammlung in den Blickpunkt, die Edith Porada besprochen hat. Ihre Ausführungen zu jedem Siegel in ihrer

Doktorarbeit werden verbunden mit der Geschichte des Siegels im 20. Jahrhundert. Nicht nur das Siegel „Sarre 1“ hat einen Bezug zu Othmar Keel und Freiburg/CH, auch „Sarre 3“ ist indirekt mit der Schweizer Sammlung verbunden und mit dem Kunsthistoriker, Sammler und Museumsgründer Elie Borowski, der Verkäufe aus der Sammlung Sarre vermittelte. Edith Porada verwendete „Sarre 3“ darüber hinaus für ihre Deutung eines Bildmotivs, das zu ihrer Zeit als „Rind mit der Flügeltür“ bezeichnet wurde. Ihre Entdeckung, auf dem Rind sei in Wirklichkeit ein Tempel oder Schrein angebracht, blieb in der Forschung unbeachtet und wurde in den sechziger Jahren noch einmal gemacht (Amiet, 1960a). Der Aufenthaltsort von „Sarre 2“ ist unbekannt. Edith Porada beschrieb das Siegel in ihrer Doktorarbeit und verglich es mit einem ähnlichen aus der Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, so dass man ahnen kann, was darauf abgebildet ist. Im letzten Teil dieses Aufsatzes werden jene auffindbaren Siegel vorgestellt, die 1932 in einer Ausstellung der Sammlung Friedrich und Maria Sarre im Städelschen Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt am Main gezeigt wurden.

### *Friedrich und Maria Sarre*

Friedrich Sarre war der Spross einer ursprünglich in Metz ansässigen Hugenottenfamilie. Sein Vorfahr Pierre Sarre (1655–1739) wanderte Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts in Brandenburg-Preußen ein, fand in Buchholz bei Berlin eine Heimstatt und arbeitete als Gärtner. Sein Sohn Philippe (1696–1780) wirkte ab 1749 als Gärtner am Hofe Friedrichs II. (1712–1786) in Sanssouci. Die Familienlinie ging weiter mit dem Seifensieders Jean Henri Sarre (1786–1863) und dessen Gemahlin, Caroline Friederike Wilhelmine geb. Pöhn (1789–1863). Deren Sohn, Theodor André Sarre (1816–1893), trat 1848 in das Kupfer- und Messingwerk von Carl Justus Heckmann (1786–1878) ein. 1853 heiratete er dessen älteste Tochter Mathilde (1830–1879). 1869 zog sich Heckmann aus dem Geschäftsleben zurück und übergab die Leitung des Kupfer- und Messingwerks seinen beiden Söhnen August und Friedrich sowie seinem Schwiegersohn Theodor Sarre. Für Theodor Sarre errichtete Heckmann zusätzlich ein Bankgeschäft und überließ ihm die vorpommersche Zuckerfabrik Stralsund mit den dazugehörigen Gütern Dewin und Voigdehagen sowie das im Oderbruch gelegene Rittergut Herzershof. Der kunstbegeisterte Theodor Sarre vererbte dem am 22. Juni 1865 in Berlin geborenen Friedrich Sarre finanzielle Mittel, die ihm das Sammeln von Kunstwerken erlaubten.

Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945) studierte Kunstgeschichte und unternahm zwischen 1895 und 1908 Forschungsreisen nach Konstantinopel, Kleinasien und in den Vorderen Orient, die zum Teil von seiner Tante Maria Elisabeth Wentzel-Heckmann (1833–1914), der jüngsten Tochter des Carl Justus Heckmann, finanziert wurden. Sein Interesse galt islamischer Archi-

tektur und Kunst. Zweimal bereiste er Persien und dann das Gebiet der islamischen Kultur von Indien und Turkestan bis nach Spanien. Bei seinen Reisen und auf dem europäischen Kunstmarkt erwarb er islamische Kunst und orientalisches Kunstgewerbe. Seine Erwerbungen machten ihn zum bedeutendsten Sammler islamischer Kunst in Deutschland (Kröger 2008, 2009).

Einen Namen machte sich Friedrich Sarre durch seine von 1911 bis 1913 mit dem Archäologen Ernst Herzfeld unternommenen Ausgrabungen in der einstigen Kalifen-Residenz Samarra. Über ein Vierteljahrhundert – von 1904 bis 1921 ehrenamtlich und von 1922 bis 1931 als beamteter Direktor – leitete er die Islamische Abteilung des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums, das seit 1951 Bode-Museum heißt. Inmitten der Inflationszeit (1922) schenkte er der Abteilung seine wertvolle Sammlung islamischer Kunst und Altertümer, die 1904 als Leihgabe an die Berliner Museen gekommen war (Nehls 1998). Heute ist die Sammlung im Museum für Islamische Kunst im Pergamonmuseum untergebracht.

Aus universalgeschichtlichem Interesse sammelte Friedrich Sarre vorderasiatische Roll- und Stempelsiegel und altiranische Bronzen aus Luristan. Seine Luristan-Bronzen sind publiziert (Potratz 1968), seine Rollsiegel leider nicht. Zwei Rollsiegel seiner Sammlung waren von Otto Weber in dessen 1920 erschienen Buch abgebildet worden (1920, Bd. 2, 51 Abb. 229 = **Abb. 3**, Tafel 93 Abb. 463a = **Abb. 11**). „Sarre 3“ war aus dem Artikel von Dietrich Opitz von 1930/31 bekannt (**Abb. 5b**).

Erika Bleibtreu hat mich darauf hingewiesen, dass Edith Porada bei keinem der Sarre-Siegel in ihrer Doktorarbeit Angaben zu Material und Maßen macht. Hatte sie die Siegel nicht vermessen? Konnte sie das Material nicht bestimmen? Da „Sarre 2“ anscheinend nie publiziert worden ist, muss sie das Siegel während ihres Aufenthaltes in Berlin gesehen und also Zugang zum Hause Sarre gehabt haben, sonst hätte sie es nicht beschreiben können. Edith Porada berichtet (1995a; 1995b), dass ihr Verwandter Moritz Sobernheim sie noch in Wien zu einem Vortrag von Ernst Herzfeld mitnahm. Herzfeld hatte mit Friedrich Sarre in Samarra gegraben (Herzfeld/Sarre 1920; Sarre 1904-1910) und Georg Hahn, in dessen Haus Edith Porada während ihres Berlinaufenthalts wohnte, hatte für den Transport der Funde ins Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum bezahlt, das Friedrich Sarre damals ehrenamtlich leitete. Sobernheim war der Bruder von Georg Hahns Gattin Frida und Professor für arabische Literaturgeschichte und Islamkunde (Kröger 2005). Edith hat wohl über die Verwandtschaft in Berlin und deren Interesse am alten und islamischen Orient Zugang zur Familie Sarre erhalten.

Verheiratet war Friedrich Sarre seit dem 20. Oktober 1900 mit Maria Humann (1875–1970), der Tochter des Ausgräbers von Pergamon, Carl Humann (1839–1896). Durch das Interesse von Maria Sarre entstand eine thematische Sammlung von Tierdarstellungen. Sarre sowie befreundete

Wissenschaftler brachten für sie von ihren Reisen Tierfiguren aus verschiedenen Regionen und Epochen des Orients mit, so dass daraus im Laufe der Jahre eine stattliche Sammlung von Kleinplastiken wurde. Die Galerie Günter Puhze bewahrte bei meinem Besuch im Sommer 2012 archaische Stempelsiegel in Tierform aus der Sammlung Sarre samt den Karteikarten auf, auf denen Maria Sarre die Tiergestalten liebevoll abgezeichnet hat (Puhze 2012, **Abb. a** und **Abb. 1**).

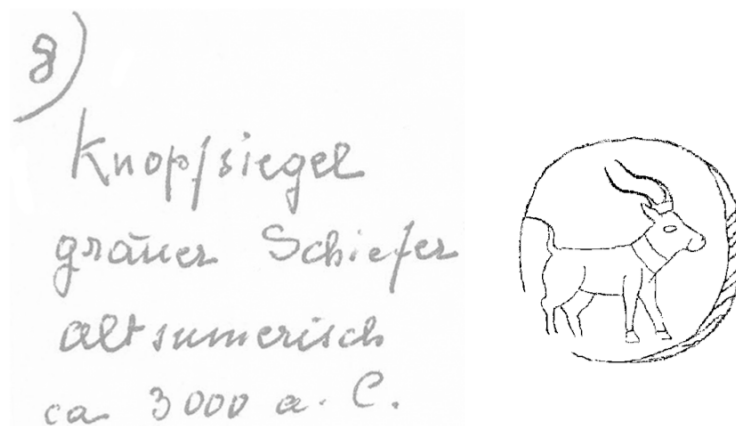


Abb. a: Karteikarte zu einem Siegel der Sammlung Sarre mit Beschriftung und Zeichnung von Maria Sarre. Darstellung eines Mufflons. Der Sammler, von dem die Galerie Puhze die Objekte erworben hat, erzählte, dass er Marie-Luise Sarre persönlich gekannt und die Tierfiguren und -bilder von ihr erworben hat. Er sagte auch, dass Frau Maria Sarre die Karteikarten mit den Zeichnungen erstellt hat. (Bild und Abbildungserlaubnis Günter und Micaela Puhze, Galerie Puhze GmbH, Freiburg i. Br.).

Einzelne Werke oder Werkgruppen der Sammlung von Maria und Friedrich Sarre waren wiederholt zu sehen. 1910 fand die Ausstellung „Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst“ in München, 1929 „Chinesische Kunst“ in Berlin, 1931 eine über Persische Kunst in London sowie 1932 die Ausstellung F. und M. Sarre in Frankfurt a. M. statt (Kröger 2009; Sarre/Martin 1912/1985; Sarre 1923; Städtisches Kunstinstitut 1932; Schmidt 1935). Für die während und nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg lebenswichtigen Verbindungen in die Schweiz ist bedeutsam, dass vom 10. Mai bis 19. Juli 1936 im Kunstgewerbemuseum in Zürich die Ausstellung „Iranische Kunst“ stattfand, für deren Katalog Friedrich Sarre den Einleitungstext geschrieben hat (1936, 8-19).

Das Ehepaar Sarre hatte vier Kinder, Friedrich(Fritz)-Carl, Marie-Luise, genannt Puppi, Hans Joachim sowie Irene, und bewohnte eine 1905 erbaute

Turmvilla in der Kaiserstraße 39 (heute Spitzweggasse 6) in Neubabelsberg. Das Gebäude war angefüllt mit Kunstwerken aus langer Reise-, Forschungs- und Sammlertätigkeit. Friedrich Sarre gehörte dem SeSiSo-Club<sup>1</sup> an, einem Gesprächszirkel zum Austausch von Menschen mit Interesse an einer freiheitlichen und sozialen Gesellschaftsordnung, der sich in der Wohnung von Hanna Solf zu Teegesellschaften traf. Dem Kreis um Wilhelm und Hanna Solf diente Marie-Luise Sarre (1904–1999) als Nachrichtenübermittlerin zu regimiekritischen Wehrmachtsoffizieren. Man versuchte vom Nationalsozialismus Verfolgten die Flucht in die Schweiz zu ermöglichen. Marie-Luise Sarre wurde 1943 in der Schweiz verhaftet, nach Deutschland gebracht und schließlich im KZ Ravensbrück interniert, wo auch Hanna Solf vom 15. März bis nach dem 20. Juli 1944 gefangen gehalten wurde (Schad 2001, 183–187).

Der Widerstandskämpfer Helmuth James Graf von Moltke berichtete in einem Brief an seine Frau Freya vom 20.7.1940 über einen Abendbesuch bei Familie Sarre in Babelsberg am Vortag. Er erinnerte sich zudem an Garten-Spaziergänge mit den Schwestern Irene und Marie-Luise, die auch er Puppi nannte (von Moltke 2007, 49, 158, 599–605).

Hans-Joachim Sarre (1906–1996) wurde Arzt und wirkte schließlich als Professor für Medizin an der Universität Freiburg im Breisgau. Friedrich-Carl Sarre hatte als Rechtsanwalt mit Eduard Heinrich Waetjen und Helmuth James von Moltke in Berlin eine Kanzlei-Gemeinschaft. Eduard Waetjen heiratete Irene Sarre (1910–2004). Maria und Marie-Luise Sarre konnten Dank der Hilfe amerikanischer Freunde im September 1945 nach Ascona emigrieren (Brief von Elie Borowski im Anhang).

Während des Krieges ließ Friedrich Sarre Kunstwerke ins Ausland bringen. Wie das möglich war, berichtet Eduard Waetjen in einem Brief vom 2. Dezember 1945 an den Direktor des Kunstgewerbemuseums Zürich, Johannes Itten (Museum Rietberg Zürich, Archiv):

„Oberst Hansen, ein Mitglied des engsten Kreises von Admiral Canaris, der eine hervorragende Rolle am 20. Juli 1944 gespielt und dafür als einer der ersten von den Henkern Adolf Hitlers umgebracht wurde, hatte uns damals den Transport wertvoller Teile der Sammlung von Prof. Sarre über den Kurierweg als „Umzugsgut“ gestattet. ... Ich wurde ... auf Ersuchen von General Beck und der Leitung des Kreisauer Kreises (Graf Moltke, Graf York von Wartenberg, Adam von Trott, Hembach, Gerstenmaier u. a.) dem ich als Mitbegründer angehörte, im Januar 1944 mit Hilfe der besonderen Möglichkeiten des Admiral Canaris und mit dessen und Oberst Hansens Kenntnis nach der Schweiz entsandt, um von dort aus über Mr. Allen Dulles für die am 20. Juli 1944 beteiligten Gruppen – gemeinsam mit Dr. Gisevius – die Verbindung nach Washington zu halten. ... Ab Juni 1944 konnte ich nicht mehr nach Deutschland zurückfahren, da ein Schein-Haftbefehl wegen Vorbereitung des Hochverrats von der

<sup>1</sup> Die Abkürzung leitet sich aus den Familiennamen der Vorsitzenden ab: Hans von Se-eckt, Walter Simons und Wilhelm Solf.

Reichsführung S.S. gegen mich erlassen war. Anschliessend an den 20. Juli habe ich dann auch offen mit Deutschland gebrochen, meldete mich als politischer Flüchtling bei der Bundespolizei, die den gesamten Sachverhalt in ihren Akten hat.“

Friedrich Sarre starb am 1. Juni 1945 nur wenige Tage nach Beendigung des Zweiten Weltkrieges kurz vor seinem achtzigsten Geburtstag in seinem Haus in Neubabelsberg. Seine Grabstätte befindet sich auf dem Alten Friedhof in Klein-Glienicke (Potsdam). Kurz darauf requirierten die Alliierten das Haus für die Potsdamer Konferenz. Die Räumung begann am 5. Juni 1945. Möbel und Hausrat wurden auf eine Müllhalde gekippt. Was von der Sammlung im Haus verblieben war, wurde mitsamt der Bibliothek und den persönlichen Unterlagen zum Leben und der Sammlung des Ehepaars Sarre zerstört.

Aufsehen erregte in Zürich nach dem Krieg die Tatsache, dass Eduard Waetjen 1943 fünf große Kisten aus dem Besitz von Friedrich Sarre im Luftschutzbunker des Zürcher Kunstgewerbemuseums einlagern durfte, die sich im Herbst 1945 noch dort befanden. Das Archiv des Rietbergmuseums Zürich verwahrt die Korrespondenz des damaligen Direktors des Museums, Johannes Itten, mit Maria Sarre bezüglich der Gegenstände, die für Friedrich Sarre bzw. Eduard Waetjen, seinen Schwiegersohn, eingelagert waren, sowie die Korrespondenz und Zeitungsartikel betreffend der Anschuldigungen seitens des Zürcher Gemeinderats Otto Schütz (Sozialdemokratische Partei), Johannes Itten habe die Kunstgegenstände als deutsches Vermögen in der Schweiz absichtlich nicht angemeldet. In den Kisten befanden sich u.a. persische Buchdeckel und Miniaturen, Teppichstücke, Bronzen aus Luristan, ein frühpersisches Tongefäß und Terrakotten aus China, Japan und Griechenland, jedoch keine Rollsiegel. Das ganze Depot wurde am 10. Oktober 1945 polizeilich überprüft und freigegeben (Museum Rietberg, Zürich, Archiv Dossier Itten). Ab 1945 war Maria Sarre gezwungen, die ins Ausland geretteten Teile der Sammlung, nach und nach zu verkaufen. Zusätzlich zu dem 1922 geschenkten Bestand erwarben die Berliner Museen von 1958 bis 1986 weitere Objekte aus der Sammlung Sarre. Sie machen einen wichtigen Teil im heutigen Museum für Islamische Kunst der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin aus (Kröger 2009).

#### *Die Siegel aus der Sammlung Sarre in Edith Poradas Doktorarbeit*

##### Sarre 1

Das Siegel, welches Edith Porada in ihrer Doktorarbeit Sarre 1 nennt und als Nr. 109 bespricht, hat der schweizerische Sammler Rudolf Schmidt 1946 zusammen mit einem neuassyrischen von Maria Sarre gekauft. Das akkadzeitliche Siegel trägt heute in Freiburg/Schweiz die Inventarnummer



SK 1988.8 (Privatsammlung Othmar Keel). Es ist im Katalog der vorderasiatischen Rollsiegel der Sammlungen Bibel+Orient als Nr. 66 veröffentlicht (Keel-Leu/Teissier 2004, 57f und 421). In der Ausstellung des Städtischen Museums von 1932 wurde es als Nr. 203 gezeigt. In zwei Briefen an Dr. Rudolf Schmidt (1900–1970) stellte der Orientalist Dr. Elie Borowski (1913–2003) den Kontakt zwischen dem Sammler und Maria Sarre her und macht so den Verkauf der Siegel möglich. Diese Briefe befinden sich in den Archivalien, welche die Universität Freiburg zusammen mit den Siegeln von der Erbin Rudolf Schmidts, Erica Peters Schmidt (1899–1988), am 17. Mai 1981 als Schenkung erhalten hat. Eine Abschrift der Briefe ist diesem Aufsatz im Anhang beigelegt. In einem Artikel anlässlich der Eröffnung seines Bible Lands Museums in Jerusalem sollte Elie Borowski später von seinen Kontakten zu Rudolf Schmidt und Maria Sarre erzählen, denn als Dank für die Vermittlung schenke ihm die Witwe des Berliner Sammlers jenes Siegel, das Edith Porada in ihrer Doktorarbeit Sarre 3 nennt (Borowski 1995).

Elie Borowski hat in Mir (Weißrussland), Berlin, Florenz und Rom studiert und war beim Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkriegs Student der Assyriologie und altorientalischen Kunst an der École du Louvre und der École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris. Durch Vermittlung des Comité d'Entente des Anciens Combattants et Volontaires Juifs de France trat er im August 1939 in die polnische Einheit der französischen Armee ein. Diese Einheit zog sich 1940 vor den deutschen Truppen in die Schweiz zurück. Das Regiment wurde in der Schweiz interniert. Ende 1943 wurde Elie Borowski in ein Militärlager in der Nähe von Genf verlegt. Er bekam die Möglichkeit, zeitweilig im Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Genf zu arbeiten und an der Universität Genf eine Doktorarbeit über altorientalische Zylinder- und Stempelsiegel in schweizerischen Sammlungen zu schreiben. In den Studien zur Doktorarbeit lernte er Dr. Rudolf Schmidt kennen, der zu jener Zeit eine kleine Sammlung von vorderasiatischen Siegeln besaß. Am 7. Dezember 1944 erhielt Elie Borowski eine Einladung von Rudolf Schmidt, ihn in Solothurn zu besuchen und seine Sammlung zu studieren. Nach Erhalt der Erlaubnis durch die Militärbehörden mietete Borowski im April 1945 ein Zimmer in Basel und arbeitete an der Sammlung Schmidt und seiner Doktorarbeit. Im Juli 1945 reichte er seine Doktorarbeit an der Universität Genf ein und Dr. Schmidt versprach, die Veröffentlichung finanziell zu unterstützen. Um seinen Lebensunterhalt zu verdienen, begann Elie Borowski mit Antiquitäten zu handeln. Da die Doktorarbeit in Ascona gedruckt wurde, brachten ihn die Aufenthalte zur Drucklegung dort in Kontakt mit der Witwe von Prof. Friedrich Sarre, die seit Kriegsende in Ascona wohnte. Im März 1946 vermittelte Elie Borowski den Kauf des Siegels „Sarre 1“ durch Rudolf Schmidt. Das wundervolle Rollsiegel gehörte im 3. Jahrtausend vor Chr. dem Sohn oder der Tochter des Königs von Akkade

Narām-Sîn, namens Ukīn-Ulmaš (Keel-Leu/Teissier 2004, xiiif; Keel 1998, 48f).

Als Rudolf Schmidt starb, erbte dessen Schwester die Sammlung. Im Juni 1978 erhielten Othmar Keel und Urs Winter die Möglichkeit, die Zylindersiegel der Sammlung im Haus von Erica Peters Schmidt in Kilchberg am Zürichsee abzurollen. 1980 hat sich Frau Peters Schmidt im Einverständnis mit ihren Söhnen entschlossen, die Sammlung samt der dazugehörigen Dokumentation der Universität Freiburg/CH zu schenken. Zum Zeitpunkt der Schenkung umfasste die Sammlung Schmidt 253 Zylindersiegel, vier gesiegelte Keilschrifttafeln, und 84 Stempelsiegel. Das akkadzeitliche Rollsiegel Sarre 1 war bei Othmar Keels letzten Besuch in Kilchberg kurz vor dem Tod von Frau Peters im Oktober 1988 noch in einer Vitrine ausgestellt. Alle anderen waren in Schubladen untergebracht, und diese hat Frau Peters-Schmidt am 17. Mai 1981 vor dem Cartierhof in Solothurn, wo ihr 1970 verstorbener Bruder gelebt hat, an Othmar Keel übergeben und die Schenkungsurkunde unterschrieben. Die Schenkungsurkunde brachte Othmar Keel dann nach Freiburg, wo der damalige Rektor Bernhard Schnyder sie gegengezeichnet hat. Die Schenkung umfasste ein neuassyrisches Siegel aus der ehemaligen Sammlung Sarre. Es ist das im dritten Abschnitt dieses Aufsatzes besprochene Rollsiegel VR 1981.100 (**Abb. 10**). Die mit der Schenkung übergebene Dokumentation zum Aufbau der Sammlung umfasst u.a. 140 Briefe von Elie Borowski, der erste vom 8. Dezember 1944, der letzte vom 11. November 1961 (Keel-Leu/Teissier 2004, xiiif; Keel 1998, 49).

Das Siegel Sarre 1, das im Wohnraum von Frau Peters-Schmidt zusammen mit anderen Antiquitäten in einer Vitrine ausgestellt war, ist 1981 nicht nach Freiburg gekommen. Aufgrund einer testamentarischen Verfügung wurde es im Dezember 1988 Othmar Keel übergeben. Edith Porada präsentiert Sarre 1 (**Abb. 2**), „auf dem zu beiden Seiten der Schrift zwei Löwen sich in/auf ihren Hinterfüssen aufrecht stehende Arni-Büffel verbeißen“ (Porada 1934, 34), im Kapitel „Erweiterte Tierkampfbilder“ ihrer Dissertation als Nr. 109. Auf den Siegeln dieser Motivreihe treten Löwen an Stelle der Helden. Der Löwe, sonst Gegner des Helden, erfasst den Arni-Büffel mit seinen Pranken. Die antithetischen, kämpfenden Paare auf diesen Siegeln „wirken in ihrer geschlossenen Komposition wie ein von einem Renaissancekünstler entworfenes Wappen ...“ (ebd.).

Die junge Doktorandin vermerkt weder die Publikation des Fotos dieses Siegels bei Weber (1920, Bd. 2, 51 Nr. 229) noch im Katalog des Städelischen Kunstinstituts (1932, Tafel IV Nr. 192). Dort war das Siegel folgendermaßen beschrieben:

„Nr. 192 Kampf zwischen Löwen und Büffeln. Die Inschrift ist die Widmung eines Nachfolgers des Königs Naram Sin an den Gott Akkad. Nefrit. H. 38 mm. Dm. 27 mm. Babylonisch Ca. 2500 a. C. Aus Mossul“ (Katalog des Städelischen Kunstinstituts 1932, 27).

Das Siegel ist auch im Buch *Altertumskunde des Zweistromlandes* von Viktor Christian, dem Doktorvater von Edith Porada (Tafel 356, 3) und bei Eckhart Unger, *Sumerische und akkadische Kunst* (1926, 39), abgebildet (Borowski 1947, 118). Der Katalog von Hildi Keel-Leu beschreibt das Siegel mit folgenden Worten (2004, 57, Nr. 66):

„Konkaver Zylinder; Ränder geringfügig bestossen; grünscharer Serpentin; 39,4 x 25,5-27,3 mm. Akkad-Zeit, Siegel des Ukinulmaš, Sohn Naram-Sins, ca. 2260-2237 v. Chr. Tierkampf, zwei axialsymmetrisch und spiegelbildlich angeordnete Zweiergruppen: Ein Inschriftenkasten wird rechts und links flankiert von einem Löwen mit Kopf en face, der einen Arnibüffel mit nach hinten geworfenem Kopf in den Hals beisst. Beide Vorderbeine des Arnibüffels sind dargestellt, die Mähne des Löwen lässt die Schulter frei, die Pranke ist sternförmig gebildet, der Schwanz fällt S-förmig zwischen den Hinterbeinen herunter. Grabsticheltechnik; perfekt modellierender Schnitt mit Innenzeichnung (Bauchhaare des Löwen) und Angabe der Muskulatur; Löwenmähne in Stufen kastenförmig stilisiert.“

Edith Porada und Hildi Keel-Leu beschreiben beide das Siegel so, dass die Inschrift sich in der Mitte der beiden Kampfesdarstellungen befindet. In dieser Anordnung der Bildelemente zeigen auch Eckhart Unger (1926, 39) und Viktor Christian (1940, Tafel 356, 3) sowie Rainer Boehmer (1965, Nr. 763, Abb. 256) und Karin Rohn (2011, Tafel 25 Nr. 222) die Siegelabrolung. Das ist nicht selbstverständlich. Weber (1920, Bd. 2, 51 Nr. 229) hat die Abrolung so fotografiert, dass die beiden Kampfszenen in der Mitte und die Inschrift am Rand stehen (**Abb. 3**). Elie Borowski fand die Anordnung mit der Inschrift am Rand angemessener (1947, 120).

In den dreißiger und vierziger Jahren las man den Namen des Siegelhabers Sin-ulmaš, heute Ukīn-Ulmaš. Die Siegelauufschrift gehört zum Typus der Widmungssiegel, d.h. die Inschrift besteht aus einer Widmung mit *dumu-zu* „(ist) dein Sohn“ mit sumerischem Possessivpronomen der 2. Person und Götteranrufung. Man kann das Zeichen ZU auch als akkadisches Possessivpronomen der 3. Person Singular (*su* Allophon für *šu*) auffassen (DUMU-*sú* / *mārī=šu* / „sein Sohn“).<sup>2</sup> Die Umschrift lautet (Edzard 1968/9, 15 Nr. 21.1; Krebernik/Uehlinger 2004, 364):

<sup>d</sup>*na-ra-am*-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU, DINGIR *a-kà-dè<sup>ki</sup>*, *u-ki-in-ul-maš*, DUMU-ZU/*sú*

Göttlicher Narām-Sîn, Gott der Stadt Akkade, Ukīn-Ulmaš (ist) dein/sein Sohn.

Das Zeichen *maš* steht in der Siegelinschrift auf dem Kopf und der Determinativ KI hinter der Ortsbezeichnung Akkade hat nicht in den Kasten für das Epitheton des Narāmsîn gepasst. Es steht als erstes Zeichen im Kasten vor DUMU-ZU/*sú*, von diesem durch einen senkrechten Strich getrennt. Die

<sup>2</sup> *sú* ist eine graphische Variante von *su*, das sich nur durch einen zusätzlichen Keil unterscheidet und *su* ist altakkadische Orthographie für *šu*.

Inschrift bezeugt die akkadische Sprache in den Personennamen Narām-Sîn, „Geliebter des (Mondgottes) Sin“ (*rāmum* N-Stamm), und Ukīn-Ulmaš, „Der Ulmaš (Tempel = die Göttin Ištar) hat ihn (den Herrscher oder seine Herrschaft) als wahr/zuverlässig/recht erwiesen“ (*kānu* D-Stamm). É-Ulmaš war der Name der Tempel der Ištar in Akkade.<sup>3</sup>

Das Siegel ist wegen seiner vorzüglichen Ausführung und der namentlichen Erwähnung des Königs Narām-Sîn und eines seiner Kinder unendlich wertvoll. Es hat an Elie Borowski genagt, den Verkauf dieses Siegel vermittelt zu haben, aber finanziell nicht in der Lage gewesen zu sein, es selbst zu erwerben (Borowski 1995, 12). Um 1990 – vor der 1992 erfolgten Eröffnung seines Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem – meldete sich Elie Borowski aus Genf zu einem Besuch der Sammlungen Bibel+Orient in Fribourg an. Othmar Keel erinnert sich:<sup>4</sup>

„Ich dachte, er will die Rollsiegelsammlung sehen, bei deren Aufbau er im Auftrag von Rudolf Schmidt wesentlich beteiligt war. Mit diesem Auftrag hatte seine Tätigkeit als Antiquitätenhändler begonnen, und dieser Tätigkeit verdankt das Bible Lands Museum letztlich seine Entstehung. Ein Blick zurück auf die Anfänge! Aber meine Frau traute dieser nostalgischen Interpretation des überraschenden Besuchs nicht ganz. Ich holte ihn am Bahnhof ab und schon beim Aussteigen begann er von seinem Museum zu reden und wie dieses einen Beitrag zum Frieden im Nahen Osten leisten solle. Am Institut angekommen, schloss ich den Panzerschrank mit den Schmidt-Siegeln auf. Er wollte nur das Sarre-Siegel sehen und sagte dann überraschend, es gehöre ihm. Er hätte im Juli 1945 Dr. Rudolf Schmidt mittels eines teuren Telefonanrufs bewogen, das Sarre-Siegel für einen sehr hohen Preis zu erwerben, weil er selber damals nicht in der Lage war, es zu kaufen. Der Verkauf habe Frau Sarre und ihrer Tochter, deren finanzielle Situation sehr prekär war, ermöglicht, in der Schweiz Fuß zu fassen und Frau Sarre sei ihm sehr dankbar gewesen. Er habe eine sentimentale Bindung an dieses Stück und es gehöre ihm. Er sei bereit, dem Institut (er wusste nicht, dass es nicht Eigentum des Instituts war) einen größeren Betrag zu überweisen, aus Gefälligkeit, nicht weil er es kaufen wolle, denn es gehöre ihm. Meine Frau war schon sehr besorgt, ich würde auf diese Argumentation eingehen, aber ich entgegnete ihm: Ich hätte auch eine sentimentale Bindung an dieses Stück. Frau Peters-Schmidt habe es in ihrem letzten Willen mir persönlich vermacht und ich könne es ihm unmöglich schenken. Seine Reaktion: ‚Sind Sie mir böse?‘ Ich sagte: ‚Nein, jeder hat so seinen Standpunkt und warum sollten Sie nicht den Versuch machen.‘ Er: ‚Besuchen Sie mich in Jerusalem! Auf Wiedersehen!‘ Das habe ich dann wiederholt gemacht und wurde immer sehr freundlich empfangen.“

Sarre 1 gehört heute zu den sorgfältig gehüteten Glanzstücken in Fribourg/CH.

<sup>3</sup> Für Hinweise zum Ulmaš und zum rechten Verständnis des Namens Ukīn-Ulmaš danke ich Manfred Krebernik.

<sup>4</sup> Persönliche Mitteilung von Othmar Keel.

## Sarre 2

Unauffindbar scheint Sarre 2, in der Doktorarbeit Nr. 316. Ob das Siegel in die Schweiz gekommen ist, ob Maria Sarre es verkauft oder verschenkt hat, war nicht zu ermitteln. Es wird hier versucht, es anhand der Beschreibung von Edith Porada zu rekonstruieren. Dazu dient Poradas typologischer Vergleich des Siegels mit ähnlichen Bildern in den beiden Kapiteln der Dissertation, in denen Edith Porada die Einführungsszenen vor Vegetationsgöttheiten bespricht. Das eine Kapitel heißt „*Ištar als Herrin der Vegetation*“ und umfasst die Nummern 301-310 ihres Siegelverzeichnisses. Das andere Kapitel heißt „*Ea*“ und umfasst die Nummern 311-342 ihres Siegelverzeichnisses. Sie schreibt zu Sarre 2 / Nr. 316, dass es Nr. 301 sehr ähnelt. Die meisten der behandelten Siegel sind bei Boehmer oder Rohn abgebildet.<sup>5</sup> Das Siegel Nr. 301 (Bibliothèque Nationale 80) ist Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1258 Abb. 537 (**Abb. 4**).<sup>6</sup>

Porada schreibt (1934, 120f. mit den Korrekturen des Exemplars der Universitätsbibliothek Wien):

„Auf No. 301 (Steatit 36 : 24) ist die auf einem hohen ~~Getreidehaufen~~ (handschriftlich darüber) *aus Korbgeflecht verfertigten Thron* sitzende Göttin, aus deren Schultern Ähren wachsen und die eine weitere Ähre in der Hand hält, Gegenstand der Anbetung. [...]

No. 316 ist No. 301 sehr ähnlich. Der thronende männliche Gott im Rüschengewand hält drei Ähren in der Hand und sitzt auf einem Thron, der wie auf No. 301 ein Korbgeflecht<sup>7</sup> oder ein Getreidehaufen sein dürfte. Eine Gestalt streckt ihm die geöffneten Handflächen bittend entgegen. Sie ist, wie die drei folgenden Figuren, bärtig, trägt Hörnerkrone und Faltenrock.“

Porada vermerkt, im Gegensatz zu Siegel Nr. 301 aus Paris, wo die thronende Gottheit weiblich ist, habe sie auf Nr. 316 einen Bart. Der thronende Gott ist also männlich. Er ist mit Rüschengewand bekleidet und hält drei Ähren in der Hand. Aus der Beschreibung von Porada ist zu schließen, dass Sarre 2 vier stehende bärtige Figuren mit Hörnerkrone und Faltenrock zeigt.

<sup>5</sup> Bei Boehmer 1965 oder Rohn 2011 findet man die Abbildungen von Poradas Siegeln Nr. 302 (Carnegie, Southesk 1908, Bd. 2, 44f. Q a 22, Tf. III), Nr. 303 (Ward 1910, 133 Abb. 376 Zeichnung), Nr. 304 (Delaporte 1910, 217, Taf. IX, Abb. 79. Bibliothèque Nationale 79), Nr. 306 (Ward 1910, 133 Abb. 374 Zeichnung), Nr. 307 (de Clercq 1888, 94 Taf. XVI Abb. 140), Nr. 309 (Frankfort 1934, Taf. II Abb. g [fälschlich von Porada angegeben als Taf. III Abb. i]), Nr. 310 (Frankfort 1934, Taf. II [fälschlich von Porada angegeben Abb. g, zu verbessern in Abb. i]), Nr. 311 (VA 243 = Moortgat 1940, 101, Taf. 28 Abb. 204), Nr. 313 (de Clercq 1888, 97f., Taf. XVI, Abb. 149), s. den Artikel von Erika Bleibtreu zur Dissertation am Ende dieses Buches.

<sup>6</sup> Weder bei Boehmer noch bei Rohn, aber im Artikel von Erika Bleibtreu am Ende dieses Buches abgebildet, sind Nr. 305, Nr. 308, Nr. 312, Nr. 314, Nr. 315, Nr. 317.

te, von denen die erste mit nach vorgestreckten Armen einen Bittgestus ausführt. Sucht man in Poradas Beschreibungen anderer Siegel nach Ähnlichem, so findet sich ein thronender männlicher Gott im Rüschengewand, vor dem ein Bärtiger mit Faltengewand und Hörnerkrone die Arme bittend vorstreckt auf Nr. 361 (Hahn 85, s. den Artikel von Irit Ziffer **Fig. 24**). Aus der Kombination von Nr. 301 und 361 lässt sich Sarre 2 etwa so rekonstruieren:



Abb. b: Vermutliches Aussehen des Siegelbildes von Sarre 2, rekonstruiert nach Bib. Nat. 80 und Hahn 85, Zeichnung Ulrike Zurkinden.

Wie der Enkel von Friedrich und Maria Sarre, Thomas Sarre, fernmündlich mitteilte, gibt es in der Familie keine Aufzeichnungen darüber, an wen die Rollsiegel der Sammlung ab 1945 vergeben wurden. In seinem Schreiben vom 22. April 2012 äußert er die Annahme, dass seine Tante Marie-Luise Sarre während ihres Lebens in Ascona mit Wissen und Billigung der Familie Stücke an Privatsammler veräußert hat. Wahrscheinlich widerfuhr Sarre 2 dieses Schicksal. Vielleicht hilft dieser Artikel und die Rekonstruktionszeichnung, es aufzufinden.

### Sarre 3

Das Siegel wurde von Dietrich Opitz (1930/31, 59-65 Tafel III Abb. 2 „Archaischer Siegelzylinder [in Privatbesitz]“) publiziert. Opitz gibt an, es sei ihm im Kunsthandel gezeigt worden. Der Besitzer hätte die Abrollung und die Verwendung in seiner Studie erlaubt (ebd., 61 Anm. 4). Opitz beschrieb das Siegel folgendermaßen (s. u. **Abb. d**, wo das Siegelbild so beschnitten ist, dass sich die von Opitz links eingeordnete Szene auf der rechten Bildseite befindet, und **Abb. 5b**, wo die als links stehend beschriebene Szene sich in der Mitte der Abrollung zu sehen ist):

„Es sind zwei Szenen dargestellt: links wird ein kleiner gezeichneter, auf Gesäß gesunkener nackter bärtiger Gott mit Hörnerkappe und einem kegelförmigen Aufsatz dazwischen von einem größer gezeichneten, stehenden Gotte gleichen

Aussehens an dem einen Horn gepackt und offenbar mit einer Keule, die einen tellerartigen Knauf trägt, erschlagen; über ihnen ist das [sternförmige Keilschrift-] Zeichen für „Gott“. Nach rechts schreitet ein ebenso gestalteter Gott, die Arme wie entsetzt erhebend ... und sich umwendend. Er leitet zur zweiten Szene über: in einem großen kelchförmigen Gefäß rührt ein wiederum kleiner dargestellter Gott mit einer Hacke, die aus krumm gebogenem Schaft mit durchgestecktem Blatt und daran angebrachter Querbefestigung besteht – eine Form, die aus dem alten Ägypten bekannt ist –, Asphalt, Lehm oder ähnliches Baumaterial um. Vor ihm erklimmt ein weiterer Gott mit einem Gefäß auf dem Kopf eine geradaufsichtig dargestellte Leiter, die an den Torbau des Heiligtums angelegt ist, wie er uns aus anderen Siegelbildern vertraut ist.<sup>7</sup> Dieser Bau ist noch nicht vollendet; auf ihm sind zwei wieder aus kompositionellen Gründen kleiner gebildete Götter tätig. Der eine links lässt anscheinend an einer Schnur ein Lot herunter; der andere zieht vielleicht in einem Gefäß Baumaterial herauf ...“ (Opitz (1930/31, 61f.).

Vielleicht hat Friedrich Sarre das Siegel verkaufen wollen. Offensichtlich hat er nichts von der Herkunft des Siegels erzählt. Denn sonst hätte Dietrich Opitz nicht über die Rille gemutmaßt, die den Zylinder quer einschneidet (**Abb. 5a** und **b**).

„Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass das Stück nicht ganz fertig geworden ist oder anderweitig verwendet werden sollte, vielleicht war beabsichtigt zwei kleinere Siegel aus ihm zu machen. Dass durch diese Rinne die magische Wirkung des Siegelbildes zerstört werden sollte, ... halte ich nicht für wahrscheinlich.“ (Opitz (1930/31, 62).

Elie Borowski hat von Maria Sarre erfahren, dass Friedrich Sarre das Siegel von einer Bauersfrau im Zweistromland gekauft hat. Die Bauersleute hatten den Siegelzylinder wohl als Spindel verwendet (1995, 13).

Das Siegel gehörte 1932 bei der Ausstellung des Städelschen Kunstinstituts (Städel Museum Frankfurt) zur Sammlung Sarre, auch als Edith Porada es 1933 oder 1934 in Berlin in ihre Dissertation aufnahm. Heute gehört es dem Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem. Anlässlich der Eröffnung des Israel Museums organisierte das Samuel Bronfman Biblical and Archaeological Museum 1965 eine Sonderausstellung der Borowski and Hahn-Voss Collections. Im Katalog dazu erscheint Sarre 3 auf *Plate IV* als Siegel h mit folgender Beschreibung:

Cylinder seal (Pl. IV h) Dark blue nephrite – length 4 cm. – Akkad Period, c. 2330 B.C.E. Two scenes: A god fights a deity with his mace, while another god stands with upraised hands. The second scene represents the construction of a tower by six men (Kahane 1965, 48 no. 23).

Als das Bible Lands Museum öffnete, erhielt Sarre 3 die Siegelnummer 377 und die BLMJ-Nummer 2784. Weil sich die doppelte Inventarisierung

<sup>7</sup> Z. B. VA 3878, Weber 1920, Bd. 2, Nr. 430.

als verwirrend erwies, führt man es heute nur noch als BLMJ 2784. Elie Borowski erinnert sich, wie er in den Besitz des Siegels gelangte (1995, 12f.):

In July 1945, I was invited by Maria Sarre, the daughter of Carl Humanns (sic) of Pergamons Altar fame, to come to Ascona where she lived on the estate of Baron van der Heydt. There we examined some famous cylinders the Sarres wished to sell, since the family was experiencing financial hardship. The seals were collected by her late husband, Friedrich Sarre, ... while exploring the ancient Near East with E. Herzfeld. We established the value of the major items. I telephoned long distance and told Dr. Schmidt to consult Otto Weber's book, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, Leipzig, 1920, where he would find the splendid Akkadian cylinder seal depicting two antithetic lions struggling with bulls, inscribed with the name of king Naram-Sin. I suggested that he buy the seal, unless he was ready to finance my acquiring it, and he agreed to purchase it. This Naram-Sin cylinder is now the pride of Professor Keels's Biblisches Museum in Freiburg, Switzerland. A few weeks later, I was invited for tea by Sarre, and next to my cup I found a little package with a red ribbon and a note saying that this was in appreciation for my kindness. In it was the famous Akkadian cylinder seal depicting figures building a tower, known worldwide since its publication by Opitz. This is the seal which inspired the name for the exhibition 'Ladders to Heaven', as well as for the book of the same title. I was told that one day when Friedrich Sarre and Ernst Herzfeld were walking near a dig in southern Mesopotamia before the First World War, they spotted a peasant woman wearing a cylinder on her necklace. After examining it, Sarre offered gold pieces in exchange for the seal. It seems the peasants used this rather large cylinder as a weaving spindle which explains the indentation on the center of the seal.

Das schwierige Verhältnis von Text und Bild im Alten Orient beleuchten die mythologischen Deutungen des Bildinhalts. Das Siegelbild zeigt Götter, die an einem Gebäude arbeiten. Ist dieses Gebäude ein Tempel oder Götterpalast? Steht es als pars pro toto für eine Stadt wie Nippur samt den umliegenden Kanalbauten zur Bewässerung? Daneben zeigt das Siegelbild einen Gott, der einen anderen ersticht oder erschlägt. Beide Themen sind in verschiedenen mythischen Erzählungen nebeneinander gestellt. Opitz verwies auf Tafel VI im Mythos *Enuma eliš*, wo die Arbeit der Götter am Palast für Marduk durch die Erschaffung der Menschen auf diese abgewälzt wird (1930/31, 62). Die Menschen werden aus dem Blut eines geschlachteten Gottes und Lehm gebildet. Ähnliches erzählt der *Atramḫasis*-Mythos, auf den Franciscus A. M. Wiggermann in seiner Deutung des Siegelbildes verweist (1995, 78f). Dort sind es allerdings Kanäle, vielleicht auch jene der Stadt Nippur, wo der Götterherr Enlils in seinem Tempelpalast wohnt, an der die Götter schuften. „Als die Götter (auch noch) Mensch waren, trugen sie die Mühsal, schleppten den Tragkorb“. So lautet die erste Zeile der Dichtung. Zeigt dies das Siegelbild? Der Siegelschneider und die Verfasser der Epen kombinierten mythische Einzelmotive, einerseits Götter, die wie Menschen arbeiten (*Atramḫasis* Tafel I Zeile 1-40; *Enuma eliš* Tafel V Zei-



le 156: „Möge er [Marduk] die Grundrisse anfertigen, wir wollen die Arbeiter sein“ (Kämmerer/Metzler 2012, 341) und andererseits die Tötung eines Gottes (*Atramḫasis* Tafel I Zeile 220-225; *Enuma eliš* Tafel VI Zeile 29-34). Diese Einzelmotive wurden offenbar zusammengefügt überliefert und konnten in verschiedene narrative Kontexte eingebettet werden.

Edith Porada behandelte das Siegel in der Doktorarbeit als Nr. 455 unter dem Bildthema „Das Rind mit der Flügeltür“. Ausgehend von Sarre 3 und ähnlichen Gebäudedarstellungen, wo das einer Tür ähnelnde Gebilde als Tempel gedeutet wird, entwickelte sie in ihrer Doktorarbeit eine eigene These, nämlich dass die „geflügelten Türen“ eine Tempelfassade seien.

*Poradas These über das Rind mit dem geflügelten Gebilde*

Unter der Überschrift „Das Rind mit der Flügeltüre“ schrieb Weber: „Schwierigkeiten macht ... die Erklärung der Siegelbilder, für die eine von einem meist liegenden, Rind getragene Flügeltüre vor einer thronenden, meistens weiblichen Gottheit charakteristisch ist“ (1920, Bd. 1, 103). Boehmer überschreibt sein Kapitel mit „Der geflügelte Tempel“ und erklärt in einer Fußnote, dass die Tür als pars pro toto des Tempels zu gelten hat. Als Quelle für diese Interpretation gibt er Ernst Heinrich (1957, 83) an (Boehmer 1965, 105 Anm. 1). Wenn man die Deutung des Bildmotivs bei Weber 1920 mit der bei Boehmer 1965 vergleicht, wird deutlich, wie Edith Porada vorwegnahm, was in den fünfziger und sechziger Jahren in der vorderasiatischen Archäologie noch einmal entdeckt wurde, weil ihre Dissertation nicht veröffentlicht worden und daher wissenschaftlich unbeachtet geblieben ist.

Die Interpretation des Gebildes hat sich zwischen 1920 und 1965 von einer geflügelten Türe zu einem geflügelten Tempel gewandelt. In ihrer Argumentation, es handle sich um eine Tempelfassade, verweist Edith Porada 1934 auf Abbildungen, die sie Fig. 11, p und q nennt. Es handelt sich dabei um Zeichnungen, die dem Abgabeexemplar eingeklebt waren, jedoch im Exemplar der Österreichischen Universitätsbibliothek fehlen. Das Verzeichnis der Einzelfiguren am Ende ihrer Dissertation weist Fig. 11 als van Buren, 1933 Fig. 2, aus, das Foto einer Weihplatte aus Ur, die hier in Zeichnung wiedergegeben wird (**Abb. c**).



Abb. c: Porada Fig. 11 = Elisabeth Douglas van Buren, 1933, Fig. 2: Weihplatte aus Ur, Larsa-Zeit (London, BM 118561; Zeichnung aus Boese, 1971, Tafel XXI, U4).

Fig. p ist gemäß dem Verzeichnis der Einzelfiguren am Ende der Dissertation Nr. 455 im Siegelverzeichnis. Es handelt sich wohl um eine Zeichnung vom Siegel Sarre 3, das Porada in ihrer Doktorarbeit als Nr. 455 zählt. Das Bible Lands Museum besitzt eine Zeichnung (Abb. d). Ob sie der von Edith Porada als Fig. p geführten ähnelt? Eine andere Zeichnung des Siegels bietet Franciscus Wiggermann (1995, 78 Fig. 57). Edith Porada war eine begabte Siegelzeichnerin. Frau Voss hat zusammen mit der Sammlung Hahn dem Israel Museum Zeichnungen von „Mss Edith Porada, of Columbia University, New York“ überlassen (Kahane, 1965: 26).



Abb. d: Porada Fig. p (?) Porada 1934 Nr. 455 (Jerusalem, BLMJ 2784, Zeichnung Dalit Weinblatt-Krausz, Courtesy of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem).

Grundlegend für die Heranziehung von Sarre 3 (Nr. 455, Fig. p) zur Darlegung ihrer These, dass das Gebilde auf dem Rücken des Rinds eine Tempelfassade sei, mag sein, dass Opitz das Gebäude, an dem die Götter bauen, als „Torbau eines Heiligtums“ bestimmte. Er selbst stellte das Siegelbild in den Kontext anderer Siegelzylinder „mit der Darstellung des Baus einer Ziqqurra<sup>8</sup>“ (Opitz 1930/31, 61). Daher mag es kommen, dass Porada mit Fig. q auf die Ziggurat verwies.

Fig. q stellte ein Siegelbild dar, das Treppen zeigte. Poradas Verzeichnis der Einzelfiguren zufolge soll Fig. q dem Siegel Nr. 200 ihrer Zählung entsprechen; das wäre Hahn 80, (**Fig. 19** im Beitrag von Irit Ziffer). Auf diesem Siegel sind jedoch keine Treppen zu sehen und auch in der Besprechung des Siegels Nr. 200 erwähnt Porada nur die nachdrücklich gezeichneten Türpfannen. Vermutlich hat sie sich bei der Verweisnummer in ihrem Siegelverzeichnis vertippt und in Wirklichkeit Nr. 240 (Ward Abb. 252, **Abb. e** und **Abb. 6**) gemeint.



Abb. e: Porada Fig. q (?) = Zeichnung eines Rollsiegels aus Ward, 1910 Abb. 252 (Den Haag; Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1003), Porada 1934, Nr. 240.

Nach einer kurzen Besprechung ähnlicher Siegel deutet sie das trapezförmige Gebilde auf Nr. 240 (**Abb. e**), das durch waagrechte Querstriche in fünf Ebenen unterteilt ist, als Ziggurat:

„No. 240 zeigt den aufsteigenden Gott in derselben Haltung und Kleidung wie auf No. 234. Er hat den erhobenen Fuss hier nicht nur auf sondern seitlich an ein Gebilde gesetzt, das höher ist, als auf den bisher besprochenen Siegeln. Der eine hinter dem Gott stehende, den einen Türflügel seitlich haltende Türöffner trägt ebenso wie der Einführer Hörnerkrone und Faltenrock, der Adorant ein Fransengewand. Es ist immerhin möglich, dass für diese Ziqqurra an Stelle der Bergkuppen oder eines Berges auf den Siegeln No 234 -240 andere Vorstellungen massgebend waren.“ (Porada 1934: 84).

<sup>8</sup> Ziqqurra schrieb Opitz, Ziggurat schrieb Porada manchmal. In diesem Beitrag wird abgesehen von den Zitaten die Schreibung Ziggurat gewählt.

Aus den Türdarstellungen auf den Siegelbildern Nr. 234-240,<sup>9</sup> die den aussteigenden Sonnengott vor einem Stufentempel zeigen, entwickelt sie ihre These zum geflügelten Tempel. Sie schreibt zum Siegel Nr. 234 (Hahn 81, **Fig. 22** im Beitrag von Irit Ziffer):

„Auf No. 234 setzt der Gott aus dessen Schultern Flammen emporlodern, den erhobenen Fuss auf ein Gebilde, das weniger der Stilisierung eines Berges, als der einer Ziggurat ähnelt“ (Porada 1934: 83).

Der trapezförmige Stufenturm von Nr. 240 gleicht der Ziggurat auf dem Siegel Nr. 173 (**Abb. f** und **Abb. 7**, Frankfort 1934, Tafel IV, Abb. a = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1139 Abb. 488), deren oberste Terrasse einen Torbau trägt.



Abb. f: Porada Nr. 173, Legrain 1934, Plate 215, No. 364 U.9750; Frankfort 1934, Tafel IV, Abb. a; Zeichnung aus Heinrich 1957: 82, Abb. 104.

Porada beschreibt das Siegelbild auf Nr. 173 folgendermaßen:

„Hier steht ein Gott ..., das Standbein auf dem Rücken eines geflügelten Löwen, das andere erhobene Bein hat er auf die Schulter einer kleinen ins Knie gesunkenen Gestalt gesetzt ... . Die Beine des Löwen sind nicht sichtbar ... . ... Es folgt ein Gott, aus dessen einer ... Schulter Flammen lodern. Er steigt die

<sup>9</sup> Nr. 235 = BM ANE 89760, Collon, 1982, 85f. Fig. 170; Nr. 236 = Porada 1948: 32, Plate XL Fig. 254; Nr. 237 = Ward 1910 Abb. 268; Nr. 238 = Delaporte 1920, Susa S 472, Taf. 33 Abb. 8; No. 239 = Delaporte 1923, Taf. 71 Abb. 8, s. die Abbildungen im Artikel von Erika Bleibtreu zur Dissertation.

Stufen einer Zigurraat empor, stützt sich mit der einen Hand nach rückwärts auf seine Keule, die andere hat er begrüssend erhoben. Es ist derselbe Gott wie auf den Siegeln No. 229 – 240, der sich mit der einen Hand nach rückwärts auf eine Keule stützt und den Fuss auf ein Gebilde gesetzt hat, das viel eher die Andeutung einer Zigurraat als eines Berges ist. Tatsächlich ... scheint dieser, in seinem Wesen von ihm völlig verschiedene Gott die Stufen der Zigurraat zu einer Gottheit hinaanzusteigen, denn die Begrüssung ... gilt einer Gottheit, die ebenfalls ihre Hand in derselben Geste erhoben hat. ... Aus ihren Schultern sprudeln doppelte Wasserströme, über denen sich kleine Pflanzen erheben. Die Gottheit sitzt in einem abgeschlossenen kapellenartigen Raum...“ (Porada 1934: 101f.).

„Auf No. 255 öffnet vor dem Gott mit den flammenden Schultern eine untergeordnete göttliche Gestalt die Türe des verschlossenen Heiligtums“ (Porada 1934: 107). Diese „Türe“ ist auf Nr. 255 (**Abb. 8**, Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1140, Abb. 489 = De Clercq 1888, Nr. 143) nur als doppelte senkrechte Linie stilisiert, die den Schrein vor der darin thronenden Gottheit begrenzt, während an die Rückseite des Schreins von einem Baum begrenzt wird. Tatsächlich hantiert ein Gott an der als Tür zu deutenden Linie.

Auf der Basis dieser Siegelbilder deutet Porada das geflügelte Gebilde beim Rind unter Bezug auf Sarre 3 und Nr. 433 (**Abb. 9**, VA 2112, Moortgat 1940: 105, Taf. 33, Nr. 241):

„Die Bezeichnung dieses geflügelten Gebildes auf dem Rücken des Rindes als ‚Tür‘, erfolgte in Analogie zu den Türen auf den Siegeln des aufsteigenden Sonnengottes [Nrn. 229-240]. Aber es gibt ausserdem noch andere Darstellungen, auf denen ähnliche Gebilde vorkommen. Die auffallendste unter ihnen ist No. 455 [Sarre 3]. Hier wird von Göttern eine Zigurraat gebaut, die durch eine einfache äussere und eine innere Doppellinie auf jeder Seite, und obere und untere abschliessende Querlinien angedeutet wird. An dem Bau dieser Ziggurraat (sic!) sind vier kleine nackte göttliche Gestalten beschäftigt. Daneben ein Götterkampfpaar. ... Ein ganz ähnliches Gebäude ist auf No. 433 zu sehen. Meiner Meinung nach ist Vorgänger dieser beiden Tempeldarstellungen das Gebäude auf Fig. 11 [die Weihplatte aus van Buren 1933 Fig. 2]: hier wird die durch die innerste Vertiefung angedeutete Öffnung dreifach umschlossen. An den Seiten stehen die Bügelstäbe, die ja bei Grabungen am Eingang eines Tempelbezirkes gefunden worden sind. Die Längslinien, welche die Mauern andeuten, ruhen auf dem Erdboden. Bei den Auf Fig. p. und q hinzutretenden Querlinien als unterer Abschluss, kann nur an Treppen gedacht sein, die zu der Türöffnung emporführen. Wenn wir also von Fig. p [Zeichnung von 455] und q [Zeichnung von 240?], die wir eindeutig als Gebäude erkannt haben, ausgehend, wieder zu den „geflügelten Türen“ zurückkehren und auch diese zum grössten Teil als Tempelfassade erklären, die durch eine grosse Tür in der Mitte dominiert werden, entfallen verschiedene Schwierigkeiten bei der Bestimmung dieser Siegel“ (Porada 1934: 162f.).

Edith Porada sah also in den „Türen“ auf den Rindern Teilwiedergaben eines Gebäudes. Ernst Heinrich entwickelte seine These, dass ein Tempel durch seine Tür repräsentiert werden kann, zum Teil anhand derselben Bildzeugnisse wie Edith Porada. Eines davon ist das in zwei Bildstreifen geteilte Weihrelief aus Ur (**Abb. c**, Poradas Fig. 11, Heinrich, 1957, Abb. 101). Das Reliefbild schildert zweimal ein dem Gott Nannar dargebrachtes Opfer. Unten nähern sich Menschen, die Weihegaben tragen, einem Tempel, der in abgekürzter Weise nur durch seine Tür mit den Bügelschäften angedeutet, zweifellos als massives Bauwerk gelten soll (Heinrich 1957: 83). Seine Abbildung 104 ist Poradas Nr. 173 (**Abb. f**) und gilt ihm als Beispiel für den Gott unter dem Baldachin.

Edith Porada und Ernst Heinrich schlossen also unabhängig voneinander von eindeutig als Tempel identifizierbaren Gebäuden auf Siegeln auf die zur Tür reduzierten Darstellungen. Boehmer hat ausgehend von Heinrichs Deutung der Tür als Tempel die Übertragung auf die geflügelten Gebilde auf den Stieren neu vorgenommen. Da Poradas Doktorarbeit nicht publiziert wurde, konnte sich ihre These nicht verbreiten, zumal ihr Lehrer Viktor Christian sie nicht übernahm und noch in der 1940 veröffentlichten „Altertumskunde“ auf einem Siegelbild mit dem entsprechenden Motiv (Tafel 359, 5a Foto des Siegelzylinders, 5b Abrollung, Porada, 1934, Nr. 435, s. den Artikel von Erika Bleibtreu zur Dissertation) „die Fesselung eines liegenden Rindes, hinter dem sich ein mit Flügeln (?) ausgestattetes Tor erhebt“ sah (1940, 324).<sup>10</sup>

Niemand – auch nicht Edith Porada – gibt eine Erklärung für die Stricke und die Flügel. Weshalb und wie wird ein Tempel auf dem Rücken eines Stieres transportiert? Erika Bleibtreu hält das Bildmotiv für den Transport einer Götterstatue in einem Schrein oder Behälter. Bei entsprechender Reihung der Darstellungsvarianten sind Phasen des Transportes ablesbar. Der Stier lässt sich nieder, um den kunstvollen, tempelartigen Behälter vorsichtig mit Hilfe von Stricken von seinem Rücken nehmen zu können. Der Behälter ist geflügelt, um anzuzeigen, dass sich in seinem Inneren die Statue einer geflügelten Gottheit befindet. Das Siegel des Samiyia aus Syrien, ca. 1790 v. Chr. (**Abb. i**), zeigt den Schrein auf dem sich niederlassenden Stier mit geöffneten Türen. Im Inneren steht die Statue einer Göttin.

<sup>10</sup> Christian nahm das „Tor“ als *hinter* dem Rind stehend wahr, während es für Weber *auf* dem Rind steht. Diese abweichende perspektivische Einordnung des Bildes folgt einem von Rudolph Arnheim beschriebenen Akt des Sehens, nach welchem *Überschneidungen* von Linien und Flächen den Eindruck von Vorder- und Hintergrund erwecken (Arnheim 1978, 242-245). Tatsächlich fehlt dem „Tor“ auf dem Siegelbild (**Abb. 435** im Artikel von Erika Bleibtreu) eine untere Begrenzung, und seine rechten Seitenbalken sind über oder hinter der Wölbung des Rinderrückens länger nach unten gezogen als die linken. Christian sieht das unvollständige, abgeschnittene Bild des „Tores“ so, dass der Gegenstand sich *hinter* dem ganz gezeichneten Rind befindet und für den Beschauer teilweise von dessen Rumpf verdeckt wird. Meist vernachlässigt man jedoch in der Wahrnehmung die unvollständige Abbildung des Gegenstandes und sieht es als *auf* dem Rücken des Tieres befestigt.



Abb. i: Ausschnitt der Siegelabrollung eines Siegels, das Samiyia, dem Sohn des Ḫayamalik gehörte (Zeichnung aus Amiet 1960b, Abb. 8, Ornan 2010, 418 Fig. 16a).

### *Die Roll- und Stempelsiegel der Ausstellung von 1932*

Nur ein Bruchteil der 1932 im Städelschen Kunstinstitut gezeigten und im Katalog verzeichneten Siegel kann heute in Sammlungen oder Publikationen identifiziert werden. Da Maria Sarre in Ascona auf dem Grundstück des Baron von der Heydt lebte, der selbst eine Rollsiegelsammlung besaß, die Elie Borowski katalogisieren durfte, ist zu vermuten, dass Maria Sarre auch diesem Sammler Siegel ihrer Sammlung geschenkt hat. Doch unter den Rollsiegeln des Rietberg Museums das von Baron van der Heydt vor allem mit seinen ostasiatischen Kunstschatzen beschenkt worden ist, befinden sich keine Stücke aus der Sammlung Sarre.<sup>11</sup> Im Katalog der Ausstellung von 1932 sind die Siegel folgendermaßen beschrieben:

„192 Kampf zwischen Löwen und Büffeln. Die Inschrift ist die Widmung eines Nachfolgers des Königs Naram Sin an den Gott Akkad. Nefrit. H. 38 mm. Dm. 27 mm. Babylonisch Ca. 2500 a. C. Aus Mossul. Abb. Taf. IV [= **Sarre 1**].

193 Aufrecht stehende Menschen und Tiere. Speckstein. H. 20 mm, Dm. 10 mm. Babylonisch, Ende des 3. Jahrtausends. Aus Bagdad. (Ur III?).

194 Anbetungsszene. Speckstein H. 30 mm, Dm. 17 mm. Babylonisch (Ca. 2600 a. C.) aus Bagdad [= **Sarre 2**].

195 In der Mitte Rille. Tempelbau und Götterdarstellung. Nefrit. H. 40 mm, Dm. 25 mm. Babylonisch-Akkadisch. Um 1650 a. c. [= **Sarre 3**].

<sup>11</sup> E-Mail von Axel Langer, dem Kurator für Kunst des Nahen Ostens im Rietberg Museum Zürich, vom 14. Dezember 2011. Bei meiner Sichtung der Rollsiegel des Rietberg Museums am 18. April 2013 fand sich keines, das zu den Beschreibungen der Siegel im Katalog von 1932 passt.

- 196 Jagdszene (?). Nefrit. H. 30 mm. Assyrisch. 2. Jahrtausend a. C. aus Bagdad.
- 197 Opferszene. Nefrit. H. 14 mm, dm. 6 mm. Assyrisch. 2. Jahrtausend a. C. (9. Jhdt. ?). Aus Bagdad.
- 198 Gilgamesch von 2 Männern bekämpft. Achat. H. 27 mm. Babylonisch ca. 1000 a. C. (Assyrisch 8. Jhdt.?). Aus Bagdad.
- 199 [Stempelsiegel?] Mann mit zwei Löwen. Achat. 23×18 mm. Syrisch-hettitisch. Ende des 2. Jahrtausends a. C. Aus Konia (Kleinasien).
- 200 Springende Fabeltiere. Calcedon. H. 25 mm. Assyrisch ca. 1000 a. C. (7. Jahrh. ?) aus Bagdad.
- 201 Geflügelte Fabelwesen. Feldspat. H. 26 mm, Dm. 12 mm. Assyrisch ca. 1000 a. C. aus Bagdad.
- 202 Opferszene. Nefrit. H. 34 mm. Assyrisch. 2. Jahrtausend a. C. Aus Bagdad“ (**Abb. 10**).

Dieses Siegel ist aus der Sammlung Sarre über die Sammlung Schmidt in die Sammlungen Bibel+Orient gelangt. Weber hatte es als Nr. 467 abgebildet (1920, 94) und „Sarre 12 assyr.“ benannt. Das Siegel trägt in Freiburg jetzt die Inventarnummer VR 1981.100. Hildi Keel-Leu hat es als Nr. 195 folgendermaßen beschrieben (2004, 185f):

„Ein Stück vom oberen Rand abgebrochen, unterer Rand bestossen, ein Teil der Gravierung weggeschliffen; dunkelgrünscharer Serpentin; 35,2 x 13,7 mm. Neuassyrische Zeit 9. Jh. v. Chr. Randregion Assiriens: Westiran? Nordsyrien? Bankettszene oder Opferszene mit Thronendem: Ein nach rechts blickender, bärtiger Thronender mit spitzer Kopfbedeckung hält in der erhobenen Rechten eine Trinkschale, die Linke ruht auf dem Oberschenkel; vor ihm ein Tisch/Altar mit Tierfüßen (Hufen), auf dem ein grosser Fisch liegt, rechts davon eine stehende Figur mit kurzem Bart(?), die ihre eine Hand über den Fisch, die andere nach vorne gesenkt hält (eventuell ursprünglich einen Gegenstand tragend? Stelle weggeschliffen, jedoch Spuren einer Gravierung). Der Thronende trägt ein oben querschraffiertes, unten in waagrechte Bahnen mit einzelnen Längsstrichen gegliedertes, langes Gewand mit Fransensaum, die stehende Figur das fransengesäumte Schalgewand. Die Thronlehne läuft oben in einen Entenkopf aus. Über dem Altar Flügelsonne; Mondsichel über drei Keilen im Rücken der beiden Personen; Randleiste; Grabsticheltechnik; Kerbschnitt.“

Die Angaben des Katalogs von 1932 sind mit der Datierung ins 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. und der stilistischen Zuordnung assyrisch widersprüchlich. Damals bezeichnete man den Stein als „Nefrit“. Nephrit ist ein Mischkristall, dessen Farbe von graugrün über dunkelgrün bis fast schwarz gehen



kann. Das passt zur Farbangabe dunkelgrünschwarz im Katalog von 2004. Serpentin wird dagegen auch Ophrit genannt und ist meist olivgrün, aber auch grau oder schwarz. Hildi-Keel Leu bemerkt an der Darstellung auf dem Siegel Elemente die für Babylonien typisch sind (die konische Kopfbedeckung des Thronenden, die Armhaltung der Nebenfigur; 2004, 186). Angesichts dieser babylonischen Eigenheiten dürfte interessant sein, dass das Siegel von Friedrich Sarre in Bagdad, also in Südmesopotamien, erworben wurde.

„203 Opferszene. Feldspat. H. 21 mm. Assyrisch. Ca. 1000 a. C. aus Bagdad.

204 Opferszene (?). Nefrit. H. 25 mm. Assyrisch. 2-1. Jahrtausend a. C. (?).

205 Geflügelte Fabelwesen. Moosachat. H. 38 mm. Assyrisch. Ca. 1000 a. C.

206 [Stempelsiegel] Anbetender vor einem Gott. Roter Achat. 17×13 mm. Assyrisch. 1. Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends a. C.

207 [Stempelsiegel] Gott Assur im Strahlenkranz. Caneol 12×9 mm. Assyrisch. Aus Persien.

208 Geflügelter Stiermann. Rosa Nefrit. H. 28 mm, Dm 12 mm. Assyrisch. 8. Jhdt. a. C. (?). [Bei Herbordt und Collon assyrische Motive suchen].

209 [Stempelsiegel] Petschaft. [keine Bildbeschreibung]. Achat. H. 20 mm. 15×10 mm spätassyrisch, 8.-7. Jh. a. C. aus Bagdad.

210 [Stempelsiegel] Petschaft. Opferszene. Speckstein. H. 22 mm, 17×22 mm. Neubabylonisch, 6 Jhdt. a. C.

211 Beschwörungsszene mit Hahn. Calcedon. H. 17 mm. Neubabylonisch. Ca. 6. Jahrhundert a. C. Die Inschrift ergibt keinen klaren Sinn“ (**Abb. 11**).

Dieses Siegel ist veröffentlicht in Weber, 1920 Nr. 463a unter „Sammlung Sarre“.

„213 Wasserjungfrau. Skaraboid. Lapislazuli. L. 29 mm, Br. 25 mm. Neubabylonisch oder assyrisch. Ca. 600 a. C.“ (**Abb 12**).

Das Objekt wurde mir Jahre 2012 in der Galerie Puhze Freiburg im Breisgau, gezeigt. Am 30. November 2012 wurde es bei Pierre Bergé & associés, Auction Archéologie im Drouot-Richelieu zu Paris unter der Nr. 489 an einen Telefonbieter versteigert .

„214 Rollsiegel auch als Petschaft benutzbar. Moosachat. H. 32 mm. Dm. 18 mm. Neubabylonisch. Vielleicht Fälschung.“

Trotz aller Bemühungen lassen sich von der Roll- und Stempelsiegelsammlung Friedrich und Maria Sarre, wie sie 1932 gezeigt wurde, nur noch fünf Exemplare bebildern. Diese Überbleibsel künden von einer Familie, die nicht nur aufgrund wissenschaftlicher Leistung sondern auch wegen ihrer politisch der Nazidiktatur trotzenen Gesinnung der Erinnerung wert bleibt.

### *Anhang*

Abschrift von zwei im Archiv der Sammlung Bibel+Orient befindlichen Briefen, in denen Eli Borowski dem Sammler Rudolf Schmidt den Ankauf der beiden Siegel Sarre 1 und 1932 Nr. 202 (= Bibel+Orient VR 1981.100, Keel-Leu & Teissier 2004 Nr. 195) empfiehlt.

#### *Erster Brief*

Bâle, le 19 – III – 46

Cher Monsieur,

Merci pour votre carte. A Ascona je ne me suis pas reposé. A 2h du matin du 9 - III – 46 le travail fut révisé avec l'éditeur d'Artibus Asiae et au lendemain il est parti dans l'imprimerie pour le mettre en page (setzen in Umdruck). Le format en sera d'une grande octave. Les planches sont splendides. Dans quelques semaines nous pourrons chanter Allelujah.

Savez-vous que Mme Prof. Sarre est en Suisse ? Elle est venue avec sa fille et le reste de la famille auprès de la famille de sa fille Mme Waetjen (belle-sœur de Rockefeller). J'ai parlé avec Mme Sarre à Ascona. Son mari possédait les plus beaux cylindres accadiens avec inscription royaux. Elle se connaît bien sur les cylindres et aussi sur les bronzes de Louristan. Vous savez que son mari était le directeur du musée de Berlin et il fut considéré comme le meilleur pour l'art sassanide. J'ai parlé à Mme Sarre de vous et elle fut étonnée d'apprendre qu'en Suisse se trouve une parvaille collection. Elle connaît le Dr. F. Schmidt de Chicago et est un grand ami d'Herzfeld. Elle veut me recommander auprès d'Herzfeld pour que je sois admis en Amérique.

Mme Sarre aurait l'intention de visiter votre collection et je crains ... qu'une expédition entière viendrait à Soleure y compris le Baron (qui est un bon ami de Mme Sarre). Si vous êtes à Bâle, nous pourrions discuter sur les détails. Autrement veuillez me dire si vous êtes libre le samedi-dimanche ou lundi afin que je fasse un petit saut avec un billet de dimanche. Vous savez très bien que je ne suis pas cérémoniel et veuillez avoir l'obligeance de me dire en toute franchise. Je voyagerai sans ma fiancée. Je crois que pour le billet de dimanche on doit partir ou le samedi ou le dimanche et revenir ou le dimanche ou le lundi.

Mr Mode se mets au III vol. à Munich. Tandis que moi je travail sur le II vol. J'irai après l'apparition du I vol. à Munich pour porter des livres et d'autre matériel à Mr Mode. Il a beaucoup souffert, il a eu une « magengrippe ».

Autrement tout va bien, mais je suis surchargé de travail et très fatigué. Abientôt et dans l'attente de vos nouvelles, je vous salue très cordialement,  
votre Elie Borowski

### *Zweiter Brief*

Bâle le 24 – III – 46

Cher Monsieur,

Merci pour votre carte du 20 Mars ! J'ai du plaisir à savoir que vous connaissez de nom le prof. Sarre. Mr le Prof Sarre est mort au début de Juin 1945. Au lendemain Mme Sarre a quitté la villa de Babelsberg avec sa fille. Grâce à la parenté de sa fille mariée avec Rockefeller elle est venue en avion américain en septembre 45 en Suisse.

Mme Sarre est une grande dame. Elle et son mari étaient « vornehmer Professor Berlins » et non pas le petit « schnodriger Berliner ». C'est une joie de causer avec de telles personnes de haute culture. Ce serait très intéressant que vous fassiez la connaissance de Mademoiselle Sarre (elle est de mon âge), très cultivée, sympathique et surtout d'un esprit joyeux.

Voici mon idée : Vous adresserez une lettre d'invitation à Madame Prof. Sarre et à toute sa famille. Vous leur direz que le prof. Sarre vous l'a vu à Zurich et lorsque vous avez su par moi, que Mme Sarre et sa famille s'intéressent aux antiquités orientales, vous espérez d'avoir l'honneur de les recevoir ... Dans ce cas il est probable que Mme Sarre et Mme Waetjen (l'autre fille) viendront également ce serait diplomatique d'adresser parallèlement une lettre au Baron afin que la famille Sarre puissent se mettre d'accord avec le Baron quant à la date du voyage. Il faudrait laisser au Baron et à Mme Sarre (elle a 70 ans) de décider la date du voyage. Car le baron avait été très malade et il est encore faible. Veuillez me pardonner tous ces détails, mais je connais ces personnes et leur susceptibilités et je vous le dis en tant qu'ami et non pour vous tracer le chemin à suivre.

J'espère que vous ne m'en voulez pas et dans ces conditions, j'espère que dans un beau jour de mai vous aurez une très intéressante société à Soleure.

Je vous remercie pour votre invitation et je viendrai samedi le 30 mars à Soleure. Je viendrai au début de l'après-midi. Si vous tenez vous pouvez depuis un mois m'appeler ... « Herr Doktor » car j'ai obtenu « l'imprimatur » et le grade de docteur ès Lettres. Je tiens à vous sous(lig)ner que je ne tiens nullement à ce titre, car autrement j'aurais fait mon doctorat en 1936 quand j'ai fini l'Université de Florence. Ce qui me fait plaisir maintenant, c'est l'apparition prochaine de mon livre. Nous aurons le temps à causer longuement à Soleure, et je me réjouis beaucoup de cette rencontre.

Veuillez avoir la bonté de me confirmer si ça vous convient que je viens dans l'après-midi du 30 mars.

Dans l'attente du plaisir de vous revoir, veuillez agréer, cher Monsieur, mes salutations dévouées.

E Borowski

PS : Voici l'adresse de Mme Sarre : Frau Prof. Sarre Monte Verità, Ascona. Ce serait bien que vous écriviez aussitôt afin que vous receviez la réponse pour samedi quand je serai chez vous. E.B.

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## „Schneller als der Wind“ – Pferdedarstellungen auf mittelassyrischen Siegelabrollungen aus Assur

Barbara Feller

Edith Porada hat durch ihre zahlreichen grundlegenden Artikel und Beiträge das Wissen um Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur Vorderasiens wesentlich bereichert. Mit ihrer umfassenden Kenntnis der altorientalischen Glyptik, mit ihren Untersuchungen zu Stileigenheiten, Ikonographie, Chronologie und Interpretation der Siegeldarstellungen leistete sie gerade auf diesem Forschungsgebiet Herausragendes. Sowohl ihre Publikation der Siegel aus Nuzi oder Elam als auch die Aufarbeitung der Siegel der Pierpont Morgan Library gehören heute noch zu den Standardwerken der Siegelforschung. Ohne ihren Einsatz und weitreichende Ideen wäre die Siegelforschung in ihren heutigen Zügen nicht denkbar. Der folgende Beitrag setzt sich daher auch mit einem Thema aus der Glyptik auseinander und stellt Siegelabrollungen mit Pferdedarstellungen auf mittelassyrischen Tontafeln aus Assur vor<sup>1</sup>.

### *1. Einführung*

Die bildliche Wiedergabe von Pferden ist auf Siegeln bzw. Siegelabrollungen im Vergleich zu anderen Motiven zunächst eher selten. Dass lässt sich möglicherweise damit erklären, dass das Pferd in Mesopotamien erst relativ spät Bedeutung erlangt. In der Mitte des 2. Jt. v. Chr. ändert sich dann allerdings das Bild. So wird speziell in der Glyptik der mittelassyrischen Zeit das

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<sup>1</sup> Für die Gelegenheit, an diesem Band teilhaben zu dürfen, geht mein herzlicher Dank an Prof. Dr. Erika Bleibtreu, Wien, und Prof. Dr. Hans Ulrich Steymans, Fribourg. Die in diesem Beitrag publizierten Zeichnungen sind von Helga Kosak und Ulrike Dubiel angefertigt worden und im Maßstab 1:1,5 wiedergegeben. Sie entstanden zum einen im Rahmen einer umfangreichen wissenschaftlichen Untersuchung der Autorin zu Siegelabrollungen auf mittelassyrischen Tontafeln aus Assur innerhalb des Assur-Projektes (einer Kooperation des Vorderasiatischen Museums Berlin und der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft), zum anderen durch die großzügige finanzielle Unterstützung von Dr. Marietta Lutze-Sackler/Fa. Dr. Kade GmbH. Allen Beteiligten sei an dieser Stelle herzlich gedankt.

Pferd als Motiv kennzeichnend, allerdings wurden bisher nur relativ wenige Beispiele publiziert.

Ursprünglich ist das Pferd nicht in Mesopotamien ansässig gewesen. Sein natürlicher Lebensraum lag in den nahe gelegenen gebirgigen Nachbarländern wie z. B. dem Zagrosgebirge im Iran, Anatolien oder Nordsyrien. Vor der Einführung des Pferdes nutzten die Menschen noch Esel und Ochsen um Wagen oder Schlitten zu ziehen<sup>2</sup>. Erst ab dem 3. Jt. v. Chr. wurde auch das Pferd als domestiziertes Haustier bekannt. Wahrscheinlich aufgrund seiner Herkunft nannte man es zunächst „Esel des Gebirges“ (anše kur-ra). Für diese frühe Zeit sind nur wenige Quellen zur Nutzung des Pferdes überliefert. Bis ca. zur Mitte des 2. Jt. v. Chr. scheint das Pferd keine bedeutende Rolle in Mesopotamien eingenommen zu haben. Das ändert sich ab ca. 1600 v. Chr. als mit dem Einsatz von Streitwagen und damit bedingt von Pferden ein weitgehender Wandel in der Kriegsführung einsetzt. Die schnellen Streitwagen kamen im Laufe der Jahrhunderte in Mesopotamien, speziell in der assyrischen Armee, immer stärker zur Geltung. Dort zeigte sich die Bedeutung des Pferdes zum einen als Zugtier, zum anderen in seiner Funktion als Reittier in der Kavallerie. Pferde wurden daher im Laufe der Zeit in immer größerer Zahl benötigt.

Zwar wurde von der Mitte des 2. Jt. v. Chr. auch im Zweistromland bereits Pferdezucht betrieben, aber der Bedarf an Nachschub, nach dem vor allem die assyrische Armee verlangte, ließ sich damit nicht decken. Da die Tiere in Mesopotamien nicht beheimatet waren, mussten sie aus den umliegenden Gebirgsregionen importiert werden. Die Quellenlage dazu ist allerdings recht dürftig. Informationen zu Tributzahlungen sind v. a. aus den Königsinschriften belegt. Demnach wurden ganze Feldzüge ausgerichtet, um die assyrische Armee in den Besitz der kostbaren Tiere zu bringen. So berichtet der assyrische König Tiglatpilesar I. (1114-1076 v. Chr.), dass er bei seinen Feldzügen in den Gebirgen des Taurus nicht nur ganze Pferdeherden erbeutete, sondern von den Einheimischen zusätzlich 1200 Pferde als jährlichen Tribut einforderte.<sup>3</sup> Auch über Handelskontakte gelangten Pferde in das assyrische Reich, wobei die Hinweise, die sich konkret auf den Handel mit Pferden beziehen, ebenfalls eher selten sind<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Piktographische Schriftzeichen für Esel (anše) auf Tontafeln aus der Mitte des 4. Jt. v. Chr. belegen, dass der Esel bereits früh in Mesopotamien bekannt war. Siehe z. B. eine Schrifttafel aus Uruk mit der schematischen Ritzung eines Equidenkopfes, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Inv.-Nr. VAT 14769.

<sup>3</sup> Siehe RIMA 2 1991: 22, Nr. 1 v 5ff. und Faist 2001: 46, 225f.

<sup>4</sup> So deutet die Verwaltungsurkunde VAT 18062 (= MARV III 2) darauf hin, dass aus den Gebirgsregionen nördlich und nordwestlich von Assyrien Pferde und Produkte der Viehwirtschaft von Händlern für den Palast besorgt wurden. Siehe dazu Faist 2001: 176ff.

Über den Umgang mit den Pferden bzw. ihre Haltung geben vor allem keilschriftliche, vorwiegend hethitische Texte mit Anleitungen zum Pferdetraining Auskunft. Zu den bekanntesten zählt die Abhandlung des Kikkuli, welches in einer Abschrift aus dem 13. Jh. v. Chr. vorliegt<sup>5</sup>. Dieser Textsammlung zur Seite zu stellen sind andere, ähnliche Zeugnisse, so z. B. aus Assur, die sich in die erste Hälfte des 13. Jh. v. Chr. datieren lassen<sup>6</sup>. Derartige Texte belegen deutlich, dass die Assyrier umfangreiche Kenntnisse in der Pferdezucht und im Pferdetraining aufzuweisen hatten.

## 2. Pferde in der Bildkunst

Darstellungen von Pferden lassen sich u. a. auf Tongefäßen,<sup>7</sup> –plaketten<sup>8</sup> und Reliefs<sup>9</sup> nachweisen. Aber gerade die bildliche Wiedergabe von Pferden auf Siegeln erlaubt einen besonderen Blick auf dieses spezielle Motiv und vermittelt einen guten Eindruck, welche Bedeutung das Pferd für die Menschen in Mesopotamien hatte bzw. wie sich diese Entwicklung vollzog. Die frühesten Belege sind bereits an das Ende des 3. Jt./Anfang des 2. Jt. v. Chr. zu datieren und zeigen wahrscheinlich Pferde als Zug- und Reittiere<sup>10</sup>. Ab der Mitte des 2. Jt. v. Chr. sind, speziell in der mittellassyrischen Glyptik, neben Kult- und Ritualszenen sehr oft filigran ausgearbeitete Mischwesen, einzelne Tiere, wie Pferde und Stiere und Tierkampfsszenen festzustellen. Das Pferd ist ab jetzt – gelegentlich auch geflügelt – verstärkt als Motiv belegt<sup>11</sup> und lebt innerhalb der neuassyrischen Glyptik weiter<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Dieses Werk enthält ursprünglich insgesamt vier oder fünf Keilschrifttafeln und stammt wohl, gemeinsam mit anderen Trainingsanweisungen, aus mittelhethitischer Zeit (Ende 15., Anfang 14. Jh. v. Chr.). Siehe z. B. Starke 1995.

<sup>6</sup> Siehe Ebeling 1951.

<sup>7</sup> Beispielsweise ein bemaltes Tongefäß mit einer der frühesten Darstellungen eines vier-rädrigen Streitwagens, der von vier Eseln gezogen wird. Siehe Curtis – Tallis (Hg.) 2012: 85, Abb. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Z. B. die Form für eine Tonplakette mit der Darstellung eines Reiters auf einem Pferd. Siehe Curtis – Tallis (Hg.) 2012: 87, Abb. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Die bekanntesten Beispiele stammen sicherlich aus dem Nordwestpalast aus Nimrud, z.B. die Darstellung einer Löwenjagd des Königs Assurnasirpals II. mit einem von Pferden gezogenen Wagen. Siehe z. B. Curtis – Tallis (Hg.) 2012: 87, Abb. 32.

<sup>10</sup> Beispielsweise ein Rollsiegel aus Hämatit mit der Darstellung eines frühen zweiachsigen Wagens mit Querstrebenrädern, der von Pferden gezogen wird; die Pferde sind im Bild übereinander angeordnet. Oder die Siegelabrollung auf einem altbabylonischen Hüllenfragment. Siehe Curtis – Tallis (Hg.) 2012: 87, Abb. 4 bzw. 8. Die wohl älteste Reiterdarstellung befindet sich auf einem Siegel, welches auf Urkunden aus der Zeit Susuens (Anfang 2. Jt. v. Chr.) abgerollt ist. Siehe Owen 1991: 259-273. Für Darstellungen auf altbabylonischen Terrakotten siehe Moorey 1970: 36-50. Auf einem Siegel des 12. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. ist ein einzelner Reiter zu erkennen. Siehe Wiggermann 2006: 92-99.

<sup>11</sup> Siehe z. B. Matthews 1990: Nr. 375, 399, 401, 403, 406.

<sup>12</sup> Siehe Klengel-Brandt (Hg.) 1997: 98f, Abb. 98.

Die künstlerische Gestaltung dieser eingravierten Szenen ist dabei oftmals von herausragender Qualität, besonders die Siegel aus der mittellassyrischen Zeit können infolge ihrer naturalistisch gestalteten Einzelformen und ihrer ästhetisch gearbeiteten Szenen als einer der Höhepunkte in der glyptischen Kunst des Alten Vorderen Orient angesehen werden.

### *3. Siegelabrollungen auf mittellassyrischen Tontafeln aus Assur*

In der Forschung wird mittlerweile zwischen dem Siegel und der Abrollung eines Siegels differenziert. So stehen uns für manche historische Perioden weitaus weniger Originalsiegel als Abrollungen zur Verfügung. Die Originalsiegel stammen oftmals aus dem Kunsthandel, womit deren Herkunft und Herstellungsdatum unsicher bleiben. In solchen Fällen sind wir verstärkt darauf angewiesen die Siegelabrollungen auf den Tondokumenten hinzuzuziehen, um zu exakten Forschungsergebnissen zu gelangen. Dies gilt besonders für die so genannte mittellassyrische Zeit, aus der nur relativ wenige Originalsiegel, dafür aber umso mehr gesiegelte Tontafeln vorliegen<sup>13</sup>

Die hier vorgestellten Siegelabrollungen befinden sich auf Urkunden, die aus den von 1903 bis 1914 unternommenen deutschen Ausgrabungen in Assur und Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta stammen<sup>14</sup>. Insgesamt gelangten dabei weit über 2000 Keilschrifturkunden bzw. Fragmente aus mittellassyrischer Zeit, darunter auch viele gesiegelte Tafeln, in die Magazine des Vorderasiatischen Museums Berlin. Anhand einer von der Autorin durchgeführten detaillierten Analyse konnten so weit über 1100 Siegelabrollungen erfasst und bearbeitet werden<sup>15</sup>. Unter diesen befanden sich auch einige Beispiele die das Pferd als Motiv aufweisen.

Bei den Siegelabrollungen ist mitunter allerdings nicht exakt zu entscheiden, ob es sich bei den dargestellten Tieren um Pferde oder Stiere handelt. Die Modellierung der Körper ist sehr einheitlich und eine genaue Zuordnung lässt sich nur dann herstellen, wenn die gesamte Bilddarstellung, speziell aber die Kopfpartie des Tieres, erhalten ist. Ein Unterscheidungskriterium könnte allerdings die schlankere Körperform bei Pferden sowie die bauchigere Form des Schweifs sein.

<sup>13</sup> Wenngleich Abrollungen gewisse Nachteile für die Beurteilung der Siegelkunst einer Epoche aufweisen, stellen sie dennoch - neben den Originalsiegeln - einen unverzichtbaren zweiten Korpus dar. Für Abrollungen kann der Benutzungszeitpunkt durch die Datierung der Urkunden, auf denen die Siegel abgerollt wurden, festgestellt werden. Auf diese Weise ist es möglich ein „terminus ante quem“ für das Herstellungsdatum eines Siegels zu gewinnen.

<sup>14</sup> Siehe z. B. Ebeling 1927; ders., 1956: 111-118; Schroeder 1920.

<sup>15</sup> Siehe z.B. Feller 2009; Freydank – Feller 2007; dies. 2010.

Darstellungen von Pferden in Hauptszenen lassen sich aus dem Korpus der Siegelabrollungen auf mittellassyrischen Urkunden aus Assur frühestens ab dem 13. Jh. v. Chr. belegen. Ein eher seltenes Motiv bietet dabei eine Siegelabrollung, die sich auf einer Urkunde aus der Regierungszeit Salmanasars I. (1273-1244 v. Chr.) befindet<sup>16</sup>.

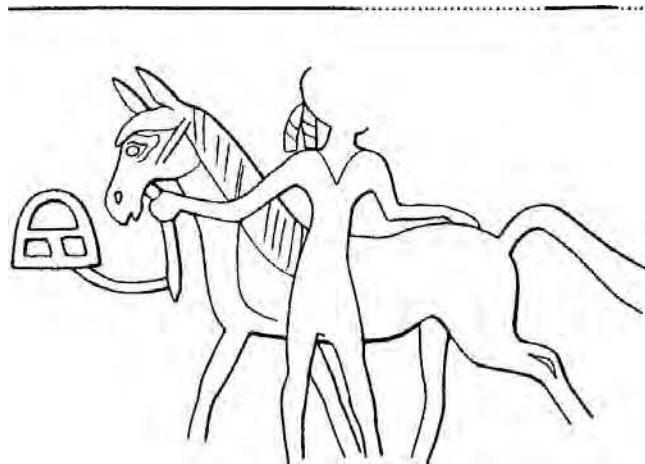


Abb. 1 Siegelabrollung auf VAT 8879 (Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin; Rekonstruktionszeichnung: Helga Kosak)

Zu erkennen ist eine Person, die seitwärts vor einem nach links gewandten Pferd steht (Abb. 1). Dabei hält sie das Pferd mit der linken Hand am Zügel, die rechte Hand liegt auf der Kuppe des Tieres. Vom herabhängenden Zügel des Pferdes ausgehend führt nach links ein Seil oder eine Leine auf ein so genanntes „stirr-up“- oder Hüttensymbol zu. Bemerkenswert ist die detailgenaue Wiedergabe des Pferdes sowie der Versuch perspektivisch darzustellen, d.h. Ebenen hintereinander zu zeigen. Hier ist das in der Wiedergabe der Person vor dem Pferd sehr gut gelungen<sup>17</sup>. Für den merkwürdigen Zusatz beim „stirrur“- oder Hüttensymbol gibt es bisher keinerlei Vergleichsstücke.

<sup>16</sup> Als Eponym ist auf der Urkunde Ber-šuma-iddina genannt. Archiv Assur 14327 y; KAJ 102; Pedersen 1985: M 10:21

<sup>17</sup> Eine Parallele für diese Darstellungsform findet sich bei Matthews 1991: 17-42, Abb. 31.

Ab der Regierungszeit Tukulti-Ninurtas I. (1243-1207 v. Chr.) sind Pferde auch in sogenannten triangulären Kampfszenen wiedergegeben, wie z. B. die Siegelabrollung, Abb. 2<sup>18</sup> belegt.

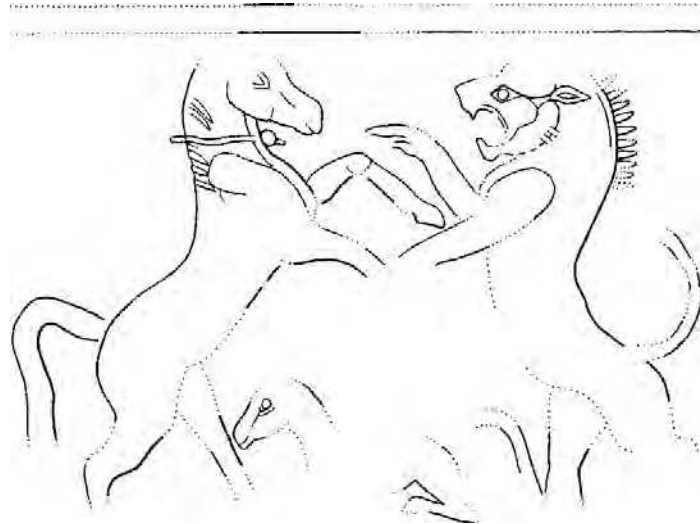


Abb. 2 Siegelabrollung auf VAT 20082 (Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin; Rekonstruktionszeichnung: Helga Kosak)

Wiedergegeben ist der Kampf (in annähernd triangulärer Position) zwischen einem aufgebäumten Pferd auf der linken und einem aufgerichteten Löwen auf der rechten Seite. Am Boden sind zudem die Umriss eines kleinen kauenden Tieres, wahrscheinlich ein Fohlen, auszumachen. Das Motiv der triangulären Kampfgruppe ist charakteristisch für die Zeit Tukulti-Ninurtas I., auffällig ist aber der „Halsschmuck“ des Pferdes, der sich, wie die Untersuchung gezeigt hat, bei Pferdedarstellungen aus mittellassyrischer Zeit häufiger belegen lässt (siehe z. B. auch Abb. 3 und Abb. 5). Möglicherweise handelt es sich um ein Halsband mit einem Anhänger in Granatapfelform bzw. um einen Halsgurt mit einem kleinen Glöckchen oder Troddeln. Derartiger Schmuck bei Pferden ist bislang vor allem aus neuassyrischer Zeit belegt, wie Funde aus dem Nordwestpalast in Nimrud zeigen<sup>19</sup>. Die hier vorliegenden Siegelabrollungen verdeutlichen

<sup>18</sup> Als Eponym ist auf der Urkunde Erib-Marduk genannt, der in die Regierungszeit Tukulti-Ninurtas I. zu datieren ist. Siehe Freydank – Feller 2010: Siegel 9, Tf. 3,9a-c.

<sup>19</sup> Bei den Ausgrabungen in Nimrud entdeckte H. A. Layard im sog. „room of the bronzes“ im Nordwestpalast Verzierungen von Pferde- und Streitwagenzubehör. Darunter befand sich auch eine große Kollektion von annähernd 80 Glocken, die sich heute in London, British Museum befindet. Siehe Curtis – Tallis (Hg.) 2012: 122-123, Abb. 60-66.

allerdings, dass Halsgurte mit Anhängern bei Pferden bereits in mittelassyrischer Zeit bekannt waren.

Ein Pendant zu dieser Szene bietet die Darstellung auf einem Siegel aus einer Privatsammlung<sup>20</sup>.



Abb. 3 Rekonstruktionszeichnung: Helga Kosak

Dargestellt ist ebenfalls eine trianguläre Kampfszene zwischen einem aufgebäumten Pferd auf der rechten und einem aufgerichteten Löwen auf der linken Seite. Zu ihren Füßen kauert ein kleines Fohlen, welches das Pferd offenbar gegen den Löwen zu verteidigen versucht. Das Pferd ist naturnah und filigran wiedergegeben, was sich besonders an den Gelenken, dem Schweif und dem Kopf beobachten lässt. Auffällig ist hier ebenfalls der sehr detailliert ausgearbeitete „Halsschmuck“ des Pferdes mit einem aus einzelnen Kugeln versehenen Band und einem Anhänger in Granatapfel-Form.

Derartige Objekte waren um den Hals von Pferden angebracht, wie z.B. das Relief mit der Wiedergabe des König Assurnasirpals II. in einem Streitwagen, der von drei Pferden gezogen wird, zeigt. Siehe Curtis – Tallis (Hg.) 2012: 106, Abb. 34. Sowohl Zug- als auch Kavalleriepferde konnten mit Glockenbändern dargestellt sein. Wahrscheinlich dienten sie zur Einschüchterung der Feinde, aber auch ein rein dekorativer Charakter kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden.

<sup>20</sup> Privatsammlung Österreich, Material: dunkelbrauner marmorierter Stein, H.: 4,2 cm, Dm.: 1,6 cm

Durch die Komposition der Figuren wird eine sehr dynamische Darstellung erzeugt. Motiv als auch die stilistischen Eigenheiten dieses Siegels finden wiederum eine Entsprechung bei einem Rollsiegel aus der Sammlung des British Museum<sup>21</sup>. Nur handelt es sich dort um den Kampf zwischen einem geflügelten Pferd und einem Löwen. Die Komposition der triangulären Kampfgruppe als auch Details wie die gespreizte Pranke des Löwen würden auf eine Datierung beider Siegel in die Zeit Tukulti-Ninurtas I. verweisen.

Bemerkenswert ist, dass sich das Pferd in vergleichbaren triangulären Bildkompositionen auf mittelassyrischen Urkunden aus Assur auf der linken Seite befindet, während wir es auf den beiden Originalsiegeln aus dem Kunsthandel auf der rechten Seite vorfinden. Speziell der Vergleich der Siegelabrollung Abb. 2 mit der Umzeichnung des Originalsiegels Abb. 3 hinterlässt den Eindruck, als ob man eine spiegelverkehrte Ansicht der Szene vor sich hätte<sup>22</sup>.

Ein weiteres Beispiel für eine Pferdedarstellung in einer triangulären Kampfposition bietet zudem eine Siegelabrollung auf einer ungeschriebenen Tonplombe (Abb. 4), die als Gefäßverschluss verwendet worden sein könnte<sup>23</sup>.

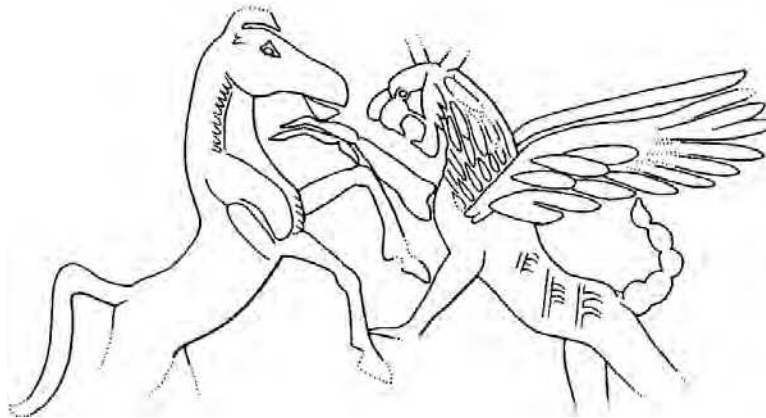


Abb. 4 Siegelabrollung auf VAT 16376 (Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin; Rekonstruktionszeichnung: Helga Kosak)

<sup>21</sup> Siehe Curtis – Tallis (Hg.) 2012: 95, Abb. 17.

<sup>22</sup> Handelt es sich dabei um einen Zufall oder könnte es sich bei den beiden Siegeln aus dem Kunsthandel auch um positiv nach geschnittene Siegel handeln, deren Vorbilder in den Siegelabrollungen selbst zu sehen sind?

<sup>23</sup> Archiv Assur 11018 u. Siehe auch Feller 2009: Siegel 11, Tf. 12, Abb. 11.1-11.3.



Zu erkennen ist ein geflügeltes Mischwesen mit dem Körper einer Löwin, Vogelklauen und einem Skorpionschwanz auf der rechten und diesem gegenüber ein aufgerichtetes Pferd auf der linken Seite. Die Abrollungsspuren verweisen auf ein detailliert gearbeitetes Siegel hin. Durch die Bildkomposition wird eine sehr dynamische Darstellung erzeugt. Bemerkenswert ist die Darstellung des geflügelten Mischwesens, welches den mythischen Kontext dieser Szene belegt.<sup>24</sup>

Ende des 13./Anfang des 12. Jh. v. Chr. hat sich das Pferd sukzessive in der mittellassyrischen Motivwelt etabliert und kann nun auch in anderen Zusammenhängen dargestellt sein, wie die Siegelabrollung (Abb. 5) auf einer Urkunde aus der Zeit des Königs Tiglatpilears I. (1114-1076 v. Chr.) belegt<sup>25</sup>. Das Siegel selbst ist älter zu datieren; die Details wie beispielsweise die Bildkomposition und der Halsschmuck des Pferdes sprechen für eine Zuordnung des Siegels in das 13. Jh. v. Chr.

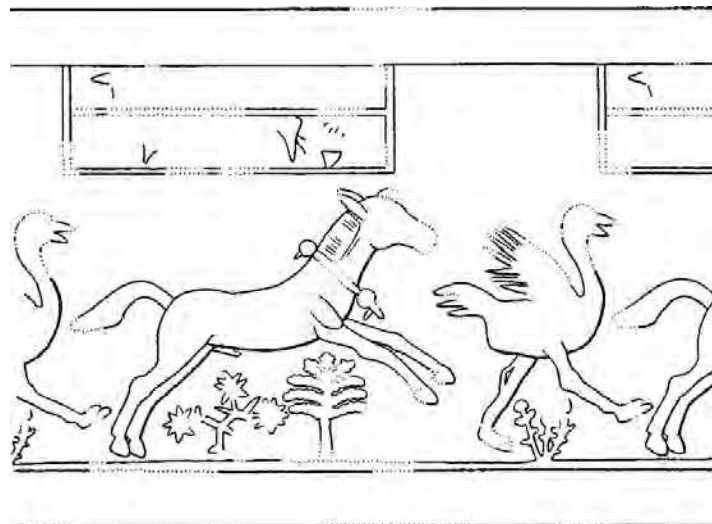


Abb. 5 Siegelabrollung auf VAT 18013 (Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin; Rekonstruktionszeichnung: Helga Kosak)

<sup>24</sup> Moortgat 1942: 63, verweist auf ähnliche Mischwesen auf Siegeln aus der altbabylonischen Zeit. Er ordnet sowohl das Pferd als auch das Mischwesen ebenfalls dem mythologischen Bereich zu.

<sup>25</sup> Als Eponym ist auf der Urkunde Taklak-ana-Aššur genannt, der in die Regierungszeit Tiglatpilears I. zu datieren ist. Archiv Assur 13058 ip.

Dargestellt ist ein nach rechts gewandtes Pferd, welches im Galopp hinter einem davoneilenden Strauß hinterherjagt. Das Pferd trägt ein Band oder Gurt mit einem granatapfelförmigen Anhänger um den Hals mit einer Art Gegengewicht, wie es auch auf Abb. 2 zu erkennen ist. Am Boden befinden sich unterschiedliche Pflanzen. Oberhalb des Pferdes sind in einer waagrecht angebrachten zweizeiligen Legende Keilschriftzeichen eingearbeitet worden. Pferd und Strauß<sup>26</sup> sind charakteristisch für die mittellassyrische Glyptik des 13. Jh. v. Chr. Bemerkenswert ist aber die Art und Weise, wie beide Tiere hier zusammen dargestellt sind. Während sie bisher im Kampf mit einem Helden<sup>27</sup> oder einem wilden Tier<sup>28</sup> gezeigt wurden, erscheinen sie hier in raschem Lauf. Die Szene erweckt eher den Eindruck eines „spielerischen Miteinanders“ der Tiere als eine kämpferischen Auseinandersetzung. Bei einem mehrfachen Abrollen der Darstellung entsteht ein endloses Figurenband, in dessen Folge der Strauß auch hinter dem Pferd herrennen könnte. So bleibt die Frage offen, ob sich die Tiere jagen oder ob lediglich eine Figurenreihe gemeint sein könnte.

Die im Laufe der Zeit entstandene enge Beziehung des Menschen zum Pferd hat sicherlich auch dazu geführt, dass das Pferd als mythologisches Wesen dargestellt wurde. Seinen deutlichsten Widerhall findet das Motiv des Pferdes somit in der Variante als geflügeltes Tier<sup>29</sup>. Es ist jetzt nicht mehr nur als wirkungsvolles Nutztier aufzufassen, sondern erfährt einen Bedeutungswechsel. Ein wesentlicher Aspekt für die veränderte Darstellungsweise ist sicherlich auch in der herausragenden Geschwindigkeit des Pferdes zu sehen. Geflügelte Pferde sind erstmals auf mittellassyrischen Siegeln aus dem 13. Jh. v. Chr. belegt. Die Perspektive verändert sich und damit verbunden auch einige Details in der Bildkomposition. Sie zeigen das geflügelte Pferd im Kampf gegen Löwen, Mischwesen oder Helden. Die wenigen bisher bekannten Darstellungen konzentrierten sich bisher vor allem auf Siegel aus dem Kunsthandel. Wie folgende Beispiele zeigen, ist das Motiv aber auch auf den mittellassyrischen Siegelabrollungen aus Assur belegt.

<sup>26</sup> Zum Strauß in Vorderasien siehe: Herles 2007: 173-212.

<sup>27</sup> Siehe Moortgat 1942: Abb. 4,10 oder Orthmann 1995: Abb. 93.2

<sup>28</sup> Siehe Moortgat 1942: Abb. 22,26.

<sup>29</sup> Zum Motiv des geflügelten Pferdes und anderer Mischwesen in der Kunst siehe z. B. Crüsemann – Janssen-Kim 2007: 87-98.

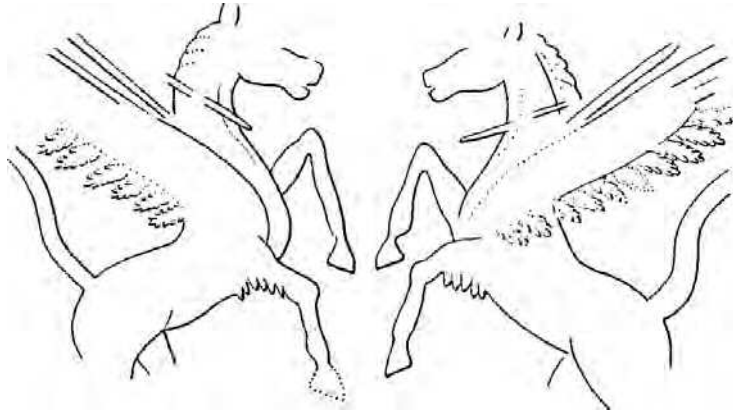


Abb. 6 Siegelabrollungen auf VAT 11116 und VAT 20060 (Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin; Rekonstruktionszeichnung: Helga Kosak)

Die Siegelabrollung Abb. 6<sup>30</sup> befindet sich auf zwei Urkunden, die in das 13. Jh. v. Chr. in die Regierungszeit Salmanassars I. zu datieren sind. Die Szene bietet eine annähernd trianguläre Komposition mit zwei sich gegenüberstehenden, aufgebäumten und geflügelten Pferden. Die Schwänze beider Pferde peitschen nach oben. Bemerkenswert ist die besonders feine und detaillierte Ausführung der Flügelfedern und der dynamische Eindruck, der hier vermittelt wird. Auffallend sind die Bänder, die um die Hälse der Pferde führen. Möglicherweise handelt es sich dabei ebenfalls um eine Art Halschmuck, der auch bei den ungeflügelten Pferdedarstellungen belegt ist (s. a. Abb. 2,3,5). Bei diesem Beispiel ist allerdings der sonst übliche Anhänger nicht vorhanden.

Ein weiteres Beispiel (Abb. 7)<sup>31</sup> für die Darstellung eines geflügelten Pferdes, dieses Mal in Kombination mit einem Helden, befindet sich auf einer Urkunde aus dem 13./12. Jh. v. Chr.

<sup>30</sup> Als Eponym wird auf VAT 11116 Aššur-šumu-lešir genannt, der in die Zeit Salmanassars I. zu datieren ist. Siehe auch Freydank – Feller 2007: Siegel 10, Tf. 5,5.14c.

<sup>31</sup> Archiv Assur 13058 bx.

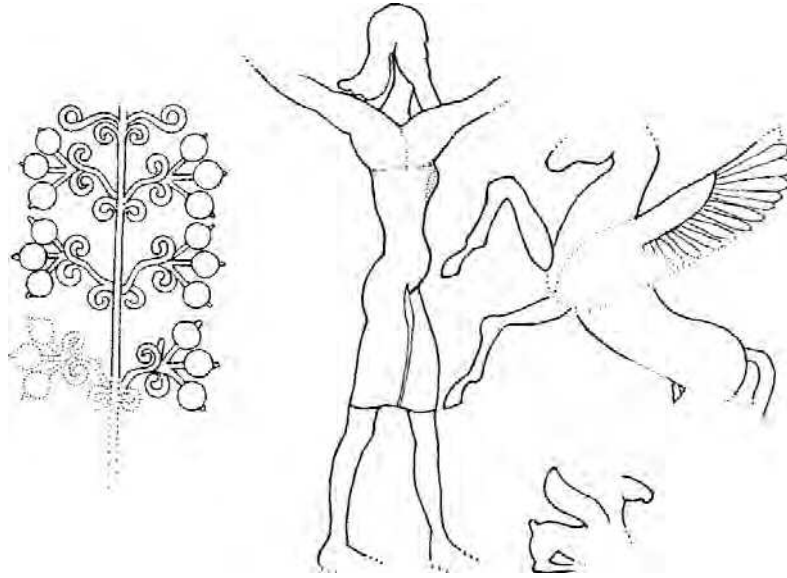


Abb. 7 Siegelabrollung auf VAT 18031 (Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin; Rekonstruktionszeichnung: Helga Kosak)

Zu erkennen ist ein nach rechts gerichteter, bärtiger Held, der mit der linken, ausgestreckten Hand nach einem aufgerichteten, geflügelten Tier greift. In der erhobenen rechten Hand dürfte er eine Waffe führen. Er trägt einen kurzen Rock, der sich weich um die Oberschenkel schmiegt. Quasten sind keine zu erkennen. Bei dem Tier sollte es sich um ein geflügeltes Pferd oder einen geflügelten Stier handeln, wobei die schlanke Körperform des Tieres eher auf ein Pferd schließen lässt. Zwischen diesen beiden kauert auf dem Boden ein kleines, geflügeltes Tier (Fohlen). Auch in diesem Fall scheint das geflügelte Pferd sein Junges gegen den Angriff des Helden zu verteidigen. Als Szenentrenner fungiert ein palmettartiger Baum mit geradem Stamm, von dem Voluten abgehen, an dessen jeweiligen Ende drei Granatäpfel hängen. Die Darstellung der stilisierten Pflanze lässt sich auch bei Ritzzeichnungen aus Assur belegen<sup>32</sup>, die Granatäpfel erinnern in ihrer Form auffallend an den Halsschmuck der Pferde auf Abb. 2,3 und 5.

<sup>32</sup> Siehe Preußner 1955: Tf. 25a, 26b, d

Eine besondere interessante Siegelabrollung folgt abschließend mit Abb. 8<sup>33</sup>: Die fast schon realistisch anmutende Wiedergabe einer Jagdszene zu Wagen auf einer unbeschrifteten Tonplombe, welche in das 12. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren ist<sup>34</sup>.

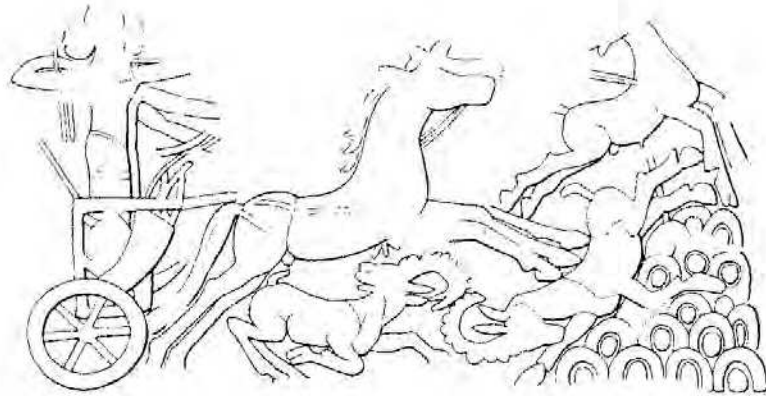


Abb. 8 Siegelabrollung auf VAT 9316 (Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin; Rekonstruktionszeichnung: Helga Kosak)

Auf einem Gefährt mit sechsspeichigen Rädern, welches von zwei Pferden gezogen wird, stehen zwei Personen. Bei der hinteren Person sollte es sich um den Wagenlenker handeln, in der vorderen, bärtigen Person, die mit Pfeil und Bogen auf davoneilende Steinböcke zielt, ist der König selbst zu sehen. Neben dem Herrscher könnten am Boden der Kabine zwei Köcher mit Pfeilen und weitere Bogen stehen. Die mit Zaumzeug versehenen Pferde sprengen im Galopp über einen am Boden kauern den Steinbock hinweg auf eine angedeutete Gebirgslandschaft zu. Dort stürzt ein weiterer Steinbock kopfüber den Berg hinunter, während ein, bereits von einem Pfeil getroffenes Tier, über die Bergkuppe zu flüchten versucht. Möglicherweise ist hier die Wiedergabe einer typisch assyrischen Jagdmethode ge-

<sup>33</sup> In der Literatur (siehe z. B. Opitz als Anhang zu dem Beitrag von Weidner 1935/36: 48-52.) wurde als Siegelbesitzer der König Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur bezeichnet. Diese Schlussfolgerung wurde aufgrund weiterer Urkunden getroffen, die sich heute in Istanbul befinden und die im Vorderasiatischen Museum Berlin nur in Form alter Fotos vorliegen (Foto Assur 1147-1154.), allerdings vorher von Weidner bearbeitet werden konnten (siehe Weidner 1935/36: 1-49). Neben der unbeschriebenen Plombe existieren nach Pedersen (Siehe Pedersen 1985: 63f.) noch drei weitere Tafeln mit „Dubletten“ des Siegels (Ass. 06096 cy, 06096 bt\*, 06096 cp). Als Siegelbesitzer ist, wie schon Pedersen 1985: 63f. bemerkte, von einem hohen Beamten namens Mutta auszugehen und nicht vom König selbst.

<sup>34</sup> Archiv Assur 6096 ap.

meint, bei der die Steinböcke bis an den Abgrund einer Schlucht getrieben und dann erlegt wurden<sup>35</sup>. Die Szene wirkt sehr dynamisch und ist in den Details äußerst sorgfältig gearbeitet worden<sup>36</sup>.

#### 4. Zusammenfassung

Während auf Siegeln der Mitannizeit das Pferd lediglich als Nebenmotiv erscheint, gerät das Pferd in der mittelassyrischen Glyptik stärker in den Fokus der Aufmerksamkeit und damit auch stärker in den Mittelpunkt des Bildgeschehens. Die ersten Belege für Pferdedarstellungen finden sich bei den Sigelabrollungen auf mittelassyrischen Urkunden aus Assur aus der Zeit Salmanassars I., das Motiv wird in der Regierungszeit Tukulti-Ninurtas I. aber immer beliebter. Zunächst werden die Tiere, als Äquivalent zu dem bis dahin üblichen Motiv der Capriden am Baum, aufgerichtet oder Bäume flankierend dargestellt. Es folgt das Motiv Held im Kampf mit Pferd/Pferden, hin zu den speziell unter Tukulti-Ninurta I. charakteristischen triangulären Kampfpositionen in Kombination mit Löwen oder Mischwesen. Hinzu kommt das einzeln stehende bzw. schreitende Pferd. Einzelmotive wie die Kombination mit einem Strauß oder die Darstellung einer Jagd mit einem von Pferden gezogenen Wagen ergänzen das Repertoire. Speziell die Kampfszenen können auch mit einem geflügelten Pferd dargestellt werden. Auch für diese Variante sind erste Belege in der Zeit Salmanassars I. zu konstatieren, wobei der Fokus ebenfalls unter Tukulti-Ninurta I. festzustellen ist. Soweit sich das anhand der Sigelabrollungen feststellen ließ, handelt es sich bei den Siegeln mit eingravierten Darstellungen von Pferden ausnahmslos um äußerst qualitativvoll gearbeitete Stücke. Mit dem Erstarken der assyrischen Macht und dem Ausweiten des assyrischen Territoriums unter Salmanassar I. und Tukulti-Ninurta I., mit dem stetig zunehmenden Einsatz von Pferden im Kriegsgeschehen, wurden die Tiere auch in die Bildwelt der mittelassyrischen Glyptik integriert. Hier zeigt sich deutlich, dass Rollsiegel auch als Reflexion der jeweils gegenwärtigen politischen und gesellschaftlichen Situation verstanden werden können.

<sup>35</sup> Freundlicher Hinweis von Prof. Dr. H. Klengel.

<sup>36</sup> Die hohe Qualität des Siegels wird umso deutlicher, wenn man als Vergleich z.B. das Rollsiegel VA 6975 (s. Moortgat 1940: Nr. 563) mit einer ähnlichen Szene hinzuzieht. Dort ist die Bilddarstellung flüchtiger geschnitten, das Bild wirkt flach, die Szene wenig dynamisch.

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## Die Siegel aus der Sammlung des Franziskanerklosters Flagellatio in Jerusalem heute

Irit Ziffer

Mit Hilfe von Frater Eugenio Alliata OFM konnten alle Rollsiegel der Publikation der Sammlung aus dem Jahre 1938 identifiziert werden. Nur Nr. 5a und 15a fehlten. Doch die beiden Rollsiegel fehlten schon, als Edith Porada die Sammlung studierte. Nr. 10 sieht verdächtig nach Fälschung aus. Der Stein ist extrem scharf geschnitten, der Schliff des Siegelbilds sieht recht mechanisch aus.

Die Stempelsiegel der Sammlung wurden von Shua Amorai-Stark bearbeitet. Unter den Stempelsiegeln konnten wir Nr. 52 nicht identifizieren. Porada Nr. 33 war von ihr als nordsyrisches Stempelsiegel des 1. Jahrtausends eingestuft worden, während Stark es als sassanidisch datiert. Die teilweise unterschiedlichen Benennungen des auf dem Siegelbild Dargestellten durch Porada und Stark zeigen, wie schwierig die im kunstwissenschaftlichen Methodenschnitt der formalen Beschreibung geforderte Identifizierung der abgebildeten Gegenstände oder Lebewesen sein kann. Hier bedarf es einer guten Kenntnis der Stil- und Gestaltungsgeschichte, die Edith Porada selbst für die altorientalische Siegelkunst entwickelt hat. 1938 steckte die Stilgeschichte noch in den Anfängen und es erweist sich bis heute als schwer, im Einzelfall zu entscheiden, ob ein Stier oder ein Bock, ein Löwe oder ein Hund abgebildet ist.

Konkordanz der Stempelsiegel zwischen Porada 1938b und nach Stark 1993 mit der Inventarnummer des Studium Biblicum Franciscanum (SBF).

Porada Nr. (Motiv)	Stark Nr. (Motiv)	SBF Inv. No.	Porada Nr.	Stark Nr.	SBF Inv. No.
30 (liegender Hör- nerträger)	14 (Ibex, gazelle, antelope or goat)	39	45 (gelagerter Damhirsch)	152 (Stag)	52
31 (Rautenmuster)	1 (Geomet- ric design)	149	46 (weidendes Pferd)	156 * (Gra- zing horse)	35
32 (Löwe)	17 (Lion)	46	47 (Buckel- rind)	147 (Zebu bull)	54
33 (liegendes Pferd & Vogel)	160 (Lion) <i>Sassanian</i>	48	48 (Hirschkopf über Flügel- palmette)	149 (Winged stag)	56a
34 (Adorationsgestus vor Säule und Flü- gelsonne)	26 (Ritual adoration scene)	161	49 (geflügelter Stier mit Men- schenkopf)	157 (Horse)	49
35 (Adorationsgestus vor Schaft)	28 (Ritual adoration scene)	33	50 (geflügelte Gestalt)	141 (Putto)	56
36 (Mann vor Mond- sichelstandarte)	27 (Ritual adoration scene)	162	51 (Männchen mit Pflanze)	140 (Man standing)	43
37 (Stern, Rhombus, Pflanze)	30 (Emble- ms of gods)	163	52 (Gestalt mit erhobenem Arm und Stern)	?	
38 (Vierfüßer)	36 (Fish)	58	53 (Pflanze)	169	55
39 (Sphinx)	38 (Win- ged Grif- fin)	34	54 (ungraviert)	nicht publi- ziert**	
40 (Kampfszene Mann - Stier)	25 (Hero fighting a gazelle)	160	55 (Halbmond und Lorbeer- zweige)	170 (Cre- scent with ribbon)	57
41 (Vogel)	164 (Bird)	51	56 (Portrait)	138 (Bust of a priest)	165
42 (gelagerter Wid- der)	154 (Ram)	53	57 (Skorpion und Kamel)	6 (Horse and scorpion)	45
43 (gelagerter Wid- der)	155 (Ram)	41	58 (Löwe)	4 (Unidenti- fied motifs)	40
44 (gelagerte Anti- lope)	153 (Ibex or Gazelle)	47	59 (Steinbock und Pflanze)	13 (Ibex or gazelle)	37

\* Auf dem Siegel ist eine Grundlinie zu sehen, auf der die Tiere stehen. Diese fehlt in Poradas Zeichnung.

\*\* Das Siegel enthält kein Siegelbild, die Stempelfläche ist leer. Darum wurde es in der Publikation von Shua Amorai-Stark nicht aufgenommen.

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Nachdruck aus: Berytus V, 1938, 1-26.

## DIE SIEGEL AUS DER SAMMLUNG DES FRANZISKANERKLOSTERS FLAGELLATIO IN JERUSALEM

Die vorliegende Siegelsammlung von 29 Rollsiegeln und 37 Stempelsiegeln umfasst Stücke aus fröhdynastischer bis zu jenen aus spätsassanidischer Zeit. Soweit es die Kenntnis gut datierten Vergleichsmaterials ermöglicht, habe ich versucht, die einzelnen Siegel zeitlich und typologisch einzuordnen.

Die Gruppen, welche sich hieraus ergeben sind:

- |           |   |  |
|-----------|---|--|
| Nr. 1 – 3 | Rollsiegel                                    | aus fröhdynastischer Zeit                                      |
| - 4       | –   | - neusumerischer Zeit  |
| - 5 – 16  | –   | - der Zeit der Amurru Dynastie                                 |
| - 17 – 22 | –   | - der Zeit von 1700-1000 v. Chr.                               |
| - 23 – 27 | –   | - der Zeit der assyrischen Stilperiode des ersten Jahrtausends |
| - 28 – 29 | –   | - unsicherer Herkunft.   |
|           |   |  |
| - 30 – 33 | Nordsyrische Stempelsiegel                    |  |
| - 34 – 40 | Assyrische oder neubabylonische Stempelsiegel |  |
| - 41 – 59 | Sassanidische Stempelsiegel.                  |  |

Zur Erleichterung der Bildbeschreibung sind einige in den Werken über Siegelzylinder oft gebrauchte, wenn auch vielleicht nicht einwandfrei bestätigte Bezeichnungen in den vorliegenden Text übernommen worden.

Es sind dies:

*Vase*: für ein Gefäß (?) das aus einem trichterförmigen Hals und einem halbkugeligen Bauch besteht, welcher meist schraffiert ist.

2

*Waage:*

für einen an den Enden verdickten senkrechten Stab, an dessen Mitte sich ein rundes, oder ovales Gebilde befindet.

*Caduceus:*

eine Standarte oder Scepter, das in zwei geschwungene Schlangendrachenköpfe ausläuft. In ihrer Mitte befindet sich meist noch der den Schaft nach oben abschliessende verschieden geformte Knopf.

*Weiters:**Kaunakes:*

für ein Gewand, dessen Fall darauf schliessen lässt, dass es aus senkrecht gefältelten Streifen besteht, die übereinander auf einem Unterkleid aufgenäht waren. Ein ebensolcher Streifen, der gegen den Hals meist mit einer Borte abschliesst, ist schräg über die linke Schulter gezogen, während die rechte freibleibt.

*Adorationsgestus:*

für die Gebärde der erhobenen Hand, die Begrüssung oder Anbetung ausdrücken kann.

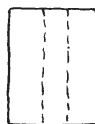
## ROLLSIEGEL DER FRÜHDYNASTISCHEN ZEIT

1.



1 (16)\*

\* [Edith Porada erklärt die in Klammer stehende Zahl nicht. Es dürfte sich um die Inventarnummer des Studium Biblicum Franciscanum handeln, während die Nummerierung der Abbildungen im Artikel zeitlich und typologisch geordnet ist.]



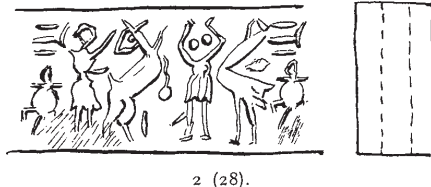
Weisser Stein.

H = 2,46 cm D = 1,65 cm. (Taf. I). Ein vogelköpfiger, nur mit doppeltem Gürtel bekleideter Held greift zwei sich kreuzende Löwen an. Daran schliesst sich eine zweite, gleichartige Gestalt, die ein nichtdefinierbares Tier im Nacken packt. Dieses hat den Kopf zurückgewandt. Daneben ein weiteres Tier in derselben Stellung, welches sich von dem Vorhergehenden nur durch einen kurzen in die Höhe stehenden Schwanz unterscheidet. Im Raum verstreut strichartige Füllsel.

Die Gruppe der Siegel, denen Nr. 1 angehört, hat Moortgat in dem Kapitel Rollsiegel der Mesilimzeit behandelt (Moortgat, *Frühe Bildkunst*, S. 31 ff.).

3

2.



2 (28).

Grauer, meist geädert Stein.

H = 2,32 cm D = 1,07 cm. (Taf. I).

Eine weibliche Gestalt in kurzem Rock, die Arme ernporgestreckt, steht zwischen zwei Capriden. Der Linke wendet den Kopf zu einer vogelköpfigen, ebenfalls mit kurzem Rock bekleideten Figur zurück, von der er angegriffen zu werden scheint. Den Abschluss der Szene bilden drei kurze, wagrechte Striche untereinander, darunter eine Schildkröte.

Die drei Striche sind hier in einer Weise angebracht, in der sonst die Schrift eingefügt ist (vergl. Moortgat, *Frühe Bildkunst*, XI, 1), können aber auch Bestandteil der Zeichnung sein.

Siegel dieser Art behandelt Moortgat in dem Kapitel: Bildkunst von Urnanše bis Lugalanda (*Frühe Bildkunst*, S. 9 ff.) und setzt sie kurz vor und während der ersten Dynastie von Ur an.

2 a.



2 a.

Original verschollen.

Zwei vogelköpfige Gestalten sitzen trinkend einander gegenüber und werden von zwei zwischen ihnen stehenden ebenfalls vogelköpfigen Figuren bedient.

Es ist hier die für diese Zeit charakteristische Festmahlsszene dargestellt (vergl. Moortgat, *Frühe Bildkunst*, XI, 2 etc.). Das Siegel dürfte etwas später anzusetzen sein, als Nr. 2.

3.



3 (15).

Muschelschale weiss-gelb.

H = 3,18 cm D = 1,95 cm. (Taf. I).

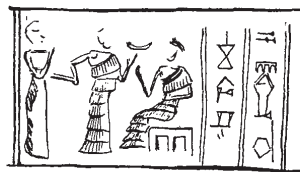
Ein nackter Held packt einen Löwen von rückwärts, der seinerseits einen Hörnerträger angreift. Der letztere bildet mit seinem Gegenstück, in dessen Nacken wie in den seinen zwei sich überschneidende Löwen ihre Pranken gegraben haben, eine symmetrische Gruppe.

4

Das Thema dieser Tierkampfszene gehört in seinen vielen Varianten der frühdynastischen Zeit an, ist jedoch von den Siegelschneidern der Akkadzeit übernommen und ihrem fortgeschrittenen bildnerischen Können entsprechend gestaltet worden (siehe z. B. *Bibl, Nat.* 10). So könnte die weiche Modellierung der Körper, die in den besser erhaltenen Stellen des Siegels erkennbar ist, eine Zuweisung desselben zur Akkadzeit rechtfertigen.

### ROLLSIEGEL DER NEUSUMERISCHEN ZEIT

4.



4 (8).



Serpentin.

H = 2,64 cm D = 1,46 cm

d = 1,37 cm. (Taf. I).

Eine Einführerin leitet an der Hand einen Anbeter vor eine thronende Gottheit. Die andere Hand hat sie ebenso, wie die Gottheit, im Adorationsgestus erhoben. Der Anbeter trägt ein glattes, bis über die Füße reichendes Gewand, von der Hüfte bis zum unteren Saum läuft ein Fransenstreifen. Einführerin und Gottheit tragen den Kaunakes. Im Raum ein liegender Halbmond.

Inschrift: A-pil-tâb

arad Ištar (?).

Das Siegel ist durch seine Verwandtschaft mit Stücken wie *Louvre T. 108* einwandfrei in die Zeit der III Dyn. von Ur datiert.

### ROLLSIEGEL AUS DER ZEIT DER AMURRU-DYNASTIE

5.



5 (1).



Schwarzgrauer Stein.

H = 3,48 cm D = 1,40 cm. (Taf. I).

Zwei Kämpferpaare umschliessen eine Inschrift. Links ein Stierheld mit einem Rinde kämpfend, er trägt eine Art Hörnerkrone, ebenso wie der rechte Held, der mit einem bis zu den Knien reichenden Wickelrock bekleidet ist. Er kämpft mit einem



5

Löwen, dessen steil aufgestellter Schweif in einem, nur durch die Linienführung als solchem erkennbaren Caduceus zu enden scheint. Zwischen Löwe und Held senkrecht eingefügt eine Schlange. Zwischen den Hörnern des Stieres ein sechszackiger Stern.

Inschrift: Ur ....

5 a.



5 a.

Original verschollen.

Zu beiden Seiten der Schrift zwei Kämpferpaare. Der eine Held hat einen Stier an den Hinterfüßen in die Höhe gehoben und seinen Fuss in der symbolischen Stellung des Triumphes auf dessen Nacken gesetzt. Der zweite Held kämpft mit einem Löwen. Unter der Schrift ein hockendes Männchen.

Inschrift: <sup>d</sup>Šamaš  
<sup>d</sup>Aja.

Das Motiv dieser beiden Kämpferpaare stammt aus der Akkadzeit, wurde aber, wie viele andere, von den Siegelschneidern der Amurruperiode wieder aufgenommen.

Vergleiche mit Siegeln wie *Weber* 262 und die für die Amurrusiegel charakteristische Inschrift auf Nr. 5a lassen für die Zuweisung der Siegel Nr. 5 und Nr. 5a in diese Periode keinen Zweifel zu.

6.

Haematit, ein Ende weggebrochen.

H = 2,37 cm D = 1,35 cm. (Taf. I).

Eine nackte Göttin, die Hände auf der Brust gekreuzt, weiters eine männliche Gestalt in bis zu den Knien reichendem Gewande, in der rechten Hand eine Keule, die Linke hängt frei herab. Ihr gegenüber eine weibliche Figur mit Hörnerkrone, deren langes Kleid bis zu den Knöcheln reicht. Die rechte Hand im Adorationsgestus erhoben. Zwischen ihnen



6 (18).

6

ein Männchen mit nach auswärts gebogenen Knien und einer spitzen Kappe, Darüber ein liegender Halbmond auf einem Schaft. Zwischen Göttin und männlicher Gestalt am Boden sitzend, ein Langschwanzaffe.

7.



7 (14).



Haematit.

H = 2,43 cm D = 1,07 cm

d = 1,01 cm. (Taf. I).

Nackte Göttin, männliche Figur und Gestalt im Adorationsgestus wie auf Nr. 6. Über dem Äffchen das Symbol der Waage, darüber das der Vase. Auf der anderen Seite der männlichen Figur ein halber Nergalstab.

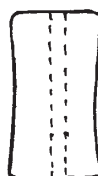
Inschrift: Nerga(l)  
Ma-mi-tum.

Nr. 6 und 7 sind flüchtigere und schematisiertere Ausführungen dieses für die Siegel der Amurru-Gruppe charakteristischen Motivs, wie es z. B. auf *Louvre A 393* dargestellt ist (siehe Contenau, *La Glyptique Syro-Hittite*, Le Dieu Amurru). Die vorliegenden Siegel sind daher vielleicht auch später, also an das Ende der Amurru-Periode zu setzen.

7 a.



7 a (24).



Schwarzer Stein, Gravierung stark verwittert.

H = 4,04 cm D = 1,28 cm. (Taf. I).

Das Siegel ahmt das auf Nr. 6 und 7 dargestellte Schema: Nackte Göttin, – Amurru – einführende Gestalt – nach, dürfte jedoch eine Fälschung sein.

8.



8.



Haematit beschädigt.

H = 2,31 cm D = 1,23 cm. (Taf. I).

Zwei Gestalten in langem Gewand stehen einander gegenüber, beide Hände im Adorationsgestus erhoben. Zwischen ihnen verläuft eine Bruchstelle, die nach Analogien mit Siegeln wie *Louvre A 104* eine weitere

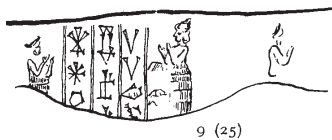
7

(männliche ?) Gestalt ausgelöscht haben dürfte. Neben der Schrift ein kleiner Stier, der das Blitzsymbol am Rücken trägt.

Inschrift: <sup>d</sup>In

<sup>d</sup>Sa-l(a).

9.



Haematit, nur oberer Teil erhalten.

H = 1,92 cm D = 1,31 cm. (Taf. I).

Zu beiden Seiten der Schrift einander gegenüber zwei Gestalten im Kaunakes, die Hände im Adorationsgestus erhoben.

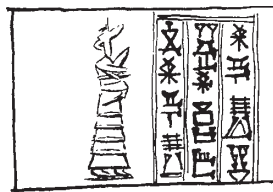
Inschrift: i-li-di (? ...)

mar nu-ur

arad <sup>d</sup>...

Vergl. *Louvre* A 465-469; *O.I.P.* XXII 260, 262, 263, 265; *O.I.P.* XXXVII 78, 79.

10.



Haematit.

H = 2,68 cm D = 1,18 cm. (Taf. I).

Eine Gestalt im Kaunakes mit Hörnerkrone den einen Arm im Adorationsgestus erhoben, steht auf einer kurzen Bodenlinie. Das Siegel ist äusserst schematisch mit dem Schleifrädchen geschnitten.

Inschrift: <sup>d</sup>Mar-tu i-din

mar p-<sup>d</sup>Nin-si-ra

arad <sup>d</sup>Mar-tu.

Vergl. *Louvre* A 456. Gestalten im Adorationsgestus neben der den grössten Teil des Siegels füllenden Schrift ist ein charakteristisches Bildschema der späteren Amurru-Periode.

11.



Syenit.

H = 2,67 cm D = 1,35 cm. (Taf. I).

Zwei Gestalten, die Arme verkreuzt, halten sich gegenseitig an den Handgelenken gefasst. Die linke weibliche (?) Figur trägt ein Gewand, das am Hals einen runden Ausschnitt aufzuweisen scheint, und dessen

8

Rock nach unten in einem senkrecht gefältnen breiten Streifen endet. Die rechte Gestalt ist bärtig, der untere Teil ihres Rockes wird durch zwei schräg schraffierte Streifen gebildet, die miteinander einen stumpfen Winkel bilden. Inschrift: Nicht entzifferbar.

Es ist möglich, dass die Beschädigung von Nr. 11 diese auf keinem anderen Siegel der Periode dargestellte Haltung der beiden Gestalten vortäuscht, ebenso wie den vollkommen aus dem Stil der Zeit fallenden Oberteil des Gewandes der linken Figur. Doch deuten diese beiden Tatsachen, wie auch der Zick-Zackstreifen auf dem Rock der rechten Gestalt (der wohl als Musterung auf kappadokischen Siegeln vorkommt, dort aber stets den ganzen Gewandteil durchläuft) eher auf eine Fälschung.

12.



12 (22).



Schwarzer Stein.

H = 1,82 cm D = 0,94 cm. (Taf. II).

In der Mitte des Siegelbildes zwei Männchen, die auf einem Beine hüpfend, das andere mit der Hand gefasst und in die Höhe gehoben haben. Mit der freien Hand halten sie sich gegenseitig gefasst. Hinter jedem Männchen ein weiteres in derselben Stellung, mit der freien Hand scheinen diese den Arm des Vordermannes umklammert zu halten. Im Raume ein liegender Halbmond und die Vase.

Vergl. *Dep. of Ant. Journal*, Vol. IV, 1934. p. 64, nr. 411, Taf. XXVI; *Louvre* A 341; *O.I.P.*, XXII, 148. Es kann hier eine Art Tanz dargestellt sein, oder ein Kampfspiel ähnlich den bei uns heute noch beliebten Hahnenkämpfen.

Die Gruppe von Siegeln, welche das vorliegende Motiv behandeln, ist durch die übrigen auf ihnen dargestellten charakteristischen Formen der Amurru-Siegel (Vase, Halbmondstandarte, Löwe, mit Krummstab auf dem Kopf) einwandfrei in diese Periode datiert, fällt aber durch die rohe Technik auf, die an die Siegel aus Susa erinnert (vgl. z. B. *Louvre* S. 492-510).

9

13.



13 (13).



Syenit.

H = 1,77 cm D = 0,95 cm. (Taf. II).

Eine sitzende Gestalt mit Kaunakes und runder Kappe bekleidet, vor ihr ein Gefäß über einem kleinen liegenden Halbmond (?). Auf dem Gefäß ist eine Verzierung kenntlich. Es folgt eine weitere stehende Gestalt im Kaunakes. Den Abschluss der Szene bilden 4 kurze wagrechte Zickzackreihen untereinander, die, wie sonst die Schrift, durch dünne Linien eingrahmt sind.

Ein Vergleich mit *O. I. C. XX*, S. 90, Ish 34-24 lässt es möglich erscheinen, dass der dort dargestellte Baum auf Nr. 13 in schematischer Weise angedeutet ist. Frankfort bezeichnet das zum Vergleich herangezogene Siegel als »pure Lharsa style«, daher als gleichzeitig mit dem Ende der Amurru-Zeit.

14.



14 (27).



Schwarzer Stein.

H = 1,93 cm D = 1,12 cm. (Taf. II).

(Das Siegelbild ist schwer erkennbar, daher macht die Bildbeschreibung keinen Anspruch auf unbedingte Gültigkeit).

Eine thronende Gestalt, vor ihr eine Dattelpalme, neben dieser ein schreitender Mann. Hinter dem Thronitz, im Raum, ein Kopf, darüber die Vase (?).

Der Bildgedanke des Siegels ist ein aus der Akkad-Zeit stammendes Motiv, dessen Darstellung auf Nr. 14 jedoch von dem geläufigen Schema in Kleinigkeiten wie der Armhaltung der thronenden Gestalt und der von ihr abgekehrten Stellung der schreitenden Figur abweicht. Kopf und Vase wieder sind geläufige Füllsel aus kappadokischen Siegeln (siehe z. B. *Bibl. Nat.* 266), doch bietet die auf Nr. 14 angewandte Technik für eine derartige Bestimmung keinen Anhaltspunkt.

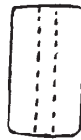
So würde ich das vorliegende Siegel in die spätere Amurru-Periode stellen, in eine Gegend, wie Syrien und Palästina, die, unter kappadokischem Einfluss stehend, altmesopotamische Motive verwendete und nach ihrem eigenen Gestaltungsbedürfnis abwandelte.

10

15.



15 (26).



Haematit, etwas beschädigt.

H = 1,89 cm D = 1,03 cm. (Taf.II).

Eine Gestalt in langem Mantel, der eine Schulter und ein Bein freilässt, hat die Hand im Adorationsgestus erhoben. Vor ihr ein auf den Hinterfüßen sitzender Löwe, der die eine Vorderpranke hebt. Über diesem ein sitzender Vogel. Es folgt eine weibliche Figur, der ersten Gestalt zugewandt, die Hand ebenfalls erhoben. Ihr glattes Gewand schliesst nach unten mit einem Fransensaum ab. Hinter dieser eine weitere Figur. Im Raum eine Hand und ein weiteres, nicht erkennbares Symbol.

Vergleiche besonders für die auffallenden Frisuren (Perücken ?) *Louvre A 909*.

15 a.



15 a.

Original verschollen.

Eine Gestalt im Wickelrock, neben dieser die Hand im Adorationsgestus erhoben und zu ihr aufblickend, eine kleine bärtige Figur in langem Gewand, das nach unten mit einem Fransensaum abschliesst. Es folgen zwei einander gegenüberstehende Sphingen über einer Rosette. Darunter 5 in einer Reihe schreitende Männchen. Neben diesem Zwischenglied ein Adorant vor einer thronenden Gottheit. Er scheint dieser eine Gabe, vielleicht ein Opfertier entgegenzuhalten. Die thronende Figur hat die eine Hand erhoben, ihr glattes Gewand schliesst gegen den Hals mit einem Fransensaum ab.

Moortgat (*Bildende Kunst*, S. 29-34) weist die Gruppe dieser Siegel dem nordsyrischen Kreis des 2. Jahrtausend zu. Die Funde von Sichem (*Z. D. P. V.* 1927, T. 40), wo die Abrollung eines derartigen Siegelzylinders zugleich mit Abdrücken

## [11]

von Skarabäen aus der 12. Dynastie Aegyptens auf einem Krugverschluss gefunden wurden, datieren diese Gruppe von Rollsiegeln mit annähernder Genauigkeit in den Übergang des 19. zum 18. Jahrhundert. Sie schliessen ausserdem auch Palästina in das Verbreitungsgebiet dieser Siegelgruppe ein. Abgesehen von der ganz allgemeinen Bestätigung, welche diese Datierung durch Verwendung von Motiven erfährt, die sich an die Siegel der Amurru-Periode anschliessen, (siehe Christian, *W. Z. K. M.* 42, S. 304) bildet das Siegel des Ahamnirši aus Ras Shamra (*Syria*, XVII, p. 113, Fig. 6) einen weiteren Beweis für ihre Richtigkeit.

Moortgat stellt das Hervortreten aegyptischer Elemente und aegyptischer Darstellungsweise auf diesen Siegeln fest und begründet dies mit dem verstärkten politischen Druck, den Aegypten im II. Jahrtausend auf Syrien und Palästina ausübte. Christian bezieht sich auf Pieper (*Z. D. P.* V. 69, S. 86) der in diesen Siegeln eigene Erzeugnisse der Hyksos sieht und verweist darauf, dass in diesem Fall die Siegel vielleicht als churritisch zu bezeichnen seien (*W. Z. K. M.*, 42, S. 304).

16.

Syenit.

H = 2,02 cm D = 1,02 cm. (Taf. II).

Ein Vierfüsser (Pferd oder Rind, der Kopf durch Beschädigung des Siegels nicht erkennbar), über ihm hockend ein Pavian. Neben dem Vierfüsser eine Gestalt mit Rüschenrock bekleidet, die Hände über der Brust gefaltet, am Kopf eine runde Kappe. Es folgt eine Figur in gleicher Haltung die über einem kurzen, glatten Rock einen bis zur Wade reichenden Mantel zu tragen scheint. Eine weitere Gestalt, mit der ersten identisch, folgt. Im Raum eine Kugel und das Symbol der Waage.



16 (12).

Für den Vierfüsser vergleiche *Louvre* A 904; der Pavian erinnert mehr an aegyptische Darstellungen (siehe Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, XII, 707) als an kappadokische (siehe *Tablettes Cappadociennes*, XXI, Nr. 28), was zu seiner Bedeutung als Tier des Thot, Gottes der Schreiber, hier ganz gut passt.

Die Haltung der drei Gestalten schliesst eine Zuweisung zu den feststehenden Bildschemen der stilistisch reinen Amurru-Siegel aus, da auf den letzteren immer wenigstens eine Figur die Hand im Adorationsgestus erhoben hat.

So möchte ich Nr. 16 am ehesten der vorher besprochenen Gruppe von Siegeln anschliessen, als lokales Erzeugnis eines minderbegabten Siegelschneiders.

[12] ROLLSIEGEL AUS DER ZEIT VON 1700-1000 v. CHR.

17.

Syenit.

H = 2,29 cm D = 1,32 cm. (Taf. II).

Ein Mann, mit dem ägyptischen Lendenschurz bekleidet, packt mit der Linken ein Buckelrind an der Schnauze, mit der Rechten holt er nach rückwärts aus. Zwischen ihm und dem Zebu eine Pflanze und ein Igel. Über dem Zebu ein kleines Rind hinter dem ein Männchen in einer Art Knieaufstellung hockt. Das Männchen, mit einer spitzovalen Kappe bekleidet, hält in der einen Hand einen undefinierbaren Gegenstand über dem Schwanz des Rindes. Die andere Hand hebt es mit nach rückwärts abgelenktem Arm in die Höhe. Hinter dem Buckelrind stehend, ein weiteres Männchen, in der linken Hand einen nicht erkennbaren Gegenstand, in der Rechten einen Hakenstab haltend. Im Raum ein Vogel, eine Uräusschlange (?) und zwei weitere, nicht erkennbare Symbole.



17 (II).

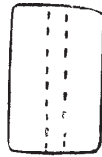


Fig. 1.

Siegelmateriale, das zum Vergleich mit Nr. 17 herangezogen werden könnte, fehlt bisher, doch finden einzelne Teile desselben, Parallelen auf ägyptischen Reliefs. (Für den Mann mit Lendenschurz siehe Schulz, *Kunst des A. Orients*, S. 80, Jagd auf Federwild; Darstellung eines Igels, Fechtmeier, *Die Plastik der Ägypter*, Berlin 1923, Tf. 128 etc.)

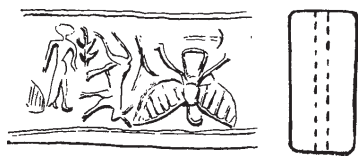
Besonders zu beachten ist der Hakenstab, ein Gerät, das den Hirten der arabischen Wüste Ägyptens zum Herunterziehen der Äste diente, um dem Vieh das Abweiden zu ermöglichen. (Die Aabde und Maadse benutzen den Stab noch heute). In Ägypten, schon in der Pyramidenzeit, wurde dieser Stab zum Scepter, aus dessen Haken ein Windhundkopf geformt wurde (Fig. 1). Auf den Hyksoskarabäen, *Gezer*, Vol. III, Pl. CXXI, 20, Newberry: *Scarabs*, Pl. XXV, 17 etc. hat dieses Scepter jedoch die Form des einfachen Hakenstabes, der auf dem vorliegenden Siegel ohne weitere symbolische Bedeutung in seiner ursprünglichen Verwendung dargestellt zu sein scheint.



13

Ein in dieser freien Komposition nur von den Siegelbildern der früh-dynastischen und Akkadzeit her bekanntes Thema: Hirten, Vieh weidend; ägyptische Elemente neben dem typisch mesopotamischen, später auch nordsyrischen Knielaufschema (Siehe Pieper, *Z. f. ägypt. Sprache*, 69, S. 94) weisen das Siegel in die Zeit der Hyksosherrschaft in Palästina, in der jene Elemente in dieser Weise zusammenflossen. (Über Hyksossiegel siehe v. d. Osten, *O.I.P.* XXII, S. 8: Egyptian and Egyptianized Seals).

18.



18 (3).




Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

Syenit.

H = 2,32 cm D = 1,08 cm. (Taf. II).

Ein Mann, in rechtwinkliger Richtung zu ihm gestellt ein schreitendes Rind, neben diesem mit dem Kopf nach unten, die Füße nach oben gestreckt, die Flügel weit ausgespreizt, ein Vogel. Zwischen Mann und Rind eine Pflanze, die der Hieroglyphe  ähnelt (Fig. 2).

Vergl. Gezer, III, Pl. CCII, 1 u. 7. Die zum Vergleich herangezogenen Siegel sind durch die Fundumstände in die Zeit Amenophis III (ca. 1438-1403) datiert. Einen Beweis für die Richtigkeit dieser zeitlichen Bestimmung gibt der Skarabäus Petrie, *Scarabs*, Pl. XXXI, Fig. 10 (XVIII. Dynastie, Amenophis III) auf dem dasselbe schreitende Rind wie auf Nr. 18 abgebildet ist (Fig. 3).

Ein weiterer Vergleich mit noch unveröffentlichten Siegeln aus Lachisch (Tell Duweir) zeigt, dass Nr. 18 einer Siegelgruppe angehört, die für Palästina in der II. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts charakteristisch ist.

19.



19 (30).



Schwarzer Stein, etwas beschädigt.

H = 2,03 cm D = 0,77 cm

d = 0,74 cm. (Taf. II).

Eine Gestalt in bis zu den Knien reichendem glatten Gewand scheint mit der einen Hand den Bogen zu spannen, mit der anderen den Pfeil gegen einen Dam(?) -Hirsch loszulassen, der auf den Jäger zukommt. Über dem Hirschen, in entgegengesetzter Richtung, eine Hirschkuh,

[14]

im Raum verstreut einige undefinierbare Zeichen, vielleicht nur Beschädigungen des Siegels, weiters eine dreiblättrige Blütenknospe mit nach oben gerichtetem Kelch.

Diesem Bildgedanken in der Form zweireihig übereinander angeordneter Tiere, auf die ein ihnen gegenüberstehender Jäger zielt, begegnen wir auf Reliefs in Moortgat, *Bild. Kunst.* XXXV (Üjūk). Dort nimmt jedoch der Jäger eine Knielaufstellung ein. Die auf Nr. 25 dargestellte Figur findet sich aber auf einem Skarabäus aus Gezer, III, Pl. CCIII a, 23, aus der IV. sem. Periode.

Für die Blütenknospe vergleiche Petrie, *Israelite Cities* XV: pottery coffer aus Jehudijeh, Zeit: Tutmes III.

Die hier angeführten zeitlichen Anknüpfungspunkte dürften eine Datierung von Nr. 25 in das letzte Viertel des zweiten Jahrtausends rechtfertigen.

20.



20 (7).



Fritte, blau glasiert.

H = 2,23 cm D = 1,08 cm. (Taf. II).

Flüchtig gezeichneter Greif, dessen Schwanz und Hinterfuss an ein nicht erkennbares Gebilde anschliessen. Ein Abschluss von flüchtig übereinander gezeichneten Sternen.

Das Motiv dieses Siegels: der in das Ornament mit einbezogene Vogel, findet sich in ähnlicher Darstellung auf Tonscherben der II. sem. Periode in Gezer, Vol. III, Pl. CLXV, I. Diese und die Verwendung von Fritte datieren das Siegel in die 2. Hälfte des zweiten Jahrtausends.

Ähnliche Frittesiegel mit flüchtigen und geometrisierenden Darstellungen von Tieren tauchen in dieser Zeit bis nach Babylon auf. Siehe VDOG 47, Abb. 101 aus einem jungkassitischen Grab.

21.



21 (21).



Braunschwarzer Stein (Ton?) etwas beschädigt. H = 3 cm D = 1,45 cm d = 1,41 cm. (Taf. II).

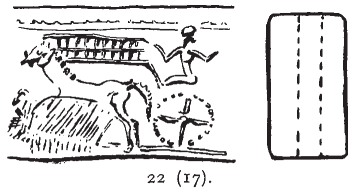
Die Giltigkeit der Bildbeschreibung steht wegen der Beschädigung des Siegels in keiner Weise fest.

Zwei Gestalten in einem von einem, Pferde gezogenen Streitwagen, von denen die eine die Zügel hält, die andere hinter ihr steht.

[15]

Ein Vergleich mit E. F. Schmidt; *Excavations at Tepe Hissar Damgan*, Philadelphia 1937, [198] H. 892, weist das Siegel vielleicht in diese Gegend. Ein weiterer Vergleich mit *Louvre Susa* 379 (ebenfalls ein Tonsiegel) würde dieser Annahme nicht widersprechen.

22.



22 (17).



Fig. 4.

Schwarzer Stein, beschädigt.

H = 2,36 cm D = 1,16 cm. (Taf. II).

Auf, einem Streitwagen sitzend eine weibliche sich zurückwendende Gestalt. Sie scheint über dem Wagenrad zu schweben, da ein Wagenkasten nicht sichtbar ist. Der Wagen wird von einem Pferd gezogen, welches einen Vorderfuss in der Gangart des *Passo romano* gehoben hat. Die Zügel sind durch ein gitterartiges Gebilde wiedergegeben.

Darstellungen dieses Motivs finden sich in ähnlicher Weise auf mykenisch beeinflussten Keramikbruchstücken aus Cypern (vergl. Murray, Smith & Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus*, London 1900: Fig. 69 und 71 [927 u. 929]).

Für eine Zuweisung in diesen Kreis spricht weiters die Auffassung des Körpers und ein Vergleich mit H. Bossert, *Alt Kreta*, 320 c.

## ASSYRISCHE ROLLSIEGEL DES 1. JAHRTAUSENDS

22.



23 (14).

Schwarzer Stein.

H = 3,32 cm D = 1,20 cm

d = 1,02 cm. (Taf. III).

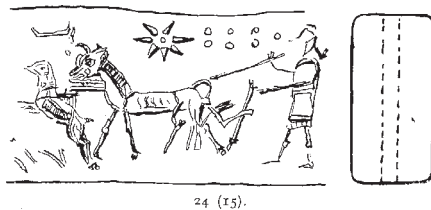
Eine Gestalt in langem Gewand hält mit der rechten Hand einen Fächer über einen Opfer-Tisch, in der vorgestreckten Linken ein Manipel. Sie steht vor einer thronenden bärtigen Gottheit, welche die Rechte erhoben hat und in der Linken einen unerkennbaren Gegenstand hält. Zu ihren Häupten ein achtzackiger Stern, ein Dolch, dessen Spitze nach oben ge-

[16]

richtet ist und ein liegender Halbmond. Der Thronsitz dürfte mit Troddeln verziert sein, die Lehne endet in einem Bügel. In den Opferständer ist ein Gefäß eingelassen.

Moortgat behandelt diese Kultszenen (*Bildende Kunst*, S. 102) im Rahmen einer Untersuchung des Bildgedankenvorrates der assyrischen Kunst auf dem Höhepunkt ihrer Entwicklung vom 9.-7. Jahrhundert. Er bezieht aber Weber Nr. 566 und 567 in das hier behandelte Motiv ein, obwohl das erstere Siegelbild die Illustration eines Astralmythos, das letztere eine Beschwörungsszene darstellen dürfte.

24.



24 (15).

Syenit.

H = 3,33 cm D = 1,57 cm. (Taf. III).

Ein bärtiger Mann in glattem Gewand, dessen Saum bis zu den Knien reicht, führt mit der linken Hand einen von einem Rind gezogenen Pflug. In der Rechten hält er einen Stachel, mit dem er das Tier antreibt. Vor dem Rind springt ein Mischwesen mit den Vorderbeinen an den Rücken des Mannes. Dieses Fabeltier hat den Leib eines Capriden, Vogelkopf und Flügel. Im Feld ein liegender Halbmond, weiters eine Sonne – 7 Zacken um eine Kugel angeordnet – und sieben weitere kleine Kugeln.

Vergl. Weber 497; der auf diesem Siegel (ebenso wie auf den später angegebenen, deren Inhalt das gleiche Motiv bildet, die jedoch anderen Epochen angehören) dargestellte Vogel dürfte auf Nr. 24 durch Kopf und Flügel des Mischwesens symbolisch angedeutet sein. Die sieben Kugeln könnten das mit der Saat in Verbindung stehende Siebengestirn verkörpern.

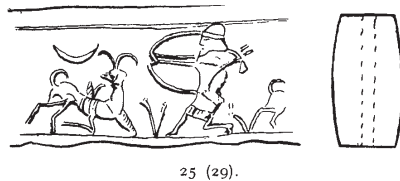
Die Art der Sonnendarstellung auf Nr. 24 ist für die assyrischen Siegel des 10. Jahrhunderts charakteristisch.

Siegelbilder, das Motiv des Pflügens beinhaltend:

Aus der Akkadzeit:	<i>Louvre A 115; Bibl. Nat. 7; (O.I.C. No. 16, Fig. 27: 31-660).</i>
- - Kassitenzeit:	<i>Weber 496.</i>
- - Achämenidenzeit:	<i>Louvre A 791.</i>

17

25.



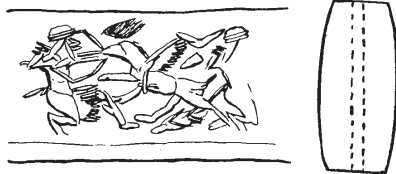
Schwarzer Stein.

H = 2,37 cm D = 1,17 cm

d = 1,10 cm. (Taf. III).

Ein bärtiger Mann in Knielaufstellung spannt mit der einen Hand den Bogen, mit der anderen legt er den Pfeil auf einen Steinbock an. Dieser ist vor ihm auf die Vorderfüsse gesunken und hat den Kopf zurückgewandt. Am Rücken scheint er kleine Flügel zu haben. Zwischen Steinbock und Bogenschützen am Boden eine Pflanze. Im Raum ein liegender Halbmond.

26.



Chalcedon.

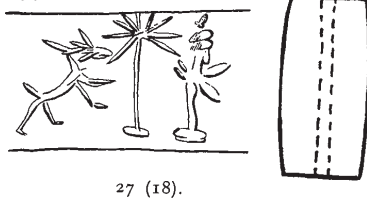
H = 3 cm D = 1,40 cm. (Taf. III).

Ein Bogenschütze in ähnlicher Haltung wie auf Nr. 25, gegen den ein Greif anstürmt. Zwischen den Beinen des Greifen ein Delphin (?). Der Bogenschütze ist bärtig, trägt eine Kappe mit doppeltem Rand und ein kurzes, in Fransen auslaufendes Gewand.

Das Siegel ist nur mit dem Schleifrädchen geschnitten.

Über das Motiv des »Bogenschützen, ein Wild jagend«, siehe Moortgat (*Bildende Kunst*, S. 54 ff.). Er stellt fest, dass es zeitlich nur vereinzelt über die Wende des zweiten und ersten Jahrtausends hinauskommt und sein Verbreitungsgebiet zwischen Zagros und Taurus liegt. Nach dem Unterschied in der Technik zu schliessen, dürfte Nr. 25 dem 10. Jahrhundert, Nr. 26 etwas später, ins 9. Jahrhundert, zu setzen sein.

27.



Dunkelgrün-grauer Stein.

H = 2,86 cm D = 1,26 cm

d = 1,21 cm. (Taf. III).

Ein Löwe, auf den Hinterfüssen halb aufgerichtet, springt gegen eine Palme an, an deren linker Seite eine äusserst schematisierte menschliche Gestalt steht.

[18]

Für die Darstellung des Löwen vergl. *Louvre* A 624.

Für die Andeutung der menschlichen Gestalt vergl. *O.I.P.*, XXII, 501.

Das vorliegende Siegel nur mit dem Schleifradchen geschnitten, dürfte in seiner äussersten Schematisierung noch einige Zeit nach Nr. 26, an das Ende der assyrischen Stilperiode zu setzen sein.

### SPÄTE ROLLSIEGEL UNSICHERER HERKUNFT

28.



28 (19).



Braunweiss-geädert und gesprenkelter Stein.

H = 3,37 cm D = 1,11 cm

d = 0,74 cm. (Taf. III).

Drei in gleicher Höhe im Raum sitzende Männchen, am Kopf runde Kappen, die eine Hand im Adorationsgestus (?) erhoben. Dazwischen senkrecht eingefügt, eine Inschrift:

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵

Die Inschrift könnte althebräisch, die Kantigkeit der Buchstaben durch die Technik des Siegelschneiders hervorgerufen sein.

29.



29 (6).



Schwarzer Stein.

H = 2,48 cm D = 0,92 cm

d = 0,80 cm. (Taf. III).

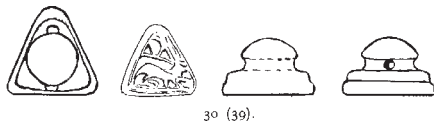
Dieses Siegel könnte Nr. 28 in dem Motiv der drei Männchen im Raum ähneln. Zwei dieser Männchen scheinen Federkopfputze zu tragen. Im Raum zwei Griechische »N« und ein nichterkennbares Zeichen. Weiters ein Fisch (?).

Oberflächliche Ähnlichkeit mit *Louvre* C 21 a und den auf *Louvre* C 3 dargestellten Zeichen lässt vielleicht auf kretischen Einfluss oder Ursprung schliessen.

19

# NORDSYRISCHE STEMPELSIEGEL DES 1. JAHRTAUSENDS

30.



30 (39).

Schwarzer Stein.

H = 1,06 cm L = 1,75 cm

D = 1,85 cm. (Taf. IV).

Gelagerter Hörnerträger, darüber ein zweites kleineres, nicht erkennbares Tier.

Vergl. *Hogarth* 204-208 (S. 76). Nr. 30 dürfte zu einer Gruppe nachhethitischer Siegel gehören. Die nordsyrische Herkunft der Siegelform steht fest (*Hogarth*, S. 21). Vergl. weiters *O.I.P.*, XXII, 368.

31.



31 (38).

Dunkelbrauner Stein.

H = 1,51 cm L = 2,10 cm

D = 1,39 cm. (Taf. IV).

Rautenmuster durch schräg gekreuzte Striche gebildet.

Vergl. *Hogarth* 214.

32.



32 (46).

Haematit.

H = 1,17 cm D = 1,70 cm

d = 1,52 cm; Platte D = 1,60 cm

d = 1,46 cm. (Taf. IV).

In der Mitte des Siegels ein Löwe, am Rand mehrere nicht definierbare Zeichen.

Die Form des Siegels ist nordsyrisch (Vergl. *Louvre* A 1074 und *Bibl. Nat.* 650), für die Zeichnung des Siegelbildes sind vorläufig keine Parallelen vorhanden.

33.



33 (48).

Haematit.

H = 1,33 cm, L = 1,44 cm

D = 1,52 cm. (Taf. IV).

Platte: D = 1,36 cm d = 1,42 cm.

Gelagertes Pferd, im Feld ein Vogel.

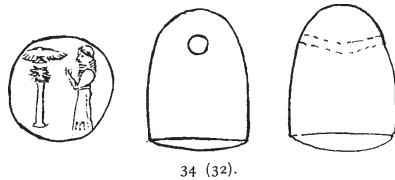
Vergl. von der Osten, *O.I.P.*, XXII, 550.

Die Bezeichnung »nordsyrisch« wurde von v. d. Osten (siehe *O.I.P.*, XXII, S. 9) übernommen, der jedoch selbst diesen Terminus, welcher Siegel verschiedenster stilistischer Zugehörigkeit über das ganze 1. Jahrtausend bis in die frühe nachchristliche Aera vereinigt, als mehr- oder weniger unzulänglich bezeichnet.

## 20

## ASSYRISCHE ODER NEUBABYLONISCHE STEMPELSIEGEL

34.



34 (32).

Chalcedon, in der Durchbohrung Metallreste (Kupfer?).

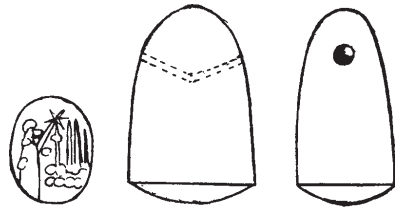
H = 2,68 cm D = 1,90 cm

d = 1,80 cm. (Taf. IV).

Ein bärtiger Mann in langem Gewand, die Hand im Adorationsgestus erhoben, steht vor einer Säule, die über einem Stern die geflügelte Sonnenscheibe trägt.

Ein Vergleich mit *Gezer*, I, Fig. 1 u. 4, einem Abdruck auf einer Tontafel aus dem Jahre 669, datiert Nr. 34 ungefähr um dieselbe Zeit.

35.



35 (33).

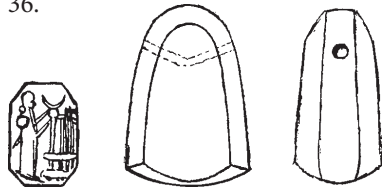
Milchiger, geädertter Chalcedon.

H = 2,84 cm D = 1,98 cm

d = 1,64 cm. (Taf. IV).

Ein bärtiger Mann in langem Gewand, vor einem Altar oder Götterthron, die Hand im Adorationsgestus erhoben. Auf dem Altar steht ein Schaft, der einen Stern trägt, weiters Speere (?) (Symbol des Marduk).

36.



36 (60).

Rauchfärbener Chalcedon.

H = 2,73 cm L = 1,95 cm

B = 1,27 cm. (Taf. IV).

Die nämliche Gestalt wie auf Nr. 35, auf dem Altar ein liegender Halbmond auf einem Schaft, weiters das Stylos – Symbol Nebos.

Für Nr. 35 und 36 vergl. *Louvre A 794*, Abdruck auf einer Tontafel aus Warka aus dem Jahre 7 des Kambyses. Vergl. ausserdem das Rollsiegel King: *History of Babylon*, Pl. XVIII.

37.



37 (35).

Bläulicher Chalcedon.

H = 2,45 cm L = 1,92 cm

B = 1,11 cm D = 1,76 cm

d = 1 cm. (Taf. IV).

In der Mitte des Siegels ein liegender Rhombus, darüber ein siebenzackiger Stern, darunter eine stilisierte Pflanze – oder ein Strahlenbündel?



[21]

Vergl. wie zu Nr. 34, auf derselben Tafel wurde ein ähnlicher Abdruck wie Nr. 37 gefunden.

38.



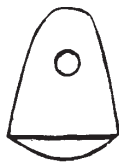
38 (36).

Stempelsiegel in Gestalt einer Ente.  
Gewicht. Rauchfarbener Chalcedon.  
H = 1,08 cm L = 1,56 cm  
B = 0,86 cm. (Taf. IV).  
Schematische Andeutung eines Vierfüßers.

Die Stempelsiegel dieser Form weisen stets eine flüchtige, nur mit Schleifrädchen und Kugelbohrer geschnittene, aus wenigen Strichen bestehende Zeichnung auf (siehe *O.I.P.* XXII, S. 9: duck shaped seals).

Für eine zusammenfassende Charakteristik der Siegelgruppe, denen Nr. 34 bis 38 angehören, siehe v. d. Osten, *O.I.P.*, XXII, S. 9.

39.



39 (58).

Gelblichgrünes Glas.  
H = 2,13 cm D = 1,66 cm  
d = 1,55 cm. (Taf. IV).  
Sphinx mit Löwenkopf (?) an der Brust (?).

Vergl. Tell En Nasbeh (William F. Badè, A jar handle stamp from Tell en Nasbeh, in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, L (Giessen 1932), 89-90 illus).

40.



40 (31).

Chalcedon.  
H = 2,78 cm D = 2,16 cm  
d = 1,90 cm. (Taf. IV).  
Etikette Tell Amman 1903.  
Ein bärtiger Mann packt mit der Linken einen Stier an den Hörnern, in der Rechten schwingt er eine Peitsche, zum Schlage gegen das Tier ausholend. Er trägt ein langes, quer gestreiftes Gewand. Über dem Stier ein liegender Halbmond.

Für die Peitsche vergl. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I, 14. Dieses, ein achämenidisches Rollsiegel, verwendet das vorliegende assyrische Motiv.  
Nr. 40 wird somit zwischen die beiden Epochen gestellt.

22

## SASSANIDISCHE STEMPELSIEGEL

(Nr. 41 bis 55 sind halbkugelförmig.)

41.



41 (51).

Hornstein.

H = 1,50 cm L = 1,67 cm

B = 1,36 cm. (Taf. IV).

Platte: D = 1,16 cm d = 1,16 cm.

Ein Vogel, den Kopf nach unten gerichtet.

42.



42 (53).

Marmor.

H = 1,40 cm L = 1,81 cm

B = 1,55 cm. (Taf. IV).

Platte: D = 1,44 cm d = 1,36 cm.

Gelagerter Widder.

43.



43 (41).

Chalcedon mit tief eingeschnittener  
kurvilinear Verzierung.

H = 1,67 cm L = 1,99 cm

B = 1,23 cm. (Taf. IV).

Platte: D = 1,45 cm d = 1,05 cm.

Gelagerter Widder.

44.



44 (47).

Hornstein.

H = 1,52 cm L = 1,70 cm

B = 1,19 cm. (Taf. IV).

Platte: D = 1,25 cm d = 1,05 cm.

Gelagerte Antilope.

45.



45 (52).

Carneol.

H = 1,47 cm L = 1,92 cm

B = 1,56 cm. (Taf. IV).

Platte: D = 1,55 cm d = 1,47 cm.

Gelagerter Damhirsch.

Für den Damhirsch siehe: L. Keimer, *Cornes de Daim*, in *Mélanges Maspéro, Orient Ancien*, Cairo 1934, S. 273 ff.

46.



46 (34).

Milchiger Chalcedon.


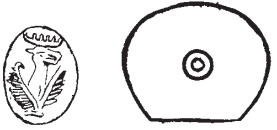




H = 1,78 cm L = 2,23 cm

B = 1,67 cm. (Taf. IV).

Platte: D = 1,76 cm d = 1,60 cm.

Weidendes Pferd.

23

47.  Carneol.  
H = 1,52 cm L = 1,73 cm  
B = 1,21 cm. (Taf. IV).  
Platte: D = 1,19 cm d = 0,91 cm.  
Stehendes Buckelrind.  
47 (54).
48.  Milchiger Chalcedon.  
H = 1,65 cm L = 1,97 cm  
B = 1,35 cm. (Taf. IV).  
Platte: D = 1,34 cm d = 1,02 cm.  
Hirschkopf über Flügelpalmette.  
48 (50).
49.  Bergkristall.  
H = 1,49 cm L = 1,77 cm  
B = 1,44 cm. (Taf. IV).  
Platte: D = 1,29 cm d = 1,11 cm.  
Geflügelter Stier mit Menschenkopf.  
49 (49).
50.  Achat.  
H = 1,16 cm L = 1,38 cm  
B = 1 cm. (Taf. IV).  
Platte: D = 1,06 cm d = 0,89 cm.  
Eine mit gekreuzten Füßen stehende  
geflügelte Gestalt hält einen nicht er-  
kennbaren Gegenstand vor sich.  
50 (56).
51.  Hornstein.  
H = 2 cm L = 2,31 cm  
B = 1,74 cm. (Taf. IV).  
Platte: D = 1,73 cm d = 1,60 cm.  
Ein Männchen in bis zu den Knien  
reichendem Gewand, die Haare mit  
einer Kappe bedeckt oder mit einem  
Diadem zusammengehalten, hält in  
der Hand eine Pflanze.  
51 (43).
52.  Milchiger Chalcedon.  
H = 1,74 cm L = 2,40 cm  
B = 1,44 cm. (Taf. IV).  
Platte: D = 1,85 cm d = 1,37 cm.  
Eine kleine Gestalt in bis zu den  
Knien reichendem Faltengewand,  
auf dem Kopf eine Kappe oder ein  
Diadem, scheint die eine Hand im

24

Adorationsgestus erhoben zu haben.  
Am Rücken dürfte mit einer feinen Linie ein an der Schulter angewachsener Flügel angedeutet sein. Unter dem erhobenen Arm ein sechszackiger Stern.

53.



53 (55).

Rosenquarz.

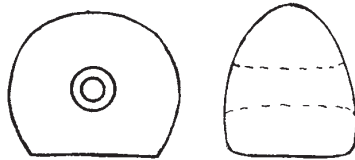
H = 1,30 cm L = 1,57 cm

B = 1 cm. (Taf. IV).

Platte: D = 1,14 cm d = 0,78 cm.

Stilisierte Pflanze.

54.



54 (44).

Rauchfarbener, geädertter Chalcedon.

H = 2 cm L = 2,47 cm

B = 1,87 cm. (Taf. IV).

Platte: D = 2 cm d = 1,70 cm.

Ungraviert.

55.



55 (57).

Carneol.

H = 1,71 cm L = 1,94 cm

B = 1,19 cm. (Taf. IV).

Platte: D = 1,33 cm d = 1,05 cm.

Zwei Lorbeerzweige umschliessen  
einen liegenden Halbmond, dessen  
Stützen auf ihren Blättern ruhen.

Dieses Motiv, offenbar eine Vereinfachung von *Louvre* D 274 und A 1457, kann, wie diese, von ausschliesslich magischer Bedeutung gewesen sein. Vergl. hierzu *Sarre* Abb. 18 die Kappe des Magiers.

56.



56 (59).

Jaspis.

H = 1,39 cm L = 2,16 cm

B = 2,03 cm. (Taf. IV).

Platte: D = 1,96 cm.

Porträt eines mit Diadem, Ohrgehänge  
und Halskette geschmückten, bärtigen  
Mannes. Über seiner linken Schulter  
ein Stern.

Inscription:

dat ohrmazd izi magu (pat?)

D. . . . . Der Oberpriester

(die Lesung stammt von  
Prof. Unvala).

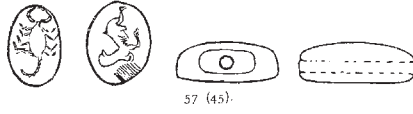
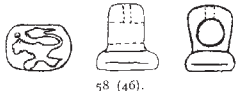
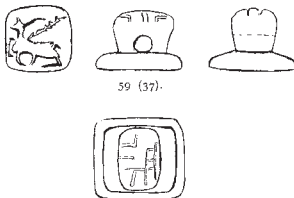
25

Nr. 56 beschliesst die Reihe der halbkugelförmigen sassanidischen Stempelsiegel dieser Sammlung, welche durch das Merkmal der einheitlichen Siegelform allein als der gleichen Periode zugehörig charakterisiert sind.

Vergl. f. d. Siegel: *Louvre* D 265-D 282, A 1268-A 1467; *O.I.P.*, XXII 555-621, 623; *O.I.P.*, XXXVII 147-159 etc.

Für allgemeine Bemerkungen über sassanidische Stempelsiegel siehe v. d. Osten, *O.I.P.*, XXII S. 10 und *Sarre*, S. 55.

Die drei folgenden Stempelsiegel verschiedener Form sind an das Ende der Sassanidenzeit zu stellen:

57.  Jaspis, beide Flachseiten graviert.  
H = 0,84 cm L = 2,25 cm  
B = 1,91 cm. (Taf. IV).  
Auf der Oberseite ein Skorpion, auf der Unterseite ein gelagertes Kamel, den Kopf zurückwendend.
58.  Schwarzer Stein.  
H = 1,44 cm L = 1,28 cm  
B = 1,06 cm. (Taf. IV).  
Löwe, dessen über dem Rücken aufgestellter Schweif in einem Hydrakopf endet (?).
59.  Achat.  
H = 1,50 cm L = 2,04 cm  
B = 1,94 cm. (Taf. IV).  
Gelagerter Steinbock, über seinem Rücken eine stilisierte Pflanze.

In dieser späten Zeit geben die Bilder der verschieden geformten Stempelsiegel alle in dieser Epoche ineinander aufgehenden Stileinflüsse wieder.

26

## ABKÜRZUNGEN

- Bibl. Nat.* = L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1910.
- Hogarth* = D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, Oxford 1920.
- Gezer* = R. A. Stewart, Macalister, *The excavation of Gezer*, 3 vols., London 1912.
- Louvre* = L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylindres orientaux, cachets et pierres gravées du Musée du Louvre*.
- O. I. P.* = The University of Chicago, *Oriental Institute Publications* (Chicago 1924-).
- O. I. C.* = The University of Chicago, *Oriental Institute Communications* (Chicago 1922-).
- Sarre* = Friedrich Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin 1923.
- Syria* = *Syria, Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie* (Paris 1920-).
- Weber* = O. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder. Der alte Orient*. Bd. XVII-XVIII, Leipzig 1920.
- W. Z. K. M.* = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Wien 1887-).
- Z. D. P. V.* = *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina Vereins*.
- 
- Fig. 1. Siehe *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, Bd. 65, Tf. IV a.
- 2. u. 3. – Petrie, *Scarabs*, Pl. XXXI, Fig. 10.
- 4. – Helmut Bossert, *Alt Kreta*, 320 C.

EDITH VON PORADA.

Reprinted from: *Columbia University Library Columns XIII*, February 1964, 25-33.

## The Oldest Inscribed Works of Art in the Columbia Collections

The relief of the nude bearded hero wrestling with a lion, symmetrically duplicated, which has been reproduced on page 29 [here as **Fig. 2** on page 567 at the end of this book], is cut in the hard stone of a cylindrically shaped seal no more than 1¼ " high.\* The "cylinder seal", for that is the technical term for this type of object, must be rolled over a surface of soft clay or of some other material which retains in relief the impression of the engraved design and the inscription.

The intended use of clay for purposes of record and the presence on the cylinder of a column of cuneiform or wedge-shaped signs enables today's archaeologically informed reading public to determine the general region in which this seal was made: Mesopotamia, the land between and beyond the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, today called Iraq.

Such cylinder seals were used to authenticate vast numbers of miscellaneous records: from letters to litigations, from dockets to deeds of purchase which were produced by business and bureaucracy in ancient Mesopotamia. The simple device of securing movable property by sealing all access to it was probably discovered as early as the fifth millennium B. C., if not earlier. The cylindrically shaped seal stone, however, which was usually perforated in order to be worn as a pendant on a bracelet or necklace, was an innovation made by the inhabitants of Mesopotamia sometime in the latter half of the fourth millennium B. C. From that time on such seals were worn in that country for almost three thousand 26 years, and the extent of Mesopotamian influence in neighboring regions can be measured by their use or disappearance.

The date of a seal can be occasionally established by the seal owner's name given in the inscription, if he was a personage known in history. More frequently, the chronology of cylinder seals is based on comparison of the designs with seal impressions on tablets. These were either dated by their scribes or can be approximately classified by the language and content of the text and the form of the signs.

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\* The Akkad cylinder is of brownish black serpentine. Height 32.5 mm. Diameter 20 mm (narrowing to 19 mm at the center).

The cylinder here shown [as **Fig. 1**] belongs to the Akkad period (ca. 2370 – 2230 B.C.), named by modern scholars after the still undiscovered capital of Sargon, founder of a Semitic dynasty, who changed the pattern of the Sumerian city states into one of a centralized empire.

The Akkad period occupies a unique position in Mesopotamian art. It is the only phase in which we note a preoccupation with the natural appearance of man and beast. In our cylinder seal, for example, the beauty of the strong nude male body in action seems to have been fully appreciated and rendered without the exaggerations found in Assyrian art of a later time.

The subject, a hero wrestling with lions or other beasts, had a long history in Mesopotamia even before the Akkad period. The hero has often been identified with Gilgamesh, a king of Uruk, whose heroic exploits and friendship with Enkidu, a creature which had been weaned from the wilderness to civilization, were extolled in later epic literature. In the cylinder seals Enkidu is identified with a bull-man who often appears in a second pair of fighting figures opposite the nude bearded hero. It is not impossible that these identifications are correct, but unfortunately this cannot be proved because the people of Mesopotamia did not identify the stock figures in the repertory of the artists.

While therefore we cannot be certain what mythological event was meant by the context of the powerful muscled figures of our cylinder [fig. 1], we may nevertheless assume that the representation had<sup>1</sup> [28] a propitious meaning. All cylinders were surely intended not only for the practical use of sealing but also as protective amulets.

The twofold rendering of the hero on our cylinder shows him holding in a firm grip one of the animal's forelegs while grasping with the other hand its mane below the jaw. One of the hero's arms is bent outward to create a lozenge-shaped form in conjunction with his other arm and the second foreleg of the opposing animal. In other cylinders the lozenge is more clearly defined. In ours, however, especially in the pair of figures at the right of the inscription, this unnatural lozenge form is mitigated so successfully that it is scarcely noticeable, and the hero's upper arm, which the lion grasps with his paw just below the elbow, almost seems naturally bent. The hero is nude except for a wrestling belt and has his hair carefully combed in three tiers of curls. Minute curls also terminate the strains of hair in his beard. The details are so delicately executed that even facial lines, such as the fold running from the nose to the corner of the mouth, are indicated. Between each pair of figures stands a mace, perhaps indicating the weapon with which the hero will eventually slay the beast. Between both pairs is a plant on a knoll meant to represent a mountain. This knoll has a scale pattern used in Mesopotamia from the earliest pictograph for mountain to the mountainous landscapes of the Assyrian reliefs.

<sup>1</sup> [Page 27 of the original publication was completely filled with the depiction of Fig. 1 and is left out here. The photo of Fig. 1 is shown in the table part of this book].



The inscription contains a personal name, Ur-<sup>d</sup>Pa-bil-sag, servant of the god Pabilsag.<sup>1</sup> The large cuneiform signs and awkward insertion of the column in the design, which otherwise shows such exquisite feeling for balance of forms, suggests that a secondary seal cutter was charged with inscribing the seal, perhaps for a [29] second owner. The first owner may have considered his cylinder seal distinctive enough without an inscription, which indeed it was.

In most renderings of fighting pairs, the heroes' heads are shown full face, which detracts somewhat from the intensity of the contest. In this one, however, the calm profile of the hero is effectively contrasted with the fury of the lion, whose roaring is indicated by the open jaws [Fig. 4]. By this device alone the seal cutter has conveyed some of the drama inherent in the battle. The fact that such simple means are successfully employed to achieve the impact of a great contest, and that there are here none of the exaggerated and somewhat mannered poses found on later cylinders of the Akkad age, suggests that our example belongs to the height of the period in the time of king Naramsin (ca. 2291-2255 B. C.). This is further indicated by the slenderness and elegance of the human figure.

The artistic quality of this cylinder seal is not easily paralleled among the seals of the Akkad period in the museums of Europe and the United States. The closest similarity in the rendering of the heroes is found in one apparently discovered at Susa, which is now in the Louvre.<sup>2</sup> But there the heroes turn their heads away [30] from their victims and a third pair is added. The total effect is therefore one of an almost meaningless alignment of figures, despite the fine execution of individual details. If one were writing about a master of European art, one might venture the suggestion that the cylinder from Susa looks like an earlier work of the maker of our seal. Too little is known, however, about the working methods of the ancient craftsmen to make such a suggestion here with any degree of assurance.

Another curious link exists between our cylinder and Susa, the most important ancient town of southwestern Iran, which had close cultural and economic ties with Mesopotamia. Detailed observation of the lions' shoulders reveals a raised ring-shaped form with some short radial lines. The design may be a stylized rendering of the hairwhirl noted on lion cubs and transformed into the shoulder ornament of Egyptian and western Asiatic lions of the second and first millennium B. C.<sup>3</sup> Somewhat after the time of

<sup>1</sup> Pabilsag was equated in Old Babylonian text with the God Ninurta, hence he may be thought of as a heroic God who also had traits of a deity of fertility and vegetation. (See D. O. Ezard, "Mesopotamien; die Mythologie der Sumerer und Akkader-Pabilsang," in H. W. Haussig, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*. Stuttgart. [1961- ] p. 117.) There was probably no connection between Pabilsag's nature and the contest scene of the cylinder.

<sup>2</sup> L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres ... de style oriental. Musée du Louvre*. Vol. I, Paris 1920, Pl. 49:15 (D.15).

<sup>3</sup> H. J. Kantor, "The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* VI (1947), pp. 250-274.

Naramsin's reign, a governor of Susa had a statue of a goddess made whose throne is adorned by lions, each of which has a rosette on his shoulder. The only other shoulder ornament so far known in the third millennium B. C. dates from about the same time as our cylinder. It is found on lions in the chapel of an Egyptian queen<sup>4</sup> who was married to two kings of the Sixth Dynasty, Merenre and Pepi II. The death of Merenre may have occurred within a few years of that of Naramsin of Akkad.

This almost contemporary occurrence of shoulder ornaments on lions in the chapel of an Egyptian queen, on a statue made for a governor of Susa, and on our cylinder – which must have belonged to a person sufficiently highly placed to command the best seal cutter – may be mere coincidence. Nevertheless, it cannot fail to arouse some speculation about the possible reasons for [31] the concurrent rendering of this exceptional feature in countries which may have been linked by sea-borne trade and exchange of works of art. Of this, too little is known as yet.

The cylinder seal here discussed was given to Columbia University by Dr. Dallas Pratt and Mr. Aubrey Cartwright. Its interest matches the beauty of its engraving.

A second cylinder seal<sup>\*\*</sup> in the Columbia Libraries [Fig. 3] was made about six hundred years later, in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon. At that time cylinders were produced in large numbers. Every deal involving an exchange of property or a payment had [32] to be sealed to be valid, often with the seals of several witnesses. The seal design shows two of the most frequent Old Babylonian figures, a king or god in the garment of a warrior, and a protective goddess. The small man between the two large figures, however, carries in a manner so far unparalleled what seems to be the large shepherd's crook, symbol of Amurru,<sup>5</sup> the god of the West and of the Steppe. In the inscription, the seal owner calls himself "servant of Amurru."<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Perhaps he had himself depicted in the pious act of carrying the symbol of his god, as priests and votaries may be assumed to have transported the heavy symbols of the deities. Despite the undistinguished and probably provincial engraving, this cylinder may, therefore, have some interest for our knowledge of Babylonian ritual.

To be appreciated, cylinder seals require excellent eyes, time, and patience. But photographic enlargements may help to convey, even at a glance, the esthetic pleasure and archaeological significance offered by these diminutive works of ancient art.

<sup>4</sup> Kantor, *op. cit.* 268, Fig. 1A; also G. Jéquier, *Fouilles à Saggarah, les pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit*, Pl. V, bottom.

<sup>\*\*</sup> The Old Babylonian cylinder is of hematite. Height 24.2 mm, Diameter 12 mm.

<sup>5</sup> L'Iconographie du dieu Amurru. *Académie royale de Belgique, classe des lettres, Mémoires*, t. LV/I (1961), p. 73.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Gi-na-tum DUMU Zi-ia-tum IR<sup>d</sup>MARTU, Ginatum son of Ziatum, servant of the god Amurru.

Reprinted from: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 4, 1950, 155-162.

Critical Review:  
Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American  
Collections, Volume I: The Collection of the Pierpont  
Morgan Library Catalogued and Edited by Edith Porada in  
Collaboration with Briggs Buchanan (Bollingen Series  
XIV). New York, Pantheon Books, 1949

The editor of the *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* kindly suggested to the author that she herself write a review of the first volume of the Corpus, thus giving her an opportunity to make the corrections and additions which have become necessary as a result of this work done since the completion of the volume.

Rather than comment on all the changes which will have to be incorporated in the subsequent volumes of the Corpus, this review article will attempt merely to correct the classification of the Isin-Larsa cylinders as presented in the first volume. There the only cylinders assigned to the Isin-Larsa period are those showing stylistic relations with pieces found in the layers of this period at Tell Asmar. The authors of the Corpus thus followed Frankfort in referring to the second-rate glyptic (usually consisting of stereotyped presentation scenes derived from the repertory of the Third Dynasty of Ur) as "Isin-Larsa" and assigning all the variegated products of high quality to the subsequent First Dynasty of Babylon.<sup>1</sup>

Frankfort, like the authors, was well aware of the fact that the style of the time of Hammurabi had developed long before the latter had made Babylon a political, and presumably also an artistic, center. Nevertheless, the terminology just mentioned was used for reasons of convenience. The evidence presented below, however, shows that, in spite of its convenience, this terminology should be abandoned; it gives a misleading picture of the development which took place in the period between the Third Dynasty of Ur and the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon. This evidence consists in seal impressions on tags dated to the reign of king Sin-iddinam of Larsa.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London, 1939, henceforth quoted as *Cyl. Seals*, p. 147.

The glyptic style which predominates in the imprints from the height of the First Dynasty of Babylon, namely from the time of Hammurabi and his son Samsuiluna,<sup>2</sup> shows [156] slender figures often carved with great attention to detail. Many of these figures are deities represented with their emblems and in specific postures. The figure which occurs most frequently is the suppliant goddess<sup>3</sup> mainly differentiated from the rendering of the Ur III period by her necklace with counterweight.<sup>4</sup> As Agnes Spycket has pointed out, two examples of such necklaces already occur in king Šu-Sin's time,<sup>5</sup> that is, towards the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur, but on the whole this piece of apparel did not become common until later.

Second in frequency is the god with a mace, a figure patterned after the king in the reliefs of Naram-Sin and Anubanini<sup>6</sup> but occurring on cylinder seals and plaques only after the Third Dynasty of Ur. A figure which closely resembles the god with the mace, except for the fact that he is often nude to the waist, is the so-called conqueror god who is occasionally depicted brandishing a multiple mace and a scimitar.<sup>7</sup>

Other deities portrayed far less frequently than suppliant goddess and god with a mace, but nevertheless characteristic for the period, are the sun god and the goddess of war. The sun god is rendered, as in the most frequent portrayal of the Akkad period, in ascending posture, but on First Dynasty seals his rays are omitted and his saw is held horizontally instead of vertically.<sup>8</sup> The war goddess is likewise patterned closely after the example set in the Akkad period, as is indicated by an unpublished cylinder seal in the Oriental Institute Museum.<sup>9</sup> On this cylinder the war goddess appears full face, winged and with weapons sprouting from her shoulders, placing one foot on the back of a lion. With one hand she grasps a scimitar while holding the lion's rein with the other. Except for the lion club<sup>10</sup> which

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées du style oriental* (Musée du Louvre, vol. II, Paris, 1923), henceforth quoted as *Louvre* pl. 114:3 to pl. 117:1; *Cyl. Seals*, pl. XXX: a; I. Mendelsohn, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the Libraries of Columbia University*, 1943, henceforth quoted as *Columbia*, No. 301; J. Menant, *Rapport sur les cylindres assyro-chaldéens du Musée Britannique*, Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires, vol. 6, 1880, figs. 6-20, pp. 88-96.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *Louvre*, pl. 115:1a-c.

<sup>4</sup> A. Spycket, *Un élément de la parure féminine de la 1ère dynastie babylonienne*, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XLII, 1948, pp. 89 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Spycket, *op. cit.*, p. 94, note 2. An even earlier example appears on the tablet Columbia 3 from the time of Šulgi. These, however, are exceptions among the hundreds of renderings of the Ur III period which do not show this feature.

<sup>6</sup> For easily available illustrations of these reliefs cf. N. C. Debevoise, *The Rock Reliefs of Ancient Iran*, JNES I, 1942, p. 81, fig. 2; p. 82, fig. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Louvre*, pl. 116:2; for references to cylinder seals showing this figure cf. *Cyl. Seals* p. 167, notes 1-5.

<sup>8</sup> *Louvre*, pl. 114:4a, probably also 1c; pl. 115; 6b.

<sup>9</sup> Oriental Institute Museum No. A 27903.

<sup>10</sup> For this term cf. *Corpus* I, p. XXV.

she usually holds in later renderings and for the shoulder weapons which were transformed into quivers filled with arrows and except for the disappearance of the wings, this representation of the war goddess corresponds 157 to those of the time of Sin-muballit and Hammurabi.<sup>11</sup>

It seems fairly obvious that such correspondence implies a more or less unbroken pictorial tradition and cannot be due merely to a sudden revival of earlier forms at the height of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Although it is not yet possible to follow the paths of this tradition precisely, the figures which have here been singled out from the extensive repertory of the Hammurabi and Samsuiluna imprints can be traced back to an earlier date than the present terminology would indicate.

In an impression of the time of Hammurabi's grandfather, king Apil-Sin, for example here **fig. 1**<sup>12</sup>, we find not only the suppliant goddess but also the war goddess and the conqueror god<sup>13</sup>. The rendering of the two latter figures differs only slightly from that found in later imprints. The goddess holds ring and staff instead of the lion club, and the mace of the conqueror god is here omitted. These details as well as the fact that conqueror god and war goddess are juxtaposed in the Apil-Sin impression make it possible to compare this design with the relief of Anubanini in which the victorious king faces the goddess of war who tends him a ring.<sup>14</sup>

Although the attire of the war goddess and other features differ in relief and imprint, the correspondence between the two is nevertheless sufficient to suggest that the earlier rendering inspired the later one. It might be added that ring and staff in the hand of the war goddess recall the representation of this goddess in the mural depicting the king's investiture at Mari.<sup>15</sup>

The relation established with the Anubanini relief indicates that the figure of the conqueror originally represented the victorious king. While it is possible that the meaning of this figure changed, so that it represented a god in, and perhaps before, the time of Hammurabi, it seems, nevertheless, likely that the original idea was preserved inasmuch as the victim remained a conquered enemy and the conqueror the protector of the country. In the later renderings of the conqueror as in an imprint of the time of Samsuiluna<sup>16</sup> the original theme can no longer be recognized, a fact which contribut-

<sup>11</sup> *Louvre*, pl. 112:10a; pl. 113:4b; pl. 114:1c (far left); p. 115:1a. Occasionally this rendering of the war goddess in which one of her legs is uncovered to accentuate her freedom of movement (which she shares with the sun god and a few other male deities), alternates with one in which she stands with both feet on the same level and her robe falls to her ankles (*Louvre*, pl. 115: 1c). The prototype for this representation can again be found in the Akkad period, e.g. *Cylinder Seals* pl. XIX: a, c.

<sup>12</sup> *Columbia*, No. 296.

<sup>13</sup> The fact that the repertory of the Hammurabi period can be traced back considerably was fully acknowledged by Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, p. 147.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the reference cited in note 6.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Syria*, XVIII, 1937, pl. XXXIX.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Louvre*, pl. 116:2 (mentioned in note 7).

ed [158] to the interpretation of this figure as primarily a god of pestilence.<sup>17</sup> This lengthy discussion of the scene given in fig. 1 (see next page) intends to draw attention to the fact that figures, which in the time of Apil-Sin were still combined in an intelligible scene, were torn apart and used singly by the time of Hammurabi and Samsuiluna.

It must be noted, however, that even in the earlier designs figures of deities were used singly and without apparent connection with the rest of the scene. Such is the case with the deity in fig. 1 who stands at the left on two crossed animals or humanheaded bulls and wears a crescent-crowned miter.<sup>18</sup> It is of importance for the present discussion that this deity wears a robe with horizontal tiers marked by parallel vertical undulating lines, a characteristic of the finest imprints from Hammurabi's and Samsuiluna's time.<sup>19</sup>

The conclusion to be drawn from this evidence is that the style reached its height not in the time of Hammurabi but in the time of his grandfather Apil-Sin.

As to the origins of this style, they should of course be sought earlier and, as Frankfort was the first to suggest, Isin and Larsa are the first places of which one thinks in this connection, "indeed older centers of culture than Babylon".<sup>20</sup>

The fragmentary imprints on tags dated to the reign of king Sin-iddinam of Larsa which are here published at the request of Professor Goetze (see following page) fully support this contention.<sup>21</sup> Sin-iddinam ruled for the four first years of his reign as a contemporary of Sumulailu, second king of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

As in the later period the two figures most frequently represented are the suppliant goddess and the god with a mace. The former wears in one instance (**fig. 3**) the necklace with long counterweight, in the second instance (**fig. 4**) an unusual short variant of that necklace. The god with a mace, attired as on the later cylinders, occurs five times (figs. 6-10). Furthermore, the two other characteristic figures, sun god and war goddess, (figs. 10 and 12) are rendered, as far as can be judged from the fragmentary state of the imprints, in the same way as later, a minor difference being the oblique [160] rather than horizontal position of the saw which the sun god holds.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Cyl. Seals*, pp. 166/7.

<sup>18</sup> The fact that the deity with crescent-crowned miter has no connection with the rest of the scene in fig. 1 is paralleled by the two other examples of this figure both of which belong to the end of the Old Babylonian period: *OIP* XXXVII, No. 67 and *Cyl. Seals*, text fig. 43, p. 174 (where, in a subsidiary motif, two such deities are shown).

<sup>19</sup> E.g., *Louvre*, pl. 115: 1c,d.

<sup>20</sup> *Cyl. Seals*, p. 152.

<sup>21</sup> These imprints are on tags preserved in part in the Museum of the University of Illinois in Urbana, Ill., in part in the Yale Babylonian Collection in New Haven, Conn. See the references on the second following page.

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

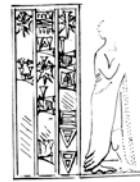


Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

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Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14

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A weather god on a bull is pictured in **Fig. 14**. This is the earliest representation of this motif in a glyptic design found in southern Mesopotamia, though impressions on tablets of the Old Assyrian colonies on Anatolian soil show it in a style conforming to that of the imprint under discussion<sup>22</sup> Most of the later renderings of the subject (including an imprint from the time of Samsuiluna),<sup>23</sup> are cursory.

It is interesting to note that the metal caps in which the seal was set covered [161] the head of the god as well as these signs of the inscription which begin and end the lines. This shows a curious indifference on the part of the goldsmith and of the owner toward the design of the seal and its inscrip-

<sup>22</sup> E. g. J. Lewy, *Tablettes cappadociennes* III/3. fig. 70.

<sup>23</sup> *Louvre* pl. 116: 9b.



tion. A parallel for the deity reproduced in **Fig. 13** may be found in the cylinder seal Corpus I 468.

As to the scenes as a whole, only few can be reconstructed. **Figs. 2** and **3** show suppliant goddess and worshipper before an enthroned king or a god, a scheme derived from the Third Dynasty of Ur; there, however, the goddess usually precedes the worshipper as was probably the case in **Fig. 5**. It might be added that the somewhat unusual scheme of **Fig. 2**, in which a nude attendant stands behind the throne, is paralleled by an imprint on an Old Assyrian tablet found in level III at Kaniš.<sup>24</sup>

Scenes based on earlier schemes of which **Figs. 2, 3** and probably **4, 5** are fragments constitute only one third of the imprints; the majority shows an arrangement of figures corresponding to that of the Hammurabi period. For example, the god with a mace in **Figs. 6** and **7** undoubtedly faced the suppliant goddess in the most frequent scheme of the time. **Fig. 9** shows the same god standing on a mountain; this fragment probably belongs to a scene like the one illustrated in Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* pl. XXVI:1.

The scheme of **Fig. 10**, in which the god with a mace stands between a major deity and a suppliant goddess, has numerous later parallels;<sup>25</sup> the deities of **Figs. 7, 11, 12** and **13** moreover all conform to the usage of the Hammurabi period in that they are standing upright in contrast to the renderings of the Ur III age, when the principal deity is, as a rule, enthroned.

The only scene which differs from both the earlier and later schemes is **Fig. 14**, in which the two bulls may have been meant either to flank the inscription or to face each other, although the former seems more likely. But both arrangements occur among the impressions of the seal and therefore the second bull has been repeated in the drawing. Since there are no parallels for this composition, however, it has no bearing upon the present discussion, which is concerned with the over-all characteristics of the period of Sin-iddinam in relation to that of Hammurabi.

In summarizing these characteristics gleaned from the meager information of the drawings here presented, it might be said that the principal features of the "style of the First Dynasty of Babylon" were already well represented before that Dynasty assumed [162] political predominance throughout Mesopotamia.

It is always dangerous to comment on style of engraving when only impressions are available, as these can appear more plastic than the often crude cutting of the original warrants. Nevertheless, it is obvious from the Sin-iddinam imprints here shown that none belongs to the class of small, crudely carved seals selected by Frankfort from the Tell Asmar finds as typical of the Isin-Larsa period.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *American Journal of Archaeology* LIV, 1950, pl. XVII: A.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. *Cyl. Seals* pl. XXX: j; *Corpus I* 463, 464.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Cyl. Seals* pl. XXVI: a-c.

The difference in quality between the cylinders from Tell Asmar and those impressed on our tags from Larsa may be due merely to the different social positions of the seal owners. While the usually uninscribed cylinders from Tell Asmar probably belonged to private individuals, those of our tags were all owned by officials of the king of Larsa. The cylinders of these officials were carved in a style which shows a break with the monotonous tradition of the Third Dynasty of Ur and manifests the principal features which were to be maintained until the time of Hammurabi and Samsuiluna.

In order to express these facts the writer suggests that the designations "Isin-Larsa" and "First Dynasty of Babylon" be abandoned in favor of "early Old Babylonian" and "late Old Babylonian" respectively.<sup>27</sup> The term "Old Babylonian" is already applied to the documentary material of the time between the end of the Isin and the beginning of the Kassite period. It seems preferable, therefore, to those at present used to describe glyptic styles. The older terms are misleading in so far as they suggest a marked division between the period of the Larsa and the First Babylonian Dynasties, whereas, in fact, such a division is discernable slightly earlier, namely within the period of the Dynasty of Larsa.

Further work with impressions of this period will, we hope, make possible a more detailed description of the stylistic changes which this division entailed and of the influences to which it should be ascribed.

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<sup>27</sup> By suggesting the exclusive use of the term 'Old Babylonian' the writer conforms with A. Moortgat who employs this designation consistently in his work. Nevertheless, in view of the tenacity with which scholars writing in the same language cling to an accepted terminology (a fact well illustrated by the *Corpus*), the writer has thought it expedient to lay the case before scholars in English countries.

Reprinted from: E. Porada (ed.), *Ancient Mesopotamian Art and Selected Texts*. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York 1976, 35-42. The article appears here with the permission of The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

## Seal Impressions on the Cuneiform Tablets

Before the tablet (Plate **12A-B**) with the receipt for an interest payment (MLC 2657) was inscribed, the cylinder seal of Gududu, accountant and scribe, had been rolled over it several times. Engraved upon the original cylinder (height ca. 2.5 cm.) was the usual subject of the king, in divine flounced robe corresponding to his state as deified ruler, holding a cup and enthroned on a stool placed on a platform. Approaching the king is a goddess wearing a multiple-tiered flounced robe and leading by the hand a worshiper in a fringed robe, doubtless meant to represent the seal owner. Several fine original cylinders with this subject are preserved, two in The Pierpont Morgan Library.<sup>1</sup> Royal officials may have considered a seal with the representation of the king receiving his “servant” in audience to have been a potent amulet.

In the present sealing a somewhat unusual feature is the platform consisting of two levels both decorated with a pattern of repeated vertical bars. More common is a platform of only one level. The original cylinder must have been beautifully carved to judge from the pattern in the platform and the details of jewelry and attire which are all carefully marked.

The tablet with the record of the sale of a field (MLC 2656) has a large number of sealings made with the cylinders belonging to the witnesses to the sale. These sealings exemplify the importance of the inscription (which contained the name of the witness and that of his father) over the representation of figures. If shown in the partial rollings of these cylinders, the figures usually have their hands raised in prayer, 36 presumably addressed to the seal owner’s tutelary deity whose name also appears in the inscription. In earlier representations such suppliant figures, who are always female, are characterized as goddesses by a horned miter and a multiple tiered, flounced robe as well as by a ribbon which hangs down the back with a counterweight to balance the heavy necklaces worn by the deity. In Late Old Babylonian cylinders such as those used on the present tablet these

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<sup>1</sup> Edith Porada in collaboration with Briggs Buchanan, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*; vol. I: *The Collection of The Pierpont Morgan Library*, Bollingen Series XIV (Washington D.C., 1948) (henceforth *Corpus I*), nos. 292, 293.

figures are much simplified. The garment with multiple horizontal tiers is often replaced by one with vertical lines which looks as if the cloth were hanging down in one piece from the shoulders. Probably this actually reflects an innovation in the costume of some of the suppliant figures.

The sealing on Plate **13A** (height ca. 2.6 cm.) shows a figure wearing such a simplified garment together with the horned miter and the ribbon hanging down the back derived from the attire of the suppliant goddess, but the pointed lower part of the face may have been meant to indicate that the figure was bearded. It is also possible, however, that the pointed face, like the similarly shaped hands, was gouged out of the sealstone with the same type of instrument with which the cuneiform signs of the inscription were carved because the seal cutter may have been trained primarily as a scribe rather than as an engraver of figures. This is probable also in other cases, but not as obvious in the sealing on Plate **13B** (height ca. 2.6 cm.) where the strong clear lines of the face are somewhat unusual, including the eyeball indicated by a small sphere in a manner not found in earlier Old Babylonian representations of human faces in which the eyeball was not stressed.

Very little can be said about the sealing on Plate **13C** (height ca. 2.8 cm.) which has a figure standing with its back to the inscription. The rolling stopped, however, before the entire figure was impressed. Therefore one does not know whether the figure was the only one carved on the cylinder or whether there was another facing the first, which seems more likely. For the purpose of the tablet and the record which it represented, however, only the seal inscription was essential.

The most interesting among the impressions on these tablets is the one on a marriage contract from Hana (Plate **14**), a kingdom located in the valley of the middle Euphrates. Albrecht Goetze places the period [38] at which this and a few other tablets known to have come from this area were written in the time of the independence of Hana<sup>2</sup> which must have occurred between the fall of the powerful kingdom of Mari on the upper Euphrates, about the middle of the eighteenth century B.C., and the height of the power of the Mitannian kingdom of northern Mesopotamia and Syria, in the fifteenth century B.C. These are the so-called dark centuries of Western Asiatic history of which few records are known and during which newcomers on the historical scene, Kassites in Babylonia and Mitanni in the north, established their domination over these regions.

This well-preserved seal design, identified by Goetze as the imprint of the cylinder of King Hammurabi of Hana<sup>3</sup> on the basis of a duplicate impression on a tablet found at Dura Europos (which has only one side of one of the figures, but contains the inscription of which one line is pre-

<sup>2</sup> Albrecht Goetze, "On the Chronology of the Second Millennium B.C.," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, XI (1957), 63.

<sup>3</sup> Goetze, p. 64.

served on the Morgan Library tablet), is therefore a rare pictorial document of this presumably pre-Kassite and pre-Mitannian period. It is reproduced here greatly enlarged; the actual height of the seal design is ca. 3.5 cm, of the design with the imprint of the gold setting, ca. 4-5 cm.

Two tall figures are represented in the sealing. The one at the left rests a curved sword or scimitar on the ground and faces a personage who has both hands raised in a gesture of supplication. The compositional scheme recalls the most common Old Babylonian one showing the king as a warrior facing a suppliant goddess.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that the figure with a scimitar also represents a king and the facing figure a divine suppliant. The sealing from Hana shares with many of the later Kassite representations a lack of criteria for differentiating between deities and humans which were earlier provided by the divine horned miter and the multiple tiered, flounced robe.

The headgear of the figure with a scimitar in Plate 14 seems to be a cap possibly extended in front. From its top rises a thin, rope like form which then descends to the middle of the figure's long neck where it 40 thickens into something like a chignon and then turns up to project obliquely backwards. The form resembles the stylization of hair in Mitannian and Kassite cylinders, but the way in which it first rises from the top of the figure's head in the sealing from Hana is unusual. The figure also shares with those of Mitannian and Kassite warriors the broad-shouldered outline and the long mantle worn over a short undergarment which is visible where the mantle opens in front to reveal a leg uncovered from above the knee.

The suppliant, who is beardless and therefore here considered to be female, has a long robe ornamented by two strips of ladder pattern which may have been meant to appear horizontally but which are slightly inclined, thereby giving a naturalistic appearance to the way in which the garment seems to surround the body. Ladder patterns are a characteristic decoration of garments in Kassite cylinders but they differ from the present example in running along the edges of the material rather than horizontally across it.

The suppliant's headgear has a squarish outline and was probably a cylindrical hat, perhaps similar to one worn by a deity on a Syrian cylinder of the seventeenth century B.C. in the Pierpont Morgan Library,<sup>5</sup> where a bird is perched upon it. In the second millennium B.C. this type of hat is very rare though it became common in the art of North Syria in the early first millennium B.C.<sup>6</sup> The suppliant's hair is drawn as a thin line curving up in a graceful curl above the shoulder, a design which is probably similar to

<sup>4</sup> See the examples in *Corpus I*, nos. 434-53.

<sup>5</sup> *Corpus I*, no. 956.

<sup>6</sup> Examples are seen in Winfried Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst*, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, vol. 8 (Bonn, 1971), pl. 5; Birecik 1 (where small horns are added), pl. 23; Karkemis C/3 (the hat is highly ornamented and one horn was added in front), pl. 29/30; Karkemis F76, F8 (a veil is worn over the hat as in numerous other examples).

that of the female suppliant in the sealing of King Ishar-Lim of Hana on a tablet in the Louvre, reproduced only in a drawing.<sup>7</sup>

The granulation of the original gold setting of King Hammu-rapih's cylinder which formed typically Kassite triangles, was discussed by Briggs Buchanan, who cited a Late Old Babylonian impression of the 42 time of Ammi-šaduqa (1646-1626 B.C.) as the earliest example of the type.<sup>8</sup>

The close connection of this sealing with those of Kassite style has been pointed out by Goetze and Buchanan<sup>9</sup> the precise date of the sealing, however, which would be important for the knowledge of the origins of Kassite style, remains to be determined.

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<sup>7</sup> L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux. Musée du Louvre*, vol. II (Paris, 1923), 156, A. 594.

<sup>8</sup> Briggs Buchanan, "On the Seal Impressions on Some Old Babylonian Tablets," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, XI (1957), 47, note 5.

<sup>9</sup> See the articles cited in notes 2 and 8.

# METHODEN



Edith Porada, kurz nach der Einwanderung in die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika

Foto Beate Salje



## Einleitung und Überblick zur Methode

Mirko Novák

Die Vorderasiatische Archäologie ist eine vergleichsweise junge Wissenschaft, die sich als universitäres Fach erst nach dem 2. Weltkrieg zu etablieren begann. Die grossen Entdeckungen der assyrischen, sumerischen und babylonischen Metropolen hatten indessen bereits ein Jahrhundert zuvor zahlreiche Kunsterzeugnisse und Schriftdokumente des Alten Mesopotamiens in die Museen des Osmanischen Reiches, Europas und der USA gespült. Diese stammten nicht nur aus regulären Ausgrabungen sondern in hohem Maße auch aus dem regen Kunsthandel, der von zahlreichen illegalen Raubgrabungen gespeist wurde. Die sich erst langsam herausbildende junge Wissenschaft stand daher vor der immensen Aufgabe, das umfangreiche Material zu erschliessen. Das erste Ziel lag darin, ein Gerüst zu errichten, das zur zeitlichen und regionalen Einordnung von Bildwerken nötig war – auch von denen, deren Depositions- und Fundkontext nicht bekannt war. Es galt folglich, zunächst die Grundlagen der typen- und stilgeschichtlichen Entwicklung zu erarbeiten: einer auf Stilanalyse, Motivforschung und Betrachtung antiquarischer Besonderheiten aufbauenden Datierung. Erst in einem zweiten Schritt wurde das Augenmerk auf die inhaltliche Bedeutungen der Bilder gelegt, hatte doch die Entzifferung der Keilschrift die geistige Welt der babylonisch-assyrischen Kultur eröffnet, die sich auch in bildlichen Darstellungen auf Werken der Grosskunst (Stelen, Statuen), der Kleinplastik (Terrakotten) und der Glyptik artikuliert. Allerdings stellte sich sehr schnell heraus, wie schwierig dies sein würde: Einige allzu naive, oft auch ideologisch überlagerte und daher fragwürdige Deutungen v.a. der 20er bis 40er Jahre des 20. Jh. gemahnten doch sehr bald schon zur Vorsicht.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Abgesehen von rassistischen Ansätzen, die seit den 20er Jahren grassierten, gab es selbst in der seriösen Wissenschaft heftige Auseinandersetzungen um (tatsächlich oder vermeintlich) ideologisch belastete und wenig fundierte Interpretationen. Als Beispiel sei die überaus heftige Reaktion auf die Veröffentlichung „Tammuz und der Unsterblichkeitsglaube in der altorientalischen Bildkunst“ des namhaften Archäologen Anton Moortgat aus dem Jahre 1949 durch Fritz Rudolf Kraus (1953) hingewiesen.

Edith Porada gehörte, zusammen mit den etwas älteren Henri Frankfort und Anton Moortgat<sup>2</sup>, der ersten Generation von gut ausgebildeten Wissenschaftlern an, die sich nicht mehr autodidaktisch an die Materie heranarbeiten musste sondern die Grundkenntnisse archäologischer und vor allem kunstgeschichtlicher Methodik ebenso an der Hochschule vermittelt bekam wie den Einblick in die Inhalte der Keilschriftliteratur. Ihr wissenschaftliches Interesse galt, ebenso wie dasjenige von Frankfort und Moortgat, der Kunst des Alten Orients. Sie grenzte sich damit deutlich von der damals in der deutschsprachigen Forschung tonangebenden Bauforschung der Schule Robert Koldeweys ab, die sich der Architektur widmete.

Geprägt war Edith Porada einerseits von einem, damals selbstverständlichen, positivistischen Wissenschaftsverständnis und andererseits von einer Vorsicht bei inhaltlichen Deutungen von Bildern. Diese Grundhaltung und ihre wissenschaftlichen Zielsetzungen lassen sich bereits in dem ersten hier aufgeführten Aufsatz „The Warrior with the plumed Helmet“ erkennen, erschienen 1942 in der Zeitschrift *Berytus*. In diesem geht sie dem titelgebenden Typus nach, der sich v.a. auf den sogenannten „kappadokischen“ Siegeln der anatolischen *kārum*-Zeit wiederfindet. Über antiquarische Vergleiche, die sie nicht nur innerhalb der Materialgruppe der Siegel sondern auch darüber hinaus auch zu anderen Objektgattungen – in diesem Fall zu Metallfigurinen – zieht, vermag sie die Ikonografie als eine levantinisch-syrische zu identifizieren und sie, wie auch die fragliche Siegelgruppe, zeitlich ins 19./18. Jh. v. Chr. einzuordnen. Damit kann sie nachweisen, dass das Spektrum der *kārum*-zeitlichen Siegel regional wesentlich weiter gefächert war als zuvor angenommen. Auf die mögliche Deutung der Figur als Wettergottsdarstellung geht die Autorin indessen nur im letzten, wenige Zeilen umfassenden Passus ein.

Die sehr präzise, bis ins kleinste Detail reichende Beobachtungsgabe für antiquarische, ikonografische und stilistische Merkmale, die die Arbeiten Edith Poradas kennzeichnet, zeigt sich auch in dem zweiten hier vorgestellten Beitrag „Suggestions for the Classification of Neo-Babylonian Cylinder Seals“, der 1947 in der Zeitschrift *Orientalia* erschien. In diesem gelingt es Edith Porada, die neubabylonische Glyptik des 9. und 8. Jh. v. Chr. durch eine feine Abgrenzung zur neuassyrischen Steinschneidekunst überhaupt erst zu identifizieren und innerhalb dieser sogar noch zwei Stile, einen modellierenden und einen linearen Kerbschnittstil („Cut Style“), zu differenzieren. Dabei sieht sie sich dem schwerwiegenden Problem ausgesetzt, dass nur wenige der ihr als Grundlage dienenden Stücke aus gesicherten Grabungskontexten stammen; das Grundgerüst für die Datierung bildeten daher notgedrungen die Siegellegenden. Um dieses Gerüst herum kann sie mehrere Gruppen typologisch zusammengehöriger Siegel definieren, die sich

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<sup>2</sup> Mit beiden verband sie das besondere Interesse für die altorientalische Glyptik, der die wichtigsten Werke Frankforts (1939) und Moortgarts (1940) ebenso wie die Dissertation Poradas (1934) und viele ihrer weiteren Arbeiten gewidmet waren.

mehr oder minder deutlich von zeitgenössischen neuassyrischen Erzeugnissen unterscheiden lassen. Für die Methodik Edith Poradas interessant ist die Hypothese, die sie an den Anfang ihrer Überlegungen stellt: Es erscheint ihr aufgrund der weitgehenden politischen und kulturellen Selbständigkeit Babyloniens von Assyrien im 9. und frühen 8. Jh. v. Chr. unwahrscheinlich, dass sich die babylonischen Siegelschneider dieser Zeit an assyrischen Vorbildern orientiert und diese bis hin zur völligen Imitation adaptiert hätten; genau dies war aber die Forschungsmeinung vor dem Erscheinen dieses bedeutenden Aufsatzes!

Ihre verhaltene, wenngleich nicht grundsätzliche Skepsis gegenüber der inhaltlichen Deutung bildlicher Darstellungen und deren Identifikation mit literarischen, aus Keilschriftüberlieferungen bekannten Motiven äußert Edith Porada in ihrem hier als dritten Beitrag aufgeführten Aufsatz „Problems of Interpretation in a Cylinder Seal of the Akkad Period from Iran“ aus dem Jahr 1964. Sie weist dabei zum einen auf die Gefahren von Anachronismen hin – so z.B. wenn eine Szene auf einem Akkad-zeitlichen Siegel mit einem literarischen Ereignis identifiziert wird, das erst aus der Isin-Larsa-Zeit bezeugt ist – und zum anderen auf die Möglichkeit von unterschiedlichen Vorstellungswelten bei den antiken Schreibern einerseits und den Siegelschneidern andererseits, die eine völlige Übertragung von textuellen Motiven auf ikonische verhindere. Vor allem aber betont sie die Unzulänglichkeiten eines modernen Betrachters bei der Deutung antiker altorientalischer Bildwerke, die durch die unterschiedlichen symbolischen Konnotationssysteme beider Kulturen entstehen. Diese Einsicht unterscheidet ihren Standpunkt erheblich von denen Henri Frankforts und Anton Moortgats und steht schon der postprozessualen Sichtweise nahe. Ungeachtet dessen versucht sie sich sehr wohl an einer vorsichtigen ikonografischen Deutung eines Motives, das ihrer Meinung nach mit dem babylonischen Etana-Mythos in Verbindung stehen dürfte.

Zeit lebens hat sich Edith Porada mit Rollsiegeln beschäftigt, von denen die überwiegende Anzahl aus dem Kunsthandel stammte. Dadurch war sie immer wieder mit der Frage konfrontiert, wie sich originale Rollsiegel von gut gemachten Fälschungen unterscheiden lassen. Explizit beschäftigt sie sich mit dieser Problematik in dem Artikel „True or False? Genuine and False Cylinder Seals at Andrews University“ aus dem Jahre 1968. Einmal mehr beweist sie einen nahezu verblüffend scharfen Blick für noch so kleine Details, seien sie nun ikonografischer oder stilistischer Natur. Darüber hinaus bezieht sie auch das Material, aus dem die Siegel hergestellt waren, in ihre Betrachtung mit ein und kommt somit zu überzeugenden, wenngleich ohne die damals nicht verfügbaren naturwissenschaftlichen Methoden letztlich nicht sicher beweisbaren Schlussfolgerungen.

Ein Thema, das sie mehrfach in ihrem Oeuvre beschäftigte, war die Glyptik Zyperns, so auch in dem hier abgedruckten Beispiel „On the Complexity of Style and Iconography in some Groups of Cylinder Seals from Cyp-

rus“ aus dem Jahre 1973. Ebenso wie in der Studie zur neubabylonischen Glyptik führte auch hier wiederum die detaillierte Betrachtung ikonografischer, antiquarischer und stilistischer Details zu einer typologischen Gruppierung der Siegel, die sie einer zyprischen Provenienz zuweist. In den von ihr herangezogenen Vergleichen, die bei der engeren zeitlichen Einordnung helfen sollten und letztlich auch auf Verbindungen zur hethitischen, mittanischen, levantinischen, mesopotamischen, ägyptischen oder mykenischen Glyptik hinwiesen, zeigte sich ihre immense Materialkenntnis, ohne die eine solche fundamentale Bearbeitung nicht möglich gewesen wäre.

Die breite Denkmälerkenntnis und der scharfe Blick auf noch so kleine, aber bisweilen entscheidende Details kennzeichnen nicht nur ihre eigene Arbeit, sondern bilden auch die Grundlage, auf der sie ihre Kritik an weniger sorgfältigen Arbeiten aufbaut. Dies ist der Fall in dem letzten hier vorgestellten Aufsatz, einer 1982 im *Journal for Ancient Oriental Studies* erschienenen Rezension mit dem Titel „Problems of Method in the Archaeology and Art History of the Ancient Near East“ zu einem computergestützten analytischen *Repertoire* orientalischer Siegel, vorgelegt vom Centre National de la Recherches Scientifique im Jahre 1975. Das Projekt selbst würdigt sie durchaus und hebt dabei insbesondere die Leistungen des maßgeblich daran beteiligten Wissenschaftlers Jean-Claude Gardin hervor, auf den die theoretischen Konzepte und die Methodik des Projektes zurückgehen. Die Aufnahme der grossen Materialmenge und die Systematik bei der Erfassung bezeichnet sie gar als vorbildlich und sieht deswegen im *Repertoire* ein wichtiges Werkzeug für alle weiteren Forschungen zur altorientalischen Ikonografie. Ungeachtet dessen unterzieht sie das Werk einer sehr fundamentalen Kritik, die sie v.a. auf der völligen Unkenntnis der Autoren hinsichtlich der altorientalischen Steinschneidekunst, gar an ihrem Desinteresse an dieser festmacht. Sie weist ihnen fehlerhafte Interpretationen und in der Folge auch falsche Terminologien bei der Beschreibung von Motiven, die Missinterpretation bestimmter Götterikonografien als Folge einer unzulänglichen Sachkenntnis sowie mangelnde Wahrnehmung von Details nach, was auch erkennbar sei an zahlreichen und substantiell fehlerhaften Umzeichnungen. Dies nimmt sie wiederholt zum Anlass darauf hinzuweisen, wie wichtig sowohl detaillierte Bildbeschreibungen als auch korrekte Zeichnungen sind. Ersteres belegt sie mit einem Beispiel, in dem erst ihre Beschreibung eines lange schon bekannten Gegenstandes auf assyrischen Bildwerken die Aufmerksamkeit von Philologen auf dieses gelenkt und dann zu dessen Identifikation mit einem akkadischen Terminus geführt habe. Die Wahrnehmung und präzise Beschreibung eines Kunstwerkes sei ohnehin eine wesentliche Bestimmung des Archäologen, der sich dadurch erst dem Verständnis und der Deutung des Objektes und seiner Hintergründe nähern könne.

Bei allem Lob und trotz des freundlichen Tons, in dem die Rezension insgesamt gehalten ist, handelt es sich bei ihr doch um eine sehr grundle-

gende und tiefgehende Kritik, die Edith Porada nicht nur an dem besprochenen Werk selbst sondern auch an einem ganzen Forschungszweig der Archäologie äussert: der von ihr nicht namentlich genannten, damals unter dem Begriff „New Archaeology“ firmierenden prozessualen Archäologie.<sup>3</sup> Diese hatte die kulturhistorisch interessierte traditionelle Ausrichtung der Archäologie aufgrund ihrer fehlenden sozial-anthropologischen Fragestellungen hin vehement angegriffen. Auf diesen Angriff spielt Edith Porada an, wenn sie sich zu eben jenen von jüngeren Kollegen diffamierten „nicht-theoretischen Archäologen“ zählt, die „ausgraben, zeichnen, fotografieren, beschreiben und festhalten“ und die dadurch einem „niedrigeren Level des Forschertums zugerechnet würden als diejenigen, die sich mit den kognitiven Aspekten der Archäologie beschäftigen“ (Porada 1982c, 502. Die originale Seitenzahl ist im Nachdruck des Artikels in einem Kästchen angegeben). Als Antwort darauf weist sie auf die mangelnden Grundlagenkenntnisse zumindest der Macher des *Repertoire* hin, eine Bemerkung, die sich indirekt, aber erkennbar an die gesamte „New Archaeology“ richtet: „But even more important than developing mechanical techniques, methods of recording, and ‘cognitive theories’ about them, (all of which change with every generation of machines and scholars), are the creation of a precise pictorial record and the presentation of a detailed verbal description of the cylinder seal. For, in the final analysis, it is the work of art alone which is of lasting value for future generations of scholars“ (ebd., 506).

Hier nun ist am besten ersichtlich, wo sich Edith Porada methodisch selbst positionierte und worin sie die Aufgabe der kunstgeschichtlichen Forschung in der Archäologie sah: der sorgfältigen Dokumentation und Gruppierung von Kunstwerken. Fragen der prozessualen und der postprozessualen Archäologie scheinen sie dagegen wenig interessiert zu haben.

Edith Porada war sicherlich keine Theoretikerin; weder bezieht sie sich auf eine der damals viel diskutierten kunsttheoretischen Schriften eines Heinrich Wölfflin, Erwin Panofsky oder Guido Kaschnitz von Weinberg noch stellte sie selbst theoretische Konzepte einer kunstgeschichtlichen Analyse der Bilderwelt des Alten Orients auf. Selbst zur Methodik, mit der sie selbst sich den Objekten näherte, hat sie sich, abgesehen von der eben zitierten Stelle, nur selten explizit und in genereller Weise geäußert. Immerhin zeigt ein Bezug auf den bedeutenden Kunsthistoriker Ernst Gombrich und seine Forderung nach *imaginative participation* eines Kunstwerks (ebd., 503), dass sie durchaus mit kunsttheoretischen Schriften vertraut gewesen ist.

Versucht man, Edith Porada aufgrund ihrer Schriften wissenschaftsgeschichtlich einzuordnen, so wird man sie am ehesten in die Tradition der Stilanalyse Alois Riegls und Heinrich Wölfflins stellen.<sup>4</sup> Deren positivisti-

<sup>3</sup> Zu einer Einordnung dieser Forschungsrichtung s. Bernbeck 1997: 35-48.

<sup>4</sup> Zu deren Überlegungen und Methoden s. Riegl 1893 und Wölfflin 1915 bzw. Wölfflin<sup>19</sup> 2004.

scher Ansatz zeigt sich nicht nur in Fragestellungen, die sie verfolgte, sondern auch in ihrer grundsätzlichen Annahme, dass es durch Merkmale definierte Stilgruppen gibt, die sich chronologisch und regional mehr oder weniger exakt einordnen lassen. Sie ist darin in die stilgeschichtliche und typologische Sichtweise einer ganzen Wissenschaftlergeneration eingebettet, die – beispielsweise im Bezug auf die Klassische Antike – gerne „Schulen“ und „Werkstätten“ identifizierte bzw. definierte und von weitgehend linear verlaufenden Entwicklungen ausging. Die Möglichkeit bewusster Rückgriffe, Archaismen, formaler Übertragungen und individueller Experimente antiker Kunschtchaffender wurde allenfalls dann eingeräumt, wenn einzelne Stücke eindeutig aus dem definierten Rahmen fielen oder sich Ausnahmen nicht übersehen ließen. Systematische, auf theoretischen Konzepten und Grundüberlegungen basierende Untersuchungen zu sozialen, funktionalen, symbolisch-ideologischen oder ikonologischen Hintergründen der antiken Kunstproduktion wurden nicht durchgeführt. Auch wenn die Vertreter der prozessualen und später auch der postprozessualen Archäologie diese Arbeitsweise zum Teil sehr vehement kritisiert haben – wie sehr diese Kritik Edith Porada getroffen haben muss, lässt sich ansatzweise aus ihren Bemerkungen in der Rezension zum *Repertoire* von 1982 herauslesen – muss doch in Rechnung gestellt werden, dass es angesichts der Aufgaben, denen sich diese Forschergeneration ausgesetzt sah, hierzu wohl kaum eine Alternative gab. Erst durch die Erstellung von chronologischen und regionalen Gerüsten in der Kunstentwicklung war es den jüngeren Generationen überhaupt erst möglich geworden, weiter- und tiefergehende Fragestellungen an das Material heranzutragen und dabei bisweilen auch Ergebnisse ihrer Lehrer und Vorgänger kritisch zu hinterfragen, im Einzelfall auch zu revidieren.<sup>5</sup>

Gegenüber den Arbeiten ihrer Zeitgenossen – und als solche sollen durchaus auch die beiden eingangs bereits genannten, etwas älteren Forscher Henri Frankfort und Anton Moortgat gelten – zeichnet sich die Methodik Edith Poradas dadurch ab, dass sie erheblich vorsichtiger in der inhaltlichen Deutung und auch der ethnischen Zuweisung von Motiven und Typen in der Bildkunst war. Während Moortgat beispielsweise oft recht naiv nach dem sumerischen oder akkadischen „Wesen“ in einem Bildwerk suchte – und es auch oft genug gefunden zu haben glaubte – blieb Edith Porada weitaus vorsichtiger und vermied allzu starke ethnische Konnotationen. Hier mag ihre eigene Biografie eine größere Distanz zu dieser Art Wissenschaft bedingt haben. Desweiteren verließ sie sich weitaus weniger auf ihre Intuition als Moortgat dies tat, der ein Bildwerk nicht selten korrekt zu datieren vermochte, ohne dafür eigentlich eine ausreichende Argumentationsgrundlage zu haben.

<sup>5</sup> Ein Überblick über verschiedene kunsttheoretische Ansätze und Modelle sowie ihre Übertragung auf die Kunstgeschichte des Alten Orients findet sich bei Elsen-Novák / Novák 2006 sowie bei Steymans 2010.

Es war die besondere Gabe Edith Poradas, das Detail in einem Bild erkannt und diesem dieselbe Bedeutung beigemessen zu haben wie der Gesamtkomposition. Ihrer eigenen Forderung, dass die sorgfältige Dokumentation und Beschreibung eines Bildwerks die wesentliche Aufgabe des Archäologen sei, ist sie zeitlebens treu geblieben. Damit hat sie wichtige Grundlagen für die spätere Forschung gelegt.

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Reprinted from: *Berytus* VII, 1942, 57-63, Plate VIII.\*

## The Warrior with Plumed Helmet A Study of Syro-Cappadocian Cylinder Seals and Bronze Figurines

The seal impressions found on the Cappadocian tablets are one of the most valuable sources for the knowledge of stylistic trends in Eastern Asia Minor at the time of the Assyrian merchant colonies [ca. 1920 to 1870 B.C.].<sup>1</sup> Some of the seals which were used by the Assyrian traders were undoubtedly brought from Mesopotamia, consequently these do not differ from the contemporaneous Isin-Larsa or early First Babylonian Dynasty glyptics.<sup>2</sup> Other seals were carved by Anatolian workmen, evidently people of different ethnic background and stylistic conceptions.<sup>3</sup>

The close connection which existed between Eastern Asia Minor and Syria in the early Second Millennium is exemplified by the impressions made on Cappadocia tablets by seals carved in a Syro-Cappadocian style.<sup>4</sup> Conspicuous among the figures represented on impressions and seals of this Syro-Cappadocian style, is a figure wearing a helmet and pictured with the body in front view holding a weapon in either hand. He appears on a cylinder in the Walters Art Gallery, **Pl. VIII, 1**, holding in one hand an axe with curved shaft and a javelin (?) in the other.<sup>5</sup> He wears a short skirt or kilt made of some obliquely striped material with a vertical border down the front. The upper part of the garment is formed in typically Cappadocian manner by broad straps of material, drawn over the shoulders and crossed

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\* Two obvious misspellings in the original publication (Pl. XII,2 for Pl. VIII,2 and Speelers for Speleers) have been corrected in this reprint.

<sup>1</sup> For the chronology cf. Albright, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 77, 1940, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., J. Lewy, *Tablettes Cappadociennes*, Louvre, III, 3, sealing no. 85.

<sup>3</sup> A comprehensive treatment of the Cappadocian sealings: Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London 1939, pp. 242 to 251; also Moortgat, *Bildende Kunst des Alten Orients und die Bergvoelker*, Berlin 1932, chap. 1.

<sup>4</sup> For a definition of this term see the writer's report in the *Yearbook of the American Philosophical Society*, 1942, p. 230s.

<sup>5</sup> The object visible beside the legs of the figure is not a continuation of the javelin, but possibly the abbreviated design of an altar.

in front.<sup>6</sup> Lastly the most important piece of apparel, the helmet, shows a spike in front<sup>6A</sup> and is surmounted by a crest which appears to be formed by plumes. This figure, henceforth called the “warrior with plumed helmet,”<sup>58</sup> faces an enthroned god at whose feet an attendant plays the lyre.<sup>7</sup> Following the warrior is a female figure with a small lion seated on, or appearing above, her head. The last figure at the left is a nude goddess on a bull with her headdress terminating in a receding feather. All figures are facing toward the enthroned deity and thereby give the impression of approaching him in a procession.<sup>8</sup> **Pl. VIII, 2**, a seal from Ras Shamra, shows the warrior with plumed helmet in another aspect, namely as the recipient of an offering by a worshipper. A smaller figure precedes the worshipper into the presence of the warrior, holding in his hand an upright arm, probably representing a censer.<sup>9</sup> In the right half of the scene the worship of another deity is pictured. Both groups are separated by six globes over which appears a human head.<sup>10</sup>

Another representation of the warrior with plumed helmet is found on a seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library, **Pl. VIII, 3**. The soft modelling of the body and the band which divides the seal into four parts characterizes this cylinder as belonging to the First Syrian group.<sup>11</sup> While the helmet of the

<sup>6</sup> *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 61, p. 109, sub no. 315.

<sup>6A</sup> Also on a bronze figurine from Simiriyān, cf. Braidwood, *Asia*, 1940, p. 52. – H.I. [(Edith Porada added on her offprint in handwriting:) Cf. now also (Claude Frederic Armand) Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie (comparée et Chronologie de l'Asie occidentale « 3è et 2è millénaires »*, Syrie, Palestine, Asie mineure, Chypre, Perse et Caucase, London 1948,) p. 48.]

<sup>7</sup> For a study of lyres cf. Sellers, *Biblical Archaeologist*, vol. IV; 1941, pp. 36 to 38.

<sup>8</sup> a. To prove the correctness of Syro-Cappadocian classification for Pl. VIII, 1, compare for the goddess opening her veil: Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, nos. 9 and 271 (VAT 9238); for the woman with long hair falling over her shoulders, as well as for the enthroned god: Genouillac, *Céramique Cappadocienne*, I, plate A, 4 (AO 9390).

b. A similar representation of the warrior is probably seen in Lewy, *op. cit.* III, 3, sealing no. 12.

<sup>9</sup> To be fully discussed in a forthcoming article of the writer.

<sup>10</sup> a. For the classification of Pl. VIII, 2, as Syro-Cappadocian note the identity of the enthroned god and of the sundisk set in the crescent moon with similar designs in Clay, *Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia*, BIN, IV, Plate LXXXII, e.

b. The same warrior is pictured on De Clercq, no. 139, where a female figure stands before him with her hand raised in worshipping gesture (*Catalogue Méthodique et Raisonné de la Collection De Clercq*, Paris 1890).

<sup>11</sup> a. For a similar division of a seal into four parts cf. Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux*, A. 938 (plate 97, ii); for the same type of band which may be an abbreviated garland and only occurs on cylinders of the First Syrian group e.g. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, 1910, no. 846.

b. For a definition and determination of the First Syrian group cf. Frankfort, *op. cit.* pp. 252 to 258.

c. The “warrior” seems also to be depicted on another seal of the First Syrian group, Ward, *Cylinders ... in the Library of J. P. Morgan*, 1909, no. 213; the head is pictured in

warrior is the same as seen on the Syro-Cappadocian seals Pl. VIII, 1 and 2, his fringed skirt, necklaces and arm-rings and the posture, showing one arm lowered, differ from them. In the division at the left of the warrior, possibly meant to appear behind him, are three human heads, two hands, an eye and a star. The animals and designs filling the two other divisions may remain undescribed as they can scarcely be expected to shed any light on the significance of the scene.

The representation of the warrior with plumed helmet is not limited to cylinder seals. A bronze figurine, **Pl. VIII, 4-5**, found in the Orontes valley undoubtedly represents the same personage. He wears a helmet with a spike in front and the plumed crest abbreviated into a fan-like shape. While the body is treated summarily, considerable pains have been taken over the features of the face. Its sideview shows that this profile resembles that of the warrior pictured on Pl. VIII, 1 in the prominent nose, receding <sup>59</sup> forehead, wide mouth and small chin. The upper body of the statuette is nude, but his skirt or kilt closely resembles that of the warrior pictured on Pl. VIII, 1. By analogy with that seal it seems probable that the second weapon which the figure was meant to hold was an axe of the type seen on Pl. VIII, 1 and 2. The necklace of the statuette (a silver wire placed around the neck after the statuette had been taken from the mould) can be paralleled only by that of the warrior of Pl. VIII, 3.

The plume which seems to be the most characteristic feature of the warrior's helmet may have developed into the elaborate crest of **Pl. VIII, 7-8**. That the same type of helmet is represented seems almost certain in view of the fact that the singular neckflap which is clearly seen on Pl. VIII, 2 is also rendered on Pl. VIII, 7-8 where it forms the background for the face of the statuette. That face, beautifully modelled, is in striking contrast to the rest of the body which is rendered schematically. The accent thus put on the face relates this statuette to that of Pl. VIII, 4-5, a relation which is further stressed by the similarity of the youthful and beardless profiles. Like the sideview of Pl. VIII, 5 that of **Pl. VIII, 6** shows a receding forehead, thin, beak-like nose and small chin. Moreover the posture of the arms intended to hold an object in either hand is the same. In addition it may be pointed out that both figurines wear kilts although of different make. The kilt of Pl. VIII, 4-5 has been mentioned above, that of Pl. VIII, 7-8 may have been intended to give the impression of a two-colored fabric: the groovings in the cast between the straps of the kilt may have been inlaid with a different material. Perhaps such a garment is represented by a kilt like that of the attendant on Ward, *Cylinders ... in the Library of J. P. Morgan*, 1909, no. 184.

The difference between the two figures consists mainly in the workmanship, Pl. VIII, 7-8 presenting the product of a skilled artist, Pl. VIII, 4-5 the

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front view there but whether or not a helmet was engraved must remain undecided as that part of the seal is badly worn.

crude model of an earlier and probably provincial workman. The gap existing between these two figurines may be bridged by the seated copper goddess from Ras Shamra<sup>12</sup> and the statuettes associated with her. In his description of this goddess Schaeffer stresses the fact, that the creator of this object showed himself a master of high relief work by his treatment of the goddess' head, although the rest of her body gives an archaic impression.<sup>13</sup> Here again, as on Pl. VIII, 4-8 we find disproportionate emphasis laid upon the head of the statue. Furthermore examination of the sideview of the Ras Shamra goddess shows that her profile is almost identical with that of Pl. VIII, 4-5 and that, although more skilfully executed, the ethnic type rendered is the same.

The last figure to be mentioned in this group is a goddess with cylindrical headdress in the Louvre.<sup>14</sup> Schaeffer has pointed to the connection of this figurine with the Ras Shamra goddess, a connection which is most striking in the facial types of the two statuettes. Both show the same beak-like noses, almond-shaped cavities for the eyes and 60 half-opened mouths with drooping corners. As on the three other statuettes discussed, the finely sculptured head of the Louvre goddess seems ill-fitted for her schematically executed body. Not only can a connection be established between the Ras Shamra and the Louvre goddesses, but the latter figure can also be shown to present the same face and expression as pair 3 of the figurines, one example of which is our Pl. VIII, 7-8.<sup>15</sup> Moreover the characteristic dimple in the chin of the Ras Shamra goddess to which Schaeffer draws the reader's attention (*op. cit.* p. 129) is found again on the face of Pl. VIII, 7-8.

Aside from stylistic considerations these figurines are also connected from a technical point of view. They have all been cast in the same type of flat mould, the sitting figures having been bent into their posture after having been taken from the mould.<sup>16</sup> In each case the face of the figurine proves that its creator was capable of producing a characteristic work of sculpture, while the rest of the body shows more summary treatment. In every case also the flat back has remained in the rough. We have detailed descriptions and reproductions of the backs of the Ras Shamra goddess and of the statuettes of the type of Pl. VIII, 7-8.<sup>17</sup> These statuettes were originally covered with gold or silver foil on which the finer details were engraved.

<sup>12</sup> Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, plates XXVIII to XXX.

<sup>13</sup> Schaeffer, *op. cit.* p. 131.

<sup>14</sup> Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, fig. 117; also Froehner, *Collection Hoffmann*, 1888, no. 367; Contenau, *Civilisation Phénicienne*, 1926, fig. 69, and by the same author, *Musée National du Louvre, Antiquités Orientales*, II, plate 42. Also *Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art*, Paris 1936, p. 100, figs. D and E.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. footnote \* *infra* p. 63.

<sup>16</sup> Schaeffer, *op. cit.* p. 131.

<sup>17</sup> For the technical description of Pl. VIII, 7-8 see Barnett, *British Museum Quarterly*, vol. 9, 1934, p. 47; for that of the Ras Shamra goddess, Schaeffer, *op. cit.* p. 130.

The foil was fitted around the limbs and secured by rows of small copper pins driven into the lead-filled channels cut in the back of the figure.

Stylistic and technical considerations seem thus to justify the treatment of the above discussed statuettes as one connected group.<sup>18</sup>

Concerning the date of the group, convincing evidence points to an association in style and time of the statuette of Pl. VIII, 4-5 with the Syro-Cappadocian seals, Pl. VIII, 1 and 2.

The Ras Shamra goddess has been dated by the excavator to the 19th to 17th century B.C., without the exclusion of a possibly earlier date.<sup>19</sup> The higher grade of skill which is shown by the Ras Shamra goddess as compared to our Pl. VIII, 4-5 may justify that date which is slightly later than that of the Cappadocian colonies. The difference may, however, also be purely regional, with the higher level of art to be found in the rich harbour-town of Ugarit and the coarser work deriving from the North Syrian Hinterland.<sup>20</sup>

The association of the Louvre goddess with the goddess from Ras Shamra has led Schaeffer to doubt the correctness of the present low date given to that figurine (14th to 61 13th century B.C.).<sup>21</sup> In support of a higher date only a negative argument can be put forward: no excavations of Syrian, Palestinian or North-Mesopotamian sites of the later Second Millennium have so far yielded a flat statuette of the group and type discussed here. The same argument may also be applied to the date of the statuettes exemplified by Pl. VIII, 7-8. In support of this argument we return to the

<sup>18</sup> The determination of this group as Syrian need not be emphasized, as all statuettes with the exception of Pl. VIII, 7-8 are known to have come from that region. V. Mueller, *Fruehe Plastik*, Augsburg 1929, has included both Pl. VIII, 4-5 and 7-8 in his Asiano-Syrian group. But they have been placed in different subdivisions there and connected with other figurines, the discussion of which would fall outside the limited scope of this article.

<sup>19</sup> Schaeffer, *op. cit.* p. 133.

<sup>20</sup> Provincial workmanship of Pl. VIII, 4-5 seems all the more probable in view of the existence of a well-finished statuette dating from the same period: Moortgat, *op. cit.* plate IV-V, text p. 25; Schaeffer, *op. cit.* fig. 118.

<sup>21</sup> a. Contenau's date is still lower: first half of First Millennium (*Antiquités Orientales*, II, p. 22).

b. Opitz, *Altorientalische Gussformen*, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Beiheft 1, p. 211, discusses the pendant of the Louvre goddess and suggests a relation between this pendant and the so-called Brillenspiralen of European fibulae of the late Bronze and early Iron Age, thus supporting Contenau's late date for the statuette. While no definite connection is to be suggested here, it may nevertheless be pointed out, that very similar pendants have been discovered at Tepe Hissar and that an almost identical pendant was found in the layers of Hissar III (H 4333), a period which, according to the excavator ended in the first half of the Second Millennium B.C. (cf. E. Schmidt, *Excavations at Tepe Hissar Damghan*, Philadelphia 1937: Hissar II silver pendants, plate XXX, H 2982 and H 2659, text p. 121; Hissar III copper pendant, plate LIV, H 4333, text p. 207; for the chronology of periods II and III see p. 325).

evidence of the Syrian cylinder seals.<sup>22</sup> These show a figure with related headdress or in similar posture only on two seals both of which belong to the First Syrian group. (See note 11 c.) The beginning of the First Syrian group may be dated to the time of the Cappadocian colonies as two impressions of purely Syrian style have been found on Cappadocian tablets.<sup>23</sup> Its end may fall in the 18th century B.C. when the irruption of the Hyksos was only one of the symptoms of a period of upheavals and changes.

If these statuettes can be accepted all representative of the metal work which was produced in the centuries covered by the First Syrian group, the earliest (exemplified by Pl. VIII, 4-5) should be dated in the early 19th, the latest (Pl. VIII, 7-8) in the 18th century B.C. Nevertheless the 17th century B.C. which is the lowest archaeological date given by Schaeffer for the statuettes discovered by him, should be retained as a possibility until definitely disproved by future discoveries.

Considering lastly the significance of the "warrior with plumed helmet" we again have to turn to the cylinder seals for such meager information as might be gleaned from them. On Pl. VIII, 2 a worshipper approaches the warrior with an offering in the same 62 manner as he is seen elsewhere bringing a kid to a deity.<sup>24</sup> In other instances a female figure stands before the warrior raising her hand in a gesture of worship or prayer.<sup>25</sup> Thus it follows that a figure who is being worshipped like a god may be counted among the deities. The warrior's relation to a superior, perhaps the supreme god is illustrated by Pl. VIII, 1, where he *stands* in attendance before the *seated* godhead. This "warriorgod" is clearly differentiated from other figures such as for instance the weather god who places his foot on a bull and

<sup>22</sup> While it is not always possible to associate the larger works of Syrian art with designs on the cylinder seals of the corresponding period, several such examples can nevertheless be cited: The fragmentary figure *Encyclopédie Photographique*, p. 100, fig. A-C could undoubtedly be reconstructed according to the god swinging a mace and an axe on Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, No. 822. Both figures are identical in posture and wear the same detailed kilts. Both figurine and seal can be dated approximately to the middle of the Second Millennium B.C. Another example is the stela of "Ba'al with the Thunderbolt" from Ras Shamra, *Encyclopédie Photographique*, p. 102, which shows the same representation of that god as Ward, *Cylinders ... in the Library of J. P. Morgan*, No. 229, a seal which is scarcely earlier than the 14th century B.C., the date given to the stela by the excavators. The classification of these cylinders both of which are contained in the Pierpont Morgan Library collection will be discussed in detail in my forthcoming catalogue of that collection.

With such examples in view it seems justified to adduce the testimony of the cylinders at least as a secondary argument.

<sup>23</sup> *Oriental Institute Publications*, vol. 29, fig. 247, e844 in the right upper corner; the same tablet also *OIP*, vol. 27, fig. 3. The second Syrian sealing: J. Lewy, *Old Assyrian Documents from Asia Minor, Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental*, I, Bruxelles 1937. WAG (Walters Art Gallery) 48, 1464.

<sup>24</sup> E.g. Gordon, *Iraq*, VI, 1939, no. 47.

<sup>25</sup> See note 10 b.

carries a club<sup>26</sup> or the god identified with Ba'al and pictured on the stela from Ras Shamra as well as on cylinder seals.<sup>27</sup>

It is to be hoped that it may soon be possible for a scholar of Syrian religion<sup>28</sup> to identify with a divine or legendary personage this warrior who holds in his hand a javelin and an axe and who wears on his head a "helmet with plumed crest."

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<sup>26</sup> See note 8 b.

<sup>27</sup> See note 22.

<sup>28</sup> Dr. C. H. Gordon has suggested that the seal Pl. VIII, 3 be taken as the clue to the warrior's identity, inasmuch as this seal shows behind the warrior a heap of hands and heads said in the Ras Shamra epics to have been piled up by Anath, goddess of war. Against this ingenious interpretation it must, however, be said that such a heap of heads and hands also occurs on seals where the warrior is not represented (e.g. D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, Oxford 1920, no. 154), and that an explanation would have to be found for the eye and the star which are seen in the heap on Pl. VIII, 3. As to the warrior's sex, the reproduction Pl. VIII, 2 is not clear enough to permit a definite statement, although it seems as if female breasts were indicated. This impression is also conveyed by the larger of two schematic renderings of the "warrior with plumed helmet," which have been published by Speleers, *Syria*, III, 1922, plate XXVII, and by V. Mueller, *op. cit.* pl. XXXIX, no. 389. Even though the evidence of these crude idols cannot be taken as substantial proof, they show by their coarseness alone that also the poorest craftsmen tried to fashion idols of this popular "warriorgod."

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS ON PLATE VIII

1. Impression of Cylinder Seal (enlarged photograph). Walters Art Gallery: WAG C57. Published by Gordon, *Iraq*, VI, 1939, Pl. V, no. 36. Text p. 16.
2. Impression of Cylinder Seal (actual size). Found at Ras Shamra. Reproduced from Dussaud, *Babyloniaca*, XI, 1930, Pl. III, 1.
3. Impression of Cylinder Seal (enlarged photograph). Pierpont Morgan Library, no. 622. Published with the permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library.
- 4-5 Bronze Figurine (drawing), actual height 11 cm, Found in the Orontes valley. Reproduced from Menant, *Revue Archéologique*, 26, 1895, fig. 5, p. 39. Text pp. 39-41. Speleers, *Syria*, III, 1922, Pl. III.
6. Sideview of Bronze Figurine (photograph). Warsaw, National Museum, no. 32426. Reproduced from Przeworski, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, XIII, Pl. 51, fig. 6.
- 7-8. Bronze Figurine (photograph), actual height 10  $\frac{3}{4}$  inches. British Museum, 63 no. 120454. Reproduced from Barnett, *British Museum Quarterly*, IX, 1934, Pl. XIV, 1 and 2. Text p. 47.\*

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\* The latter bronzes belong to a group seven figurines of which the majority, six, are distributed between Russian and Polish collections. Snegirev in *Comm. of the State Acad. of Hist. of Material Civilization*, August 1931 (Soobshchenya GAIMK) has published all six in an effort to declare them forgeries (cf, Barnett, *op. cit.* on this question). These six statuettes can be divided into three pairs, each of which seems to have been cast in a different mould. The first statuette to have been taken from the mould is the more detailed one, since the following undoubtedly suffered from any uncleanness that had penetrated into the mould in the course of the process.

Pair I. A. Warsaw, National Museum, no. 32426 (fig. 6).

Published: Snegirev, *op. cit.* p. 28, right; also Przeworski, *Wiadomosci Archeologiczne (Bull. Arch. Polonais)*, X, 1929 fig. 2); also in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, cf. supra sub fig. 6.

B. Cracau, Cabinet de l'Archéologie Classique de l'Université Jaguelli, 7271.

Published: Snegirev, *op. cit.* p. 28, left; Przeworski, *Wiad. Arch.*, p. 28 fig. 1; *Eos*, 29, 1926, Pl. 1.

Pair II. A. Tver Museum

Published: Snegirev, *op. cit.* p. 30, right.

B. Belonging to N. A. Meshchersky.

Published: Snegirev, *op. cit.* p. 29, right; also Tallgreen, *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, VIII, p. 243, fig. 8.

Pair III. A. Belonging to N. A. Meshchersky.

Published: Snegirev, *op. cit.* p. 29, left; also Tallgreen, *op. cit.* p. 243, fig. 7.

B. Tver Museum.

Published: Snegirev, *op. cit.* p. 30, left.



Reprinted from: *Orientalia* 16, 1947, 145-165, Plates III-VIII.

## Suggestions for the Classification of Neo-Babylonian Cylinder Seals

The art of seal engraving of Mesopotamia from about 1000 B. C. to the fall of the Assyrian empire in 612 B. C. is in general considered to be a predominantly Assyrian achievement. It seems unlikely, however, that Babylonia, which did not follow Assyrian examples in its monumental art<sup>1</sup> should have completely limited itself to an acceptance of Assyrian patterns in the art of seal engraving.

Such an assumption is unlikely especially for those centuries, 9th to early 8th century B. C., during which contact with Assyria was not as close as it became in the later 8th and the 7th century B. C. when both countries were united under Assyrian rule.

The answer must therefore be that a specifically Babylonian glyptic style existed but that we are unable to distinguish it owing to the paucity of archaeological evidence. In the following an attempt is made, however, to establish such a Babylonian glyptic style by supplementing the archaeological evidence by the evidence [146] of dress and of certain other stylistic characteristics. This Babylonian group is referred to here as Neo-Babylonian and its beginning is placed about 1000 B. C.

By this use of the term Neo-Babylonian the writer employs the terminology applied to the epigraphic material instead of using the historical terminology which makes the Neo-Babylonian period begin only with the empire of Nabu-apal-ušur.

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<sup>1</sup> For example, the greatest achievements of Assyrian monumental art, the reliefs, remained without influence upon monumental art in Babylonia. The few monuments of Neo-Babylonian art which are known of the period before the Neo-Babylonian empire, such as the boundary stones, continued the Kassite tradition. Even when relief sculpture was produced on a large scale in the great upsurge of artistic activity under Nabū-kudur-ušur II, this sculpture was distinctively Babylonian in subject and technique. There are no scenes of battles and hunting, the most conspicuous themes of the Assyrian reliefs, represented on the walls of the procession street and of the Ištar-gate in Babylon; and the technique in which these Babylonian reliefs were fashioned is characteristic of work in clay in contrast to the Assyrian technique which is equally characteristic of work in stone. Cf. also R. Koldewey, *Das wiederstehende Babylon*. Leipzig, 1933, p. 29.

Two styles will be discerned in the Neo-Babylonian group. They are referred to here as the modelled and the cut style according to the technique used in the engraving of the cylinders. The modelled style shows the design carved on the seal in such a manner as to produce an impression of plasticity; the cut style comprises cylinders on which the design is composed of lines cut with a rotating disk which was held at different angles against the seal-stone.

*a) The Modelled Style*

A number of the cylinders which will be treated here have previously been assembled in a group by Herzfeld<sup>1</sup> who suggested that they are of Babylonian origin. He assigned the entire group to the later Second Millennium B. C., basing his dating on the fact that one seal of the group derives from the 13th to 12th century B. C. and that the characteristics of this seal can be found on most of the others. It will be our task, however, to show that the group was not limited to the late centuries of the Second Millennium B. C., but that it extended far into the First.

As mentioned above, one cylinder of this group, here reproduced as **Fig. 1**, can be dated in the 13th or 12th century B. C. Such a date is indicated by the similarity which exists between the bull-calf of our seal and that of the Middle Assyrian pieces **Figs. 4 and 5**.<sup>2</sup>

[147] The winged bull of Fig. 1, furthermore, is rendered here in the same manner as on a number of Middle Assyrian cylinders.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, the posture of the hero is the same on Figs. 1, 4 and 5. He grasps with one hand the foreleg of the monster and raises the other hand with the arm bent at the elbow forming an angle.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. Herzfeld, *Die Kunst des zweiten Jahrtausends in Vorderasien* (II. Teil) in *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, vol. IX, 1938, p. 1 ff., Abb. 131, n. (61) here Fig. 10; Abb. 133, n. (63) here Fig. 6; Abb. 135, n. (65) here Fig. 3; Abb. 135 a here Fig. 1; Abb. 136, n. (66) here Fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 4 can be assigned to the Middle Assyrian period owing to the evidence of a seal impression from Assur, Weber 33. This imprint was dated by Weber in the last quarter of the Second Millennium B. C., undoubtedly because the text of the tablet justified such a dating. However, Moortgat did not include the imprint in his article *Assyrische Glyptik des 13. Jahrhunderts* (ZA 47 p. 1-41). We may therefore assume that the imprint was later than the 13th century B. C., and derived from the 12th or 11th century B. C. Such a date would explain the fact that the hero wears a long fringed mantle, a garment not represented on Middle Assyrian cylinders and impressions of the 14th and 13th centuries B. C.

[147]<sup>1</sup> For example, *The Cambridge Ancient History*; Plates, vol. 1, 1927, pag. 227 [a] and an unpublished cylinder in the Walters Art Gallery, WAG 42.733. On both these cylinders the bull differs only by his posture from Fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This posture of the arm was undoubtedly created for scenes which showed the hero brandishing a weapon in his raised hand, for example Figs. 4 and 5. However, the pos-

With the date of this seal in the 13th or 12th century thus established, attention may be drawn to those details which differentiate Fig. 1 from the Middle Assyrian cylinders to which it has just been compared. Above all, the feather-crown worn by the hero of Fig. 1 portrays not a type of Middle Assyrian head-gear but the crown of the Kassite gods of Babylonia.<sup>3</sup> Another differentiating feature is found in the kilt of the hero. This kilt is obviously wrapped around the body, and the edge which is folded over is marked by an oblique line. The Middle Assyrian kilt, on the contrary, which is depicted on Fig. 5, never shows in which manner the material was folded over and is marked only by horizontal and vertical stripes. Furthermore, the narrow belt with the characteristic long tassels which dangle between the legs of the figures on the Middle Assyrian representations, is replaced on our seal by a broad strip of material and the hanging cords are omitted. Finally, both the crown and the belt of the hero are ornamented by small drillings. This decorative device, which undoubtedly indicates the gold plaquettes sewn upon the garments of gods as mentioned in Neo-Babylonian texts<sup>1</sup>, is found only once on a Middle Assyrian design and then on the border of a mantle.<sup>2</sup>

The next seal to be considered here, **Fig. 2**, should be dated between the 12th and 10th centuries B. C. The scene includes a tree the design of which is found in the border of a robe depicted on a Babylonian boundary stone of the 12th century B. C. and on another of the 10th century B. C.<sup>3</sup>

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ture was preserved on subsequent seals where the weapon was omitted. Such persistence of postures can be observed throughout Middle Assyrian art. For example, the cylinder Ward, *Cylinders and other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Library of J. P. Morgan*, New York, 1909, No. 280 shows a stag galloping downhill with one hindleg raised as he leaps over a bunch of thistles. This posture has been retained on several Middle Assyrian seals and impressions on which both the hill and the thistles have been omitted (see, for example, the two seals mentioned in note 1). Cf. also Moortgat, *Assyrische Glyptik*, p. 18 for comment on the preservation of this posture.

<sup>3</sup> For the Kassite feather-crown cf. W. Reimpell, *Geschichte der babylonischen und assyrischen Kleidung*, Berlin 1921, p. 39 s.v. *Federhut*. In Neo-Assyrian representations the divine head-gear usually shows a pair of horns combined with the crown of feathers. Cf. Reimpell, *ibid.* Also D. Opitz, *Der geschlachtete Gott* (*Archiv für Orientforschung*, vol. V, 1928-9), p. 82 and note 1.

[148]<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *The Material Culture of the Neo-Babylonian Period* (in MS) s. v. *Appliqué*.

<sup>2</sup> Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington, 1910, No. 587 (in the Pierpont Morgan Library) shows a genius wearing a mantle with such drillings (Ward's draftman omitted to indicate them in the reproduction of the seal design). This cylinder should probably be dated in the 12th century B. C. because the mantle as attire of a heroic figure is not seen on dated impressions of the two foregoing centuries (see also p. 146 note 2 remarks concerning the date of Fig. 4).

<sup>3</sup> On the robe of Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē on the boundary stone L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones in the British Museum*, London, 1912, pl. LIV and on the robe of Nabū-mukīn-apli, King, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXIV.

This implies a possible difference in the dates of Figs. 1 and 2, a difference which might extend to two centuries or more if we take the 10th century B. C. to be the date of Fig. 2. Such a difference in time between Figs. 1 and 2 would well agree with the changes which can be observed in the design of the latter cylinder. Most obvious is the change in the posture of the hero. Instead of raising his arm bent at an angle he swings it back unbent, holding a scimitar the point of which is near the ground. Furthermore, he places one foot upon the victim's back instead of standing with both feet on the ground. Then, too, the kilt differs from that seen on Fig. 1; the main stress appears to have been laid on the decoration of the border at the bottom which is formed by large squares while the ornamentation of the belt by drillings, seen on Fig. 1, is omitted on Fig. 2. Moreover, it seems possible that Fig. 2 represents a kilt [149] worn in a somewhat different manner because the oblique line marking the edge of the material on Fig. 1 is missing here.

The third seal to be discussed in this connection, **Fig. 3**, can be dated by the design of the sphinx. The rendering of the face (especially of the eye) and of the wings and claws corresponds closely to that of the sphinxes on Fig. 11, a seal which was discovered at Warka in a Neo-Babylonian layer of the earlier half of the First Millennium B. C. Moreover, the beard of the heroic figure on Fig. 3 is indicated by a succession of drillings. This rendering which does not occur on any Middle Assyrian designs is found on the Neo-Assyrian cylinder of an official of Mannu-kīma-Aššur dated in 793 B. C.<sup>1</sup> and on many of the Assyrian and Babylonian seals of the late 8th and 7th centuries B. C.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, the heroic figure of Fig. 3 has been furnished with two pairs of short wings. Although these cannot be used as criteria of a late date because winged figures in heroic exploits already occur in the later Second Millennium B. C., the even length of the wings and their shortness are, in general, an indication of Neo-Babylonian rather than of Neo-Assyrian origin. On the Neo-Assyrian cylinders the lower pair of wings is often longer than the upper pair.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, No. 596.

<sup>2</sup> A very good early 7th century example of this manner of rendering the beard is Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, No. 751. This seal was found on the pavement of the Sennacherib level of the Aššur-temple at Assur (cf. Moortgat, *op. cit.*, p. 75).

<sup>3</sup> Compare, for example, the Neo-Assyrian cylinder of the late 8th to 7th century B. C., Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London, 1939, pl. XXXV k to the Neo-Babylonian seal stone Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, No. 735. The latter cylinder was found at Babylon in a layer which antedates Nabū-kudur-ušur II (cf. Moortgat, *op. cit.*, p. 74), we may therefore assume that it is contemporary with the cylinder published by Frankfort. On the Assyrian seal the lower pair of wings is considerably longer than the upper one, whereas the wings are short and of even length on the Neo-Babylonian stone.

The kilt of the winged hero of Fig. 3 differs from that of Fig. 2 by showing drillings in the squares of the border and by presenting the bordered edge of the material drawn up to the belt where it was probably tucked in.

The last feature which demands attention on Fig. 3 is the victim, a stag. In contrast to the kneeling or recumbent bull-calf of Fig. 1 [150] and to the griffin in similar posture on Fig. 2, the stag of Fig. 3 is shown in a lively posture, one foreleg gracefully placed forward, the other raised with equal grace. The hindfeet are slid far apart, the head is turned backwards and the short tail raised.

Summing up the results of this analysis we may draw the following conclusions: Fig. 1 is a Babylonian cylinder of the 13th or 12th century B. C., distinguished from contemporary Middle Assyrian designs by the garment of the hero. The modelled engraving, general subject and composition of Fig. 1 are found all Fig. 2 and still persist on Fig. 3, hence Figs. 2 and 3 are also considered Babylonian. However, certain changes affecting garment and posture have taken place and indicate that Figs. 2 and 3 did not derive from the same period as Fig. 1. This is confirmed by the external stylistic evidence adduced above for the dating of the two cylinders.

Fig. 2 which forms the transition between Figs. 1 and 3 cannot be unreservedly classified as Neo-Babylonian because we have to consider the possibility that the seal-stone was made as early as the 12th century B. C. Fig. 3, however, which has to be dated after 1000 B. C. and which may be as late as the 8th century B. C., can definitely be referred to as a Neo-Babylonian cylinder of modelled style.

It now remains to be seen if other cylinders can be similarly classified owing to their relation to our Neo-Babylonian seal Fig. 3, by subject, technique and composition, or by some distinctive detail of design.

The first cylinder which can be classified in this manner as Neo-Babylonian of modelled style is **Fig. 6**. The attire of the hero, his posture and the posture of the victim are similar to Fig. 3. Moreover, the star and crescent and the mounted symbols of Marduk and Nabū which are seen in the sky occur on both cylinders.<sup>1</sup>

**Fig. 7** is another cylinder which corresponds in the manner of engraving and in the posture of the figures to Fig. 3. Moreover, the composition is the same on both cylinders. These relations are [151] sufficient to warrant the classification of Fig. 7 as a modelled style Neo-Babylonian stone although there is some slight variation in the garment of the hero. The border of the kilt is omitted and the decoration by drillings covers the entire material. The headdress of the hero, which is broken off with the rest of the top of

[150]<sup>1</sup> Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, No. 613, shows the same composition as Fig. 6 and may therefore be similarly classified although the attire of the hero and the types of animals represented vary from those of the Southesk seal.

the seal, may or may not have corresponded to Fig. 3.<sup>1</sup> It may be added that the cactus-like plant of Fig. 7 is found more often on Neo-Babylonian than on Neo-Assyrian cylinders.<sup>2</sup>

We may now extend our group to include two cylinders, Figs. 8 and 9, of which the classification as Neo-Babylonian is assured in advance owing to the character of their inscriptions. The composition of their designs and the postures of the figures correspond to a large extent to those of Figs. 3 and 7. On both inscribed seals Figs. 8 and 9 we find a composition of three figures, two opponents and a victim; each hero has his foot placed upon the victim; and on **Fig. 8** the victim is depicted in a posture which by now may simply be referred to as Neo-Babylonian.

It is tempting to date **Fig. 9** in the 9th century B. C. owing to the striking correspondence which exists between the hairdress of the winged hero and that of the figure of Marduk on a lapis-lazuli staff from the time of Marduk-nādin-šumi.<sup>3</sup> At any rate, we may [152] be justified in dating Figs. 8 and 9 like the foregoing seals of our modelled style group in the 10th to 8th century B. C.<sup>1</sup>

This is important in view of the difference in the garments which is introduced by Figs. 8 and 9 and which shows that our group was more varied than may have been assumed. On both Figs. 8 and 9 the winged heroes wear flounced mantles, on the latter cylinder the mantle is opened to show the honey-comb pattern of the lining. While this pattern is often found on Assyrian cylinders of the later 8th or 7th century B. C.<sup>2</sup> it is nevertheless

[151]<sup>1</sup> Cylinders which correspond to Fig. 7 in subject and composition and which may therefore be similarly classified are: Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, No. 612 and O. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder (Der Alte Orient, 17-18, Heft 2)*, No. 307. Furthermore, a composition which produces the same effect as that of Fig. 7 is found on L. J. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux ...* (Musée du Louvre) Paris, 1923, vol. II, A. 673 although the horned animal is represented in rampant posture on the Louvre seal and the lion is seen under the foot of the hero. It may be added, however, that the violence of action manifested in the design of the Louvre seal as well as the posture of the hero correspond more closely to our Figs. 11 and 13 (to be discussed below) than to Fig. 7.

<sup>2</sup> This is curious in view of the fact that such a cactus-like plant first occurs on the bronze castings from a throne of Aššur-nāšir-apli II (A. H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1853, p. 200). It is also seen on *ziggatu* from the time of the same ruler (W. Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics from Ashur*, London, 1925, pls. 31 and 32). However, only very few Neo-Assyrian cylinders show this plant in their designs. One example is the above mentioned seal of an official of Mannu-kīma-Aššur (Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, No. 596).

<sup>3</sup> R. Koldewey, *Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa* (WVDOG 15) Blatt 8, Abb. 74.

[152]<sup>1</sup> The fact that a fragmentary impression, Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux ...* (Musée du Louvre), vol. II, A. 776 (1<sup>a</sup>) shows a figure related to the winged hero of Fig. 9, should not be regarded as a criterion of a late date for our cylinder. It is quite possible that this impression was made with an earlier seal in the same manner as A. 795 which is the imprint of a Middle Assyrian cylinder.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXXV a and k.

first seen on a monument deriving from Babylonia, namely on the boundary stone of Marduk-nādin-aḥḫē.<sup>3</sup>

A small but significant detail in the attire of the winged hero on Fig. 9 is the diadem which is pointed in front, giving the impression of a metal circlet. This diadem which differs from the Assyrian<sup>4</sup> is an almost unfailing criterion of the Neo-Babylonian origin of a cylinder seal.<sup>5</sup>

Figs. 10 to 13 bring even more variety to our Neo-Babylonian group than Figs. 8 and 9. **Fig. 10**, which can be related to Fig. 3 by the attire of the genii, a fact previously stated by Herzfeld<sup>6</sup> [153] has been dated on the basis of archaeological evidence in the earlier half of the 1st Millennium B. C. by Moortgat. The seal was found in a Neo-Babylonian layer at Warka.<sup>1</sup>

The most striking feature of this seal is the violence of movement contained in the design which shows winged heroes and demons with lions' bodies holding each other by the hand, probably meant to be fighting.<sup>2</sup>

Another seal which shows equally violent movement by the fighting figures of the scene, **Fig. 11**, was found together with Fig. 10 at Warka. It is interesting to note that the heroes of this scene are nude, a feature which is unparalleled in Neo-Assyrian seal designs of the 10th to 8th century B. C.

**Figs. 12 and 13** can be related to Fig. 11 and thus added to our group. On both designs we find the same violence of movement as on Figs. 10 and 11. It may be noted, furthermore, that on all of these seals, Figs. 10-13, there are two identical heroes engaged in the contest. Whether or not this is merely a duplication of the heroic figure meant to produce a symmetrical composition, it is a motif not paralleled in Neo-Assyrian designs.

The last type of contest scene which this writer considers to be characteristic of the modelled Neo-Babylonian style of the 10th to 8th century B. C. is represented on **Fig. 14**. It shows a centaur shooting with bow and arrow at a fleeing victim. Kassite crown and posture of the victim (the latter

<sup>3</sup> Cf. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones*, pl. LIV. The pattern is clearly discernible on the sleeves of the robe between elbow and wrist, as well as on the hip below the belt.

<sup>4</sup> The Assyrian head ornament seen, for example, on Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXXV j gives the impression of being a bandeau made of some textile material upon which metal rosettes were sewn. This impression is even more strongly conveyed by the representations of this bandeau on the large monuments, e. g. on the reliefs of Aššur-nāṣir-apli II where it is worn by genii (A. H. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, London, 1849, pls. 34 (left), 35 and 37 (right); or on those of Sargon II (e. g. Botta-Flandin, *Monuments de Ninive*, vol. I, Paris, 1849, pl. 43).

<sup>5</sup> It is seen, for example, on the two cylinders of unquestionable Neo-Babylonian origin: Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, No. 732 (here Fig. 18) and No. 744. The first seal is marked as a Neo-Babylonian piece by the inscription, the second by the fact that it was found at Babylon.

<sup>6</sup> Herzfeld, *Die Kunst des zweiten Jahrtausends in Vorderasien* (II. Teil), p. 5.

[153]<sup>1</sup> Cf. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, p. 68, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Herzfeld, *ibid.*

corresponding to Fig. 3), establish the Neo-Babylonian classification and approximate dating of this cylinder.<sup>3</sup> Other evidence that a specifically Babylonian theme is depicted here is adduced by **Fig. 15**, a Kassite cylinder, and by the occurrence of a similar centaur on a Babylonian boundary stone.<sup>4</sup> It may be added that the Kassite seal, Fig. 15, shows equal if not greater violence of movement than the Neo-Babylonian design derived [154] from it. However, a number of seal impressions from Nuzi<sup>1</sup> are characterized by similar violence of movement. It seems likely therefore that we have to place the origin of this tendency in the Mitannian art of the 15th century B. C. rather than in the Kassite art of the 14th to 12th century B. C.

We have now discussed a number of cylinders which can be classified as Neo-Babylonian and which may be dated approximately in the 10th to 8th century B. C. They are characterized by modelled engraving, by the posture of the heroes who invariably place one foot upon the victim and by the posture of the victims, which usually have the hindfeet slid far apart, often raise one foot and place the other forward and frequently turn back their heads.

Several different aspects of the contest between heroes and monsters can be discerned in this group. The first is a hero in a gesture of triumph raising two victims by their hindlegs as on Fig. 6<sup>2</sup>; the second consists of three figures, usually the hero facing an opponent with a victim between these two figures, as on Figs. 3, 7, 8 and 9; the third shows two identical heroes with one or more victims as on Figs. 10 to 13; and the last is a centaur pursuing his quarry, represented on Fig. 14.

A comparison of these modelled style Neo-Babylonian cylinders of the 10th to 8th century B. C. with the contemporary seals of Assyria shows that there was a considerable difference in the glyptic styles of the two coun-

<sup>3</sup> A cylinder in the Yale Babylonian collection, published by F. J. Stephens (YBC 9668, *Yale University Library Gazette*, vol. 19, Jan. 1945, facing p. 47), shows a related representation of a centaur and should probably be classified in the same manner. It may be mentioned, however, that on that seal the centaur wears a horned mitre and the victim is a lion-griffin, both of which differentiate the Yale cylinder from Fig. 14.

<sup>4</sup> The boundary stone of Meli-šipak (King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones*, pl. XXIX, Face A).

[154]<sup>1</sup> *The Seal Impressions from Nuzi* by this writer (in press) Nos. 514, 518, 713, 728 etc.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps we should assign to the same group two seals which show a hero with two rampant victims (Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux...* (Musée du Louvre), vol. II, A. 658 and Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, No. 612. On both cylinders the heroes are rendered with the kilt of Fig. 7 and with a hairdress corresponding to that of the heroes on Figs. 11 to 13. Moreover, the cactus-like plant, mentioned above as a characteristic detail of Neo-Babylonian seal designs is also seen on both stones. The fact that the motif represented upon them, a hero with two victims, was the favorite theme of the Sargonid seal cutters does not necessarily date the two cylinders under consideration in the late 8th to 7th century B. C. because this theme was occasionally represented at an earlier time. It is seen, for example, on the Middle Assyrian seal impressions Moortgat, *Assyrische Glyptik*, Abb. 57, 58 and 60 and it probably survived with all the other Middle Assyrian features in our Neo-Babylonian group.



tries. In the 10th to 8th century B. C. a [155] linear and a drilled style prevailed in Assyria<sup>1</sup> and although contest scenes were among the most frequent subjects of the linear style Assyrian seals, only one such seal shows a composition comparable to that of the Neo-Babylonian contest scenes discussed above. This cylinder<sup>2</sup> presents two opponents with a victim between them. The stone was discovered in the palace of Aššur-našir-apli II in Assur and can therefore be placed among the earlier linear style cylinders. It obviously presents a scheme of composition which was not preserved on the majority of the seals engraved in the linear style.

Aside from the exceptional cylinder just mentioned, none of the linear style cylinders shows, furthermore, a free, or even violent movement of the figures comparable to that of our Neo-Babylonian group. **Fig. 16**, for example, a linear style cylinder of the 9th to earlier 8th century B. C. shows the victim in a posture not unlike the one found to be typically Neo-Babylonian; however, in comparison with these Neo-Babylonian designs the Neo-Assyrian seems rigid and static.<sup>3</sup>

Only in the later 8th century B. C. when a modelled style replaced the linear and drilled styles of Assyria,<sup>4</sup> did violence of [156] movement appear in Assyrian cylinders, of which **Fig. 17** is an example. The reasons for classifying Fig. 17 as Neo-Assyrian is the attire of the hero who is shown wearing a bandeau decorated with rosettes and a fringed mantle, both of which are specifically Assyrian.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the violence of movement in this design should be ascribed to Babylonian origin as there was considerable recipro-

[155]<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the drilled and linear style seals of Assyria cf. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, p. 66 ff. The cylinders which the present writer calls drilled style seals are referred to by Moortgat as having been worked with the *Kugelbohrer* (drill), and those which this writer terms linear style seals are described by Moortgat p. 68 as *scharf geritzt* or *grob gekerbt*.

<sup>2</sup> Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, No. 637. shows a winged scorpion-man contesting with a winged bull while a winged goat lies prostrate between them. One other linear style seal which shows two opponents and what may be a victim between them, is Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, No. 574 (in the Pierpont Morgan Library). This seal, however, presenting a griffin-demon who aims with bow and arrow at a dragon while a small bird is placed between them, conforms in the postures of the figures as well as in their arrangement to the stereotyped scheme of all other linear style contests.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible, of course, that both in the Neo-Babylonian and in the Neo-Assyrian glyptic art this posture was derived from Middle Assyrian designs. Moortgat, *Assyrische Glyptik*, Abb. 37, for example, is a Middle Assyrian impression on which the victim is depicted in such a posture. The principal fact, however, remains that the Neo-Babylonian engravers preserved this posture in all its liveliness, whereas it became stereotyped in the hands of the Neo-Assyrian seal-cutters.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 190, for the renewed importance of modelling in the time of Šarrukīn II.

[156]<sup>1</sup> For the bandeau with rosettes cf. p. 152, note 4; for the fringed mantle cf. Reimpell, *Geschichte der babylonischen und assyrischen Kleidung*, s. v. *Kappadokischer Plaidmantel*, p. 34 and p. 74.

cal influence between the modelled style of Babylonia and Assyria from the late 8th century B. C. onwards. For example, one of the favorite themes of the Sargonid seal cutters, a winged or wingless hero standing between two rampant victims, is rendered on **Fig. 18**, a seal which bears an unmistakable Neo-Babylonian inscription. Other details which mark the seal as a Neo-Babylonian piece are the diadem mentioned in the discussion of Fig. 9 and the fact that the winged hero wears a kilt instead of the long mantle, the usual attire of heroic figures on the Neo-Assyrian seals of modelled style deriving from the later 8th to 7th century B. C. While the earlier Neo-Babylonian seals of modelled style, however, present heroic figures wearing kilts more frequently than mantles, the later Neo-Babylonian seals engraved in this style show a reversal of the relation between kilt and mantle, probably owing to Assyrian influence. **Fig. 19**, for example, which can be classified as Neo-Babylonian by the inscription, the posture of the hero, the diadem and the great elegance in the execution of the design,<sup>2</sup> shows the winged hero wearing a mantle which closely resembles that garment pictured on a number of Assyrian cylinders.<sup>3</sup>

It may be added that representations like Fig. 19 which show a hero with one victim are more frequent among the later Neo-Babylonian cylinders of modelled style than those, like Fig. 18, which present the Assyrian scheme of a hero with two victims.<sup>4</sup> [157] These examples, Figs. 17 to 19 may be sufficient to indicate, however, that the close relation between Assyrian and Babylonian cylinders of the later 8th to 7th century B. C. makes it impossible to divide them into two separate groups and to establish a clearly defined class of later Neo-Babylonian seals of modelled style comparable to the earlier one of which Figs. 3 and 6 to 14 are representative.

#### b) The Cut Style

Cylinders of the cut style, of which **Fig. 20** is an example, are characterized by extreme shallowness of the engraving. The space to be taken up by the body was ground off first. Then the details of the design were marked by narrow incisions produced by means of a rotating disk which was held at

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 217, for remarks concerning the extraordinary elegance possessed by the Neo-Babylonian seal designs.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. Frankfort *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXXV k. The only difference between the mantle on the Assyrian representations just mentioned and the one pictured on Fig. 19 consists in the fact that on the latter cylinder the fringes are indicated by drillings instead of by short lines.

<sup>4</sup> Characteristic examples of Neo-Babylonian cylinders showing a god or hero with one victim are: *Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Art formed by James, Ninth Earl of Southesk*, London, 1908, vol. II, Qc. 25; *Catalogue méthodique et raisonné de la Collection De Clercq*, Paris, 1890, volume I, No. 335 and Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux...* (Musée du Louvre), vol. II, A. 716, A. 717.

different angles against the seal. Curves were avoided as far as possible. Where they had to be indicated it was done by two incisions joined at a shallow angle, or by drawing them in with a point after the rest of the design had been completed.

The earliest example of this style appears to be **Fig. 21**, a cylinder dated by Moortgat in the Middle Assyrian period,<sup>1</sup> Moortgat based his dating on the resemblance of the seal design to an impression on a Middle Assyrian tablet from Assur. Moreover, he drew attention elsewhere<sup>2</sup> to the fact that the wings of the monsters and other winged figures on cylinders of the First Millennium B. C. are short and straight or curved, whereas the wing of the monster on Fig. 21 is long and bent. This may be taken as a further indication for a date for Fig. 21 before the beginning of the First Millennium, *i. e.* in the later part of the Second.

Moortgat's statement concerning the shape of the wing as a criterion of a date in the later Second Millennium can be further implemented by the wing of the sphinx on **Fig. 22**. Its design is almost identical with that of the monster on Fig. 21 and the seal [158] on which it occurs belongs to the Kassite period, probably deriving from the later centuries of Kassite rule in Babylonia. Other similarities between this Kassite cylinder and Fig. 21 are the design of the bodies of the goats (especially the shallow angle marking the curve of the abdomen) and the lozenges which are carved in the same manner on both cylinders. We may therefore consider Fig. 22 like Fig. 21 a product of the cut style. This not only confirms the origin of this style in the later Second Millennium B. C. but indicates also that the style was used in Babylonia.

Further indication for Babylonian use of the cut style is given by **Fig. 23**. This seal should be dated in the First Millennium B. C. owing to the shape of the centaur's wing which is short and curved. As mentioned above, such wings are characteristic of seal designs made after the end of the Second Millennium B. C. As regards the subject of the cylinder, a centaur pursuing his quarry, it was suggested on p. 153 that this is a specifically Babylonian theme.<sup>1</sup> The fact that it is not represented on the linear or on the drilled style seals of Assyria, adds further weight to this suggestion.

[157]<sup>1</sup> Cf. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Moortgat, *op. cit.*, p. 68 (discussion of Nos. 615 and 616).

[158]<sup>1</sup> The same appears to be true of the subject: bird (or scorpion man and quarry which is represented in the upper register of De Clercq 320, while a centaur pursuing a lion-griffin is seen in the lower register. Not only does this combination of the two subjects indicate that they should be similarly classified but bird (or scorpion)-man and quarry are limited like the centaur to seals of the cut and modelled style. Cut style examples are: Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux...* (Musée du Louvre), vol. II, A. 715; Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, No. 313 and L. Speleers, *Catalogue des intailles et empreintes orientales des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*, Brussels, 1917, No. 434, p. 185. The modelled style example, proba-

Another cylinder, **Fig. 24**, may likewise be cited to show that the cut style was employed by Babylonian engravers. This stone was found at Babylon and was dated by Moortgat in the earlier First Millennium B. C.<sup>2</sup> Its subject, a god pursuing a lion-griffin, is often rendered on Neo-Assyrian cylinders of both the linear and the drilled style.<sup>3</sup> **Fig. 25** is a drilled style example of this theme. A comparison of Figs. 24 and 25 shows considerable difference in the treatment of the subject. The Assyrian artist of **Fig. 25** confined himself to an arrangement of the figures which conformed to the space provided by the sealing surface. The Babylonian artist, however, used the surface of the cylinder more freely; instead of showing all the figures on the same plane he utilized the entire height of the seal by placing the lion-griffin in the upper left corner of the field. The monster's flight therefore seems all the more desperate and the pursuit more violent.

Great violence of action which has previously been established as one of the characteristics of the Neo-Babylonian cylinders of modelled style thus also appears on a cut style cylinder found in Babylonia. The posture of the god on **Fig. 24** who places one foot upon the winged bull provides a further relation with the designs of the modelled Neo-Babylonian cylinders where such a posture is typical of heroic figures. On the evidence of these seals, **Figs. 23 and 24**, it may be suggested that the cut style was not only used in Babylonia but that it was a distinctively Babylonian style of seal engraving.

As regards the date of the cut style group, we have seen that its beginning can be placed in the late Kassite period. Cylinders like **Figs. 23 and 24**, however, belong to the earlier part of the First Millennium B. C. This is indicated, for example, by the relation of **Fig. 24** to the Assyrian cylinder **Fig. 25** which derives from about the 9th century B. C.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, as will be shown below, a number of other cut style cylinders can be dated in the 9th and 8th centuries B. C. by their relation to Assyrian seal-stones. In the absence of more specific dating criteria we may therefore assign the bulk of the cut style group approximately to the 9th and 8th centuries B. C.

Such a date would imply, however, that these cut style seals are roughly contemporary with the earlier group of modelled style Neo-Babylonian cylinders discussed in the first part of this study. This would make the cut style a second form of artistic expression [160] in the glyptic art of Babylonia in the earlier centuries of the First Millennium B. C. The relations which

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bly deriving from the Middle Assyrian period, is C. H. Gordon, *Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery* (Iraq VI), pl. XI: 88.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Moortgat, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. Moortgat, *op. cit.*, No. 595; Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, No. 565 (in the Pierpont Morgan Library), 567, 570 and 575; De Clercq 331 and Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, No. 314 (Bib. Nat. 315 may have been a cut style seal with the same motif, thus corresponding to **Fig. 24**).

[159]<sup>1</sup> The cylinder **Fig. 25** closely resembles Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, No. 595, which derives from the time of Aššur-nāšir-apli II; **Fig. 24** may therefore be similarly dated.

have been established above between cut and modelled style seals only serve to confirm this theory.

Unlike the modelled style Neo-Babylonian cylinders of the 10th to 8th century B. C., however, which appear to have been independent of the contemporary Assyrian designs, the cut style seals were influenced by Assyrian art. This influence appears already in the subject of Fig. 24 and is also evident in the two principal themes of this group, archer and quarry, represented on Fig. 26<sup>1</sup>, and two kneeling worshippers flanking a "sacred tree"<sup>2</sup> seen on Fig. 27<sup>3</sup>. Numerous Assyrian linear style seals of the 9th to 8th century B. C. show the subject of archer and quarry<sup>4</sup> which we find on Fig. 26. Some difference, however, is introduced on our seal by the head-gear of the archer who wears a horned mitre, whereas the linear style representations usually show the archer with no other head ornament than his curly mop of hair. The same differentiating detail can be observed in the representation of worshippers flanking the "sacred tree". On linear style representations of the latter theme, furthermore, the worshippers are usually seen standing and grasping the streams of the sun-disk which floats above the "sacred tree"<sup>5</sup>.

[161] On the cut style representations, however, these worshippers are usually kneeling and no streams fall from the sun-disk. The kneeling figures on seals like Fig. 27 hold their palms one raised and one lowered, against the sides of the "sacred tree". This gesture is not found on Assyrian cylinder seals although it does occur on the reliefs of Aššur-nāṣir-apli II<sup>1</sup>.

[160]<sup>1</sup> Other cut style seals showing the same subject: Delaporte *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux* ... (Musée du Louvre), vol. II, A. 648, A. 650, A. 651; Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, 625 and 627; De Clercq, No. 318; Weber, No. 334; L. Delaporte, *Cylindres orientaux* (Annales du Musée Guimet, XXXIII), Paris, 1909. No. 98; J. Menant, *Oriental Cylinders of the Williams Collection* (AJA II, 1886), Pl. VI, No. 16; Berytus V, 1938, .pl. III. No. 26.

<sup>2</sup> For the "sacred tree" on Assyrian seal designs cf. Frankfort *Cylinder Seals*, p. 205 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The same subject represented on other cut style seals is found on: Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux* (Musée du Louvre), A. 696, A. 697; L. Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians* (PBS XIV, Plates), Philadelphia, 1925, Nos. 594, 596; De Clercq, No. 317; L. Speleers, *op. cit.* No. 431; H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. E. T. Newell* (OIP XXII), No. 429; Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Roll-siegel*, No. 632.

<sup>4</sup> E. G. Moortgat, *op. cit.*, 639 to 642.

<sup>5</sup> E. G. Moortgat, *op. cit.*, Nos. 673 to 675 and 677. Only very few Assyrian seal designs show the figures who are flanking the "sacred tree" in a kneeling posture: Moortgat, *op. cit.*, No. 676; Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, No. 666 (in the Pierpont Morgan Library) and an unpublished in the same collection. On the first and last mentioned cylinder the kneeling figures are winged, on the seal published by Ward they are characterized by their attire as the king in twofold rendering. It seems therefore that only figures which are distinguished from the usual type of worshipper and which represent genii or the king, are represented in kneeling posture at the side of the "sacred tree" on the cylinders of linear style.

[161]<sup>1</sup> Cf. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, pl. 7a.

Such differentiating details in the rendering of these subjects suggest that the cut and linear style cylinders were each made by a separate group of engravers.

The fact that the cut style seals were made by a separate, namely a Babylonian group of engravers is borne out again by **Fig. 28**. Here we have a representation which conforms to a greater extent than Fig. 27 to Assyrian examples: the figures are standing and grasping the streams which fall from the sun-disk floating above the tree. However, the figure at the right, wearing the Kassite feather-crown, has no parallel on the Assyrian seals of linear style<sup>2</sup>.

While it seems possible, therefore, to assign the cut style cylinders of the early centuries of the First Millennium B. C. to the glyptic sphere of Babylonia, later cylinders engraved in this style and deriving approximately from the later 8th and 7th centuries B. C. cannot be classified with equal assurance. **Fig. 29**, for example, shows the Sargonid subject of a standing hero with two sphinxes. The incisions for the design of the figures are made with changing depth which gives an illusion of the modelling which prevailed in the glyptic [162] art of this period both in Assyria and in Babylonia. It is equally likely that the seal was made by a Babylonian engraver who represented this Sargonid motif in a manner approaching the modelled style, or that it was cut by an Assyrian artist who employed the cursory technique of the Babylonian cut style<sup>1</sup>.

Only one group of late cut style seals may be assigned with some justification to Babylonian origin. It is a type of seal, represented by **Fig. 30**, which shows monsters in violent pursuit of other monsters or of animals. Examples of this type of cylinder have been found in excavations made in Babylonia,<sup>2</sup> whereas none have been discovered in Assyria. Moreover,

<sup>2</sup> The rendering of an Assyrian subject with the addition of small details which differentiate the representation from those of the linear style Assyrian seals, can also be observed on other cut style cylinders. For example, the chariot scenes; Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Nos. 369 to 571 correspond very closely to the linear style cylinder Bib. Nat. 372. On No. 369, however, a design resembling an incomplete Kassite cross appears above the head of the horse. There is no parallel for such a head ornament (replacing the usual plumes) on any Assyrian representation of horses and we may therefore suggest that it is of Babylonian origin.

[162] <sup>1</sup> A seal impression on a tablet found at Assur dated in the 7th century B. C. (W. Andrae, *Die Festungswerke von Assur* (WVDOG 22-23), p. 117 and pl. 107) shows a hero who is engraved in the same manner as on our cut style cylinder Fig. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Cylinders of this type found in Babylonian excavations are: Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux* (Musée du Louvre), vol. I, Paris, 1920, T. 241 and Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, No. 623; Nos. 619 and 620, which present the same type of design, were purchased at Baghdad, No. 621 likewise belonging to this class, was bought at Surghul. It seems possible therefore that these seals were also found in the South although the provenance of seals acquired through trade is, of course, never certain.

Cylinders belonging to this group of unknown provenance are: Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylindres orientaux* (Musée du Louvre), vol. II., A 622, 624, 626, 627, 629 (A 694

Fig. 30 shows a winged goat which is a monster found repeatedly on Neo-Babylonian designs of the 7th and 6th centuries B. C. It is interesting to note that this subject and its abstract rendering can be paralleled by seal impressions on tablets from Nuzi, for example **Fig. 31**. It is not possible at present to discern in what manner this subject, which originated in the Mitannian glyptic art of the 15th century B. C., was handed down to the Neo-Babylonian art of the 8th and 7th centuries B. C. It seems likely, however, that a continuous tradition is responsible for the appearance in Neo-Babylonian glyptic art of seals showing monsters in violent pursuit. Like the preservation of the modelled style over 163 several centuries the longevity of this group of cut style seals indicates that a marked conservatism guided the glyptic artists of Babylonia.

A new type of cylinder became prevalent only in the time of the Neo-Babylonian empire. It is the well known representation of a worshipper standing before symbols as seen on **Fig. 32**. Numerous imprints of such seals have been found on the tablets of the Neo-Babylonian empire<sup>1</sup>. It is this type of seal, therefore, which has been generally regarded as the characteristic representative of Neo-Babylonian glyptic art.

As we have seen, however, in this study, there previously existed two distinctively Neo-Babylonian styles, the modelled and the cut style. Both continued the traditions of the later Second Millennium B. C., preserving features of Mitannian, Middle Assyrian and Late Kassite glyptic art. The modelled style remained uninfluenced by Neo-Assyrian designs until the later 8th century B. C, while the cut style seal of the 9th and 8th centuries B. C. manifest Assyrian influence, especially with regard to subject matter. In the later 8th and 7th centuries B. C., the time at which Babylonia was part of the Assyrian empire, modelled style seals were produced in both countries and it is often difficult to distinguish between an Assyrian and a Babylonian piece of that period. Cut style seals likewise appear to have been produced at that time in Assyria as well as in Babylonia. Only cylinders which show monsters in violent pursuit seem to have been limited to the South.

In view of the small amount of available archaeological data this study has been mainly based on stylistic considerations. The writer cannot claim that her conclusions are final but they may be acceptable as a working hypothesis. Definite proof of the validity of this division between Assyrian

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shows a combination of the "sacred tree" with the motif in present under discussion), Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, No. 308; Newell collection (OIP XXII), Nos. 434, 436; Legrain, *Culture of the Babylonians*, No. 621; Legrain, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux de la Collection Louis Cognin*, Paris 1911, No. 68; H. H. Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Agnes B. Brett* (OIP XXXVII) No. 124; *A Survey of Persian Art*, London 1938, vol. IV, pl. 124: S.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of this group and its date, cf. J. Menant, *Recherches sur la glyptique orientale*, Paris, 1883-6, vol. II, p. 131 ff.

and Babylonian glyptic art of the earlier First Millennium B. C. can be found only by future excavations in Babylonia and Assyria.



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## Problems of Interpretation in a Cylinder Seal of the Akkad Period from Iran

Interpretation of Mesopotamian works of art on the basis of mythological texts is at best tentative and can never be proved with any degree of certainty. Yet it is incumbent upon persons working in this field to examine all possible ways that might lead to an understanding of mythological renderings. The pri[n]cipal difficulties which lie in the path of such understanding are due to three facts. The first is that the richest pictorial renderings which occur on cylinder seals of the Akkad period (c. 2370-2230 B.C.)<sup>1</sup> precede by several centuries the bulk of the recorded mythological texts which were written down in the time of the dynasties of Isin, Larsa and Babylon (c. 2017-1595 B.C.)<sup>2</sup>. Despite the supposed precision of oral transmission, one wonders whether the mythological tales current at the time of the Akkad Dynasty really corresponded to the later texts which are actually known to us.

The second fact, which probably split the mythological tradition into a pictorial and a written form, was the divergence in classes of scribes and seal cutters. The latter may often have been familiar with cuneiform signs, especially in the Old Babylonian period where perhaps none but 89 a scribe could have cut the minute and correctly drawn signs of some of the inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> In general, however, it is conceivable that the scribal tradition differed from the mythological lore available to the seal engravers of the Akkad period.

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<sup>1</sup> For a survey of the subject matter of the Akkad period, see H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London, 1939, chap. II, "The Subjects of the Sargonid Seals", pp. 95-141.

<sup>2</sup> The dates here given are taken from M. B. Rowton, *Chronology*, revised edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, chap. VI, Cambridge University Press, 1962, Section II, Ancient Western Asia, pp. 23-69. The beginning of the Isin Dynasty in c. 2017, however is taken from D. O. Edzard, *Die „Zweite Zwischenzeit“ Babylonians*, Wiesbaden, 1957, p. 185 (chart).

<sup>3</sup> See for example the minute but nevertheless correct inscription of the Old Babylonian cylinder seal in *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, vol. I, Bollingen Series XIV (1948), no. 399.

The third fact concerns the difference between the general symbolic imagery of Western tradition in the twentieth century A.D. and that of the late third and early second millennia B.C. in Mesopotamia. By symbolic imagery I mean, for example, the picture which the word "serpent" evokes in the mind of the average person. Most persons will probably think of a worm-like body with one or more windings. Such a picture, however, may not cover all the variants which are possible and likely in the mind of the early Mesopotamians.<sup>4</sup>

Having stated these three facts which indicate the obviously tenuous nature of any attempt to relate the texts and pictures of early Mesopotamia, we may turn to the only mythological scenes for which a textual equivalent is generally accepted, the Akkad cylinders which show a man born by an eagle, taken to represent "Etana, a shepherd, the one who to heaven ascended."<sup>5</sup>

We may recall here the main points of the Etana epic, because it will be interesting to see which point was considered most worthy of illustration.<sup>6</sup> We shall be concerned here with the Old Babylonian version, which includes as a sort of preamble a fable of the eagle and the serpent which could be considerably older than the rest of the epic, as suggested by R. J. Williams, from whose succinct account of the fable I quote here with a few deletions: "... this eagle which had sworn a pact of friendship with a serpent, confirmed by an oath before Shamash. Both creatures then proceed to raise families, the serpent at the foot of the tree, the eagle at its top. The serpent, <sup>90</sup> according to the Old Babylonian and Middle Assyrian versions, supplies the food for all ... After a time the eagle makes up his mind to devour the serpent's young, though the reason for this decision is not made clear." Williams suggests that the eagle's motive is to partake of some magical qualities possessed by the snakes, perhaps qualities which enabled him to fly to heaven later in the epic.

The description of the serpent who returns to find its young destroyed is interesting for the imaginary picture which it gives us into the mind of the furious serpent: "with his claws he [scrapes] the ground."<sup>7</sup> This mention of the snake's claws shows, as could be expected, that the Mesopotamian con-

<sup>4</sup> See B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. Tafel der Serie HAR-ra = Hubullu*, Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. Sächsischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften, Bd. XLII, nr. VI (1934). "Beschreibung von Schlangenbildern", pp. 52 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Etana is given this epithet in the Sumerian kinglist. See Th. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian Kinglist*, Assyriological Studies No. 11 (1939), pp. 80-81, lines 16-17.

<sup>6</sup> This summary is taken almost word for word from R. J. Williams, *The Literary History of a Mesopotamian Fable*, Phoenix 10 (1956), pp. 71-72, passim.

<sup>7</sup> See the translation of the Neo-Assyrian version by E. A. Speiser, in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts ...* (ed. by J. B. Pritchard), Princeton University Press, 1955, p. 116, C-2, line 49.

cept of the snake was not restricted to the limbless ophidian body of natural appearances, but differed considerably from these.

The serpent subsequently carries its case to Shamash, who promises to bind a wild ox for the serpent. He advises the serpent to open the inside of the ox, to rend its belly, to pitch its dwelling therein.<sup>8</sup> Shamash predicts that every kind of bird of Heaven will descend to devour the flesh and the eagle with it. When he enters the interior of the ox, the serpent is to seize the eagle by the wings, tear them off, also his pinions and talons and should cast him into a pit.

Events proceed as foretold, and the eagle languishes in the pit until Shamash, who seems to have been the protector of both the eagle and Etana, yields to Etana's entreaties to help him procure the plant of birth for his wife, and directs Etana to the eagle. Etana finds him, feeds him, and helps him out of the pit. There is mention of a dazzling vision seen by Etana of a goddess on a throne at the foot of which were lions, which greatly frightens Etana. The eagle, however, reassures him, invites him to place his breast on his, his hand on the eagle's feathers, his arms on his sides. There follows the flight with the description of how the land appeared after the eagle had borne Etana for one league. It was like a hill, and the sea had turned into the water of a stream; in another stage the sea is compared to a breadbasket; in the end the land appears as a garden ditch. The preserved text ends with the fall of Etana. 91

At present there is no reason to reject the general assumption that the man represented on cylinder seals being borne by an eagle as in **Pl. I A** is indeed Etana. His posture resembles that of a child sitting on its mother's arm,<sup>9</sup> which suggests both the consent and confidence engendered in Etana by the eagle's speech quoted above.

Assuming then that this is a moment in the story of Etana, we may reflect on its choice from among numerous other themes which could have been effectively represented. We are shown<sup>10</sup> the beginning of the flight into an upper sphere above the human plane. The compositional scheme is that of an eagle with two animals, a scheme frequently repeated in the early Dynastic period where, however, all three figures are placed above the same groundline. By introducing a hiatus between the eagle and the dogs, the ancient artist must have made his purpose very clear to his beholders, who were accustomed to the earlier scheme. The artist who first divided this scene probably on a scale larger than the small cylinder seal, also used

<sup>8</sup> These and the following lines are summarized from Speiser's translation of the Neo-Assyrian version, cited in note 7.

<sup>9</sup> For a related rendering of a child on its mother's arm see D. J. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia*, London (u.d.), pl. 38.

<sup>10</sup> See H. Frankfort, op. cit., pl. XXIV h, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, vol. I, pl. XXXVII nr. 236 and A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* (Berlin, 1940), nr. 234, 235.

the additional figures with psychological subtlety. The dogs and shepherd who peer after Etana give direction and distance to the figures of the man and the eagle; the other figures set off the extraordinary event by the very fact that they continue with their various domestic tasks - a device used similarly a few thousand years later by Pieter Breughel the Elder in his *Fall of Ikarus*.

In the following the suggestion will be made that another theme of the Etana epic, one taken from the fable of the eagle and the serpent, was also given pictorial form, though it is less easily identifiable than the "flight of Etana."

The scene is found in a cylinder seal in the collection of *Mossène Foroughi* in Teheran (Pl. I A). It was bought from a dealer and is therefore of unknown provenience, though its origin outside of Mesopotamia is immediately suggested by the even distribution of the figures, as a result of which the principal content of the scene is not easily apparent. At the same time the wide-shouldered narrow-waisted and naturally proportioned figures are comparable to Mesopotamian types of the Akkad period and indicate the date of the cylinder. <sup>92</sup>

The main figure seems to be a seated female with snakes issuing from her shoulders and a bull's head above her head. Presumably, this is a deity before whom kneels a servant with two triangular objects, one perhaps a vessel. Above her appears an eagle over one of whose wings is a human head, probably a very abbreviated rendering of Etana. The eagle faces a snake below which is what may be a musical instrument. Two undulating lines, perhaps serpents whose heads are not indicated, divide off a curious combination of designs: the foreparts of a bull or ox, cut off and upside down, appear above what I interpret as the upper part of a female in frontal view. She is in an enclosure and on a stool with bull's feet. The foreparts of the ox appear below the stool. Beside this extraordinary motif enclosed by vertical undulating lines, squats a female figure resembling the one enthroned in another part of the seal, but merely holding a snake in her hand instead of having the reptiles issue from her shoulders. Below this squatting figure is an object marked by vertical and diagonal lines. It could be a stool but it could also be a symbol which we cannot recognize. Furthermore, two birds, one of them suggesting the outline of an owl, are placed on either side of the enclosed motif.

Could the central motif of the female bust between the two bull's halves refer to the snake and eagle sequence in the Etana myth? Before he rejects this tentative suggestion, I would ask the reader to ponder the manner in which such a sequence could have been given pictorial form with the means at the disposition of the ancient artist. More than a mere indication, in a manner comparable to the one here employed, - by which a female figure is shown "enclosed" within the dead ox - could scarcely be expected.

The sequence of the serpent and the eagle in the Etana myth could have been an independent fable not necessarily of Mesopotamian origin. If we were to assume, for example, that it reflected an old Iranian myth, we would understand its appearance here, on a cylinder made in Iran. Moreover, the principal actor might then not have been Etana, who could have come in later, perhaps as a Mesopotamian appendage - as the little head seems to suggest. Instead, the principal actor or actress could have been the serpent, appearing in a role less pitiful than in the Mesopotamian epic. Viewed from this angle, the cylinder seal before us makes some sense. The principal figure is the serpent goddess, ministered to by her servants, with an allusion of her <sup>93</sup> bout with the eagle appearing above. Behind the goddess is the scene of impending victory, the serpent awaiting the criminal as if enthroned in the enclosure surrounded by the carcass of the ox. Perhaps the female figure at the upper right of this motif is a second rendering of the snake goddess.

Publication of so tentative an interpretation may be justified by the attention which it could draw to this and similar problems of Mesopotamian iconography, to the solution of which other scholars might be able to contribute.



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## True or False? Genuine and False Cylinder Seals at Andrews University\*

In 1964 Andrews University received through Siegfried H. Horn five cylinder seals from a family in whose possession they had been for many years. Two of these cylinder seals are genuine, the others are not. What makes it possible to recognize some as genuine, others as forgeries? Sometimes it is very difficult indeed to distinguish a modern forgery from ancient cylinder seals. Especially carefully done recent work is hard to detect because our eye does not readily pick up those features which are distinctive of our own time. In imitations of ancient cylinders produced several decades ago, however, it is easier to recognize the features characteristic of the modern style which prevailed in those years. Rather than enter here into a general discussion of cylinder seal [135] forgeries, which have been the subject of several studies,<sup>1</sup> I propose to analyse the two genuine cylinders of Andrews University in great detail. Such an analysis should bring out the criteria of the genuine cylinders and make the difference between them and the forgeries quite obvious.

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\* Thanks are herewith extended to F. B. Adams, Jr., Director of the Pierpont Morgan Library for permission to reproduce here photographs of Nos. 207 and 323 in the Library's collection; to R. D. Barnett, Keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum and to Edmond Sollberger for the enlarged photograph of the cylinder 89137; to Faraj Basmachi, Director of the Iraq Museum for permission to have an impression made of the cylinder found at *Tell el-Wilayah* and published by Tariq A. Madhlum; to Helene J. Kantor for having made available a photograph of the unfinished cylinder published by H. Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region* (Chicago, 1955), No. 611 (hereafter cited as *Diyala*); and to Siegfried H. Horn for placing the cylinders of Andrews University at the writer's disposition for lengthy study and for encouraging her to write this article.

<sup>1</sup> *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, I, Edith Porada, *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1948), 158-163 (hereafter cited as *CANES*, I); Briggs Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*, I (Oxford, 1966), 213-222 (hereafter cited as *Ashmolean Museum*); Eva Strommenger, "Rollsiegelfälschungen," *Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, I (1961), 196-200; R. M. Boehmer, "Fälschungen – Repliken – Originale, ein Beitrag zur mesopotamischen Glyptik des dritten Jahrtausends," *ibid.*, pp. 201-210.

*Andrews University Cylinder Seal, No. 1.* The first cylinder (**Pls. I: 1, II: 1, V: 1**) shows a seated, bearded god extending his hand in welcome to three approaching deities. The fact that gods are represented is indicated by the figures' headgear, the horned miter of divinity. As a matter of fact, our first problem is posed by the nature of the miter worn by the approaching gods. It is marked by oblique parallel lines which seem to indicate hair. Rather than speak of a miter and assume that a horned cap was placed on the head of the figure, we should imagine: that the horns were attached to a band or diadem which would leave the hair on the crown of the head visible. This impression is strengthened by the way in which the hair hangs down in the back, seemingly continuous from the top of the head. The first and third gods have a beard indicated by several parallel lines whereas the deity in the middle has only one such line, which does not unequivocally indicate a beard. However, it seems likely that the omission of further lines was due to the careless work of the seal cutter, who also failed to show clearly the long hair hanging down the neck and back of the third god.

All three figures extend their cupped hands as if expecting to receive something in them. This posture is typical of minor <sup>[136]</sup> gods standing before a deity of grain<sup>2</sup> on cylinder seals of the time of the Dynasty of Akkad (ca. 2334-2154 B. C.<sup>3</sup>). Subject and date of the cylinder can thus be determined from this characteristic iconographic feature although the seated figure is not clearly defined as a grain-god because he lacks the plants usually sprouting from the grain-god's shoulders as in **Pl. II: A**, a cylinder seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library.<sup>4</sup> Only a short vertical line above the god's upper arm might be a cursory indication of such plants. All that can be said with certainty is that he is a major god in comparison with those who approach him because he sits while they stand, he has a multi-tiered robe which looks richer than their skirts with vertical pleats, and his hair is gathered in a chignon separated into an upper and a lower part by a band which circles the head, as seen in monuments of this and the foregoing period.<sup>5</sup> Doubtless the chignon was considered a more elaborate coiffure than hair loosely hanging in the back, which is more characteristic of goddesses than of gods in representations of the Akkad period.<sup>6</sup> In fact, it seems quite pos-

<sup>2</sup> This feature was noted in *CANES*, I, 26, and by Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad Zeit* (Berlin, 1965), p. 96 (hereafter cited as Boehmer, *Glyptik*).

<sup>3</sup> The dates here cited are taken from J. A. Brinkman, "Mesopotamian Chronology of the Historical Period," Appendix to A. L. Oppenheim, *Mesopotamia, Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago, 1965), pp. 335 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For other examples of male (that is bearded) grain-gods, see Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 532, 535, 538, 547 (our Pl. III: C).

<sup>5</sup> See Strommenger and Max Hirmer, *5000 Years of the Art of Mesopotamia* (New York, 1964), Fig. 115, fragment of a diorite stele of Sargon of Akkad, and Pl. XV, helmet of "Prince Meskalamdug" from Ur.

<sup>6</sup> None of the female figures with the hairdress described in the next paragraph wears the horned miter of divinity, although it must be admitted that a similar hairdress is also oc-



sible that loosely hanging hair differentiates goddesses from human figures in cylinder seals of the Akkad age. Women are shown [137] with their hair tied up in the back, the ends of hair apparently combed over some device which created a narrow chignon with horizontal top.<sup>7</sup> In the profile renderings of the cylinder seals this chignon often looks like a point sticking up above the band encircling the entire coiffure, as for example in *CANES*, I, 245.

Similarly male figures who do not have their hair cut to neck-length but have let it grow long (perhaps a prerogative of the highest social group, to judge by the seal of the scribe Kalki, **Pl. III: B**) never wear it loose but only in the elaborate chignon<sup>8</sup> described above as the hairdress of the seated god in our cylinder, No. 1. The rare occurrences in cylinders of [138] mature Akkad style of male gods with hair hanging loosely over their shoulders depict gods of war and their opponents,<sup>9</sup> or gods of vegetation as in our No. 1 and on the seals of **Pls. II: A** and **III: C**. It was probably meant to suggest that the gods so represented possessed primitive force close to nature. The fact that the bull-man and nude bearded hero in scenes of contest with lions, bulls, and other powerful animals wear their hair loose confirms this interpretation as does the occasional occurrence of a long-haired bird-

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casionally worn by superhuman creatures such as the bearded snake-god of Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 587. For the bird-man with this hairdress, see below, note 10.

<sup>7</sup> This description is based on the stone wig in the British Museum inscribed with the dedication of an official of Shulgi, a king of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2094-2047 B. C.) (see D. J. Wiseman, "The Goddess Lama at Ur," *Iraq*, XXII [1960], Pl. XXII: b). Wiseman translated the words of the dedication describing the wig as "headdress of femininity" (*ibid.*, p. 168). The fact that the back of the wig had to serve as a tablet for the inscription, however, may have resulted in a rendering which altered the actual appearance of the ends of hair in the back.

At any rate, this "head-dress of femininity" differs from the chignons of male figures in representations of the Akkad period. A statement to the contrary by Agnes Spycket, "La coiffure féminine en Mésopotamie des origines à la 1re Dynastie de Babylone," *RA*, XLVIII (1954), 169, 170, fig. 61, was based on the atypical cylinder from Ur discussed in our note 8.

<sup>8</sup> The curious cylinder seal from Ur, Leonard Woolley, *Ur Excavations II: The Royal Cemetery* (Oxford; 1934), Pl. 206, No. 192 (U.9721), shows in exceptional manner an enthroned male and a female figure in a banquet scene with an attendant, all with the same type of chignon as in the cylinder of Kalki, our Pl. III: B. To the right is a figure with a cap of unusual shape. Unusual too are the faces of the figures, the fact that the female figure seems to pour a libation and the material from which the seal was made: hematite. Yet it was found in Grave 681 according to the publication (Text volume p. 350) and had a cap of copper which would confirm the authenticity of this cylinder which I would have otherwise tended to doubt. At any rate, the representation of an attendant with the same hairdress as the enthroned male person is unusual and therefore does not suffice to disprove the suggestion made in the text that the chignon for men was a sign of very elevated social position.

<sup>9</sup> Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 346 (for the attacking god), and Abb. 302 (*Diyala*, No. 703) and Abb. 352 for the victim.

man.<sup>10</sup> Under these circumstances it is interesting to note that the attendants who open the gates for the ascending sun-god often also have long loose hair.<sup>11</sup> Their connection with the figures here discussed remains to be discovered.

Not only do hairdress and costume indicate the high rank of the seated god in our cylinder as against the figures approaching him, but the composition of the scene determines the seated figure as the major person. The arms of the standing or walking gods point toward the seated figure whose greater mass impressively occupies far more space than the standing gods. Moreover, attention is drawn to the seated god's bent arm, by the fact that its lines are echoed in more rounded form by the large crescent moon above. Whatever the meaning of the symbol, in the present context it seems to have been associated with the seated god.

Beyond the facts here noted from an examination of the scene, nothing can be said about its subject because the [139] literary compositions involving gods of vegetation,<sup>12</sup> which are all later than the Akkad period, do not describe worship and supplication of a major god by a group of minor deities.

The engraving of the cylinder is crude and careless but it is not incompetent. Some forms seem to have been ground off mechanically, apparently by holding the cylinder against a revolving object with a cutting edge. Smooth forms which are obviously ground off in such a manner are the parallel arms of the standing gods or the horizontal lines of the seated god's stool. These forms are all horizontal while the short vertical bars of the stool were carved with a graver less smoothly and in a shallower manner (See Pl. V: I). Obviously it was easy to grind a short line if the cylinder was held vertically against a horizontal cutting edge, but to make a vertical line the seal must have been held parallel to the cutting edge, a procedure which would have produced a longer line than was needed for the vertical bar of the stool.

Such use of a mechanical grinding or cutting device to produce smooth lines of uniform width in the design, seems to have been introduced into Mesopotamian glyptic art in several periods when certain motifs had become so standardized that a mere indication of figures and objects sufficed to evoke the entire scene. Examples are cylinders of the Early Akkad peri-

<sup>10</sup> Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 502. Most frequently, however, that figure has the hair tied up in a loop like the hairdress described above for women (which is also occasionally worn by male figures), e.g., *ibid.*, Abb. 493, 495, 503, 512, 519. Very rarely the bird-man has the hairdress most frequent for human male figures as seen in elaborate execution in the cylinder of Kalki, our Pl. III: B, and more commonly ending in only one curl above the neck (e.g., *Ashmolean Museum*, No. 367b).

<sup>11</sup> Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 419-423, 428.

<sup>12</sup> "Dumuzi and Enkimdu: the Dispute between the Shepherd-God and the Farmer-God," text translated by S. N. Kramer in *ANET*, pp. 41, 42, reconstructed from three tablets dated in the beginning of the second millennium B. C.

od showing the theme of a hero in the center of a group of beasts of prey and horned animals.<sup>13</sup> Even the so-called Brocade style of the First Early Dynastic period was probably largely produced by such means.<sup>14</sup> Hence we [140] are probably justified in suggesting a relatively late date in the Akkad period for our seal No. 1, although some cylinders showing a related use of a cutting device for scenes involving gods with flounced robes have been found in *Tell Asmar* in levels dated Early Akkad, like *Diyala* 577 and 582.

The major forms of the gods' figures may also have been produced by some mechanical device such as a drill with a revolving point, but subsequent work with a graver has eliminated all traces of tool marks. Even on an unfinished cylinder seal from *Tell Asmar*, Pl. III: C, I cannot determine the tools employed in the preliminary blocking – or rather hollowing – out of the figures.

The faces of the figures in No. 1 are indicated by thin lines, cursorily drawn: a large hook for the nose which also determines the space for the eye socket, a line or two for the eyelids and brow, parallel lines or lines meeting at an angle for the prominently projecting lips. It is interesting to see how varied are the lines and forms indicating the faces of figures in cylinders of the Akkad period, as a comparison of the faces in No. 1 and Pls. II: A and III: B illustrates. This variation suggested that the characteristics of Akkadian style reside in the general proportions of the human face but that the details of the stylization were worked out individually by each seal cutter.

The last feature to be engraved in No. 1 was probably the figures' feet, beginning at the left and ending with the seated god whose feet had to be severely shortened in order to retain the necessary interval between his feet. This shows how important such intervals, which assured the clarity and rhythm of the composition, seemed to the engraver.

*Andrews University Cylinder Seal, No. 2.* The second cylinder of Andrews University, **Pls. I: 2, II: 2, and V: 2**, considerably smaller than the first, bears the inscription of an official of Gudea, Ensi of the southern city-state of Lagash, who ruled shortly after the Akkad period and before the Third Dynasty of Ur, that is, between ca. 2154 and 2112 B. C. [141] The inscription reads:

Gù-dé-a	Ur-ba-[ú]	Gudea, ensi of Lagash
en <sub>5</sub> -si	dub-sar	Ur-Bau the scribe
ŠIR.BUR.KI (= Lagaš) <sup>15</sup>	ir-zu	(is) your servant

<sup>13</sup> E.g., *CANES*, I, Nos. 132, 135, 136; Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 45.

<sup>14</sup> This can be rather clearly seen in *Diyala*, No. 257, where the cut shapes overlap each other. See also *Diyala*, Nos. 363, 873, for good examples demonstrating a technique of probably mechanical grinding of lines and shapes.

<sup>15</sup> I owe the reading of the inscription to Erica Reiner who noted that the normal writing of Lagash is ŠIR.BUR.LA.KI.

This cylinder, which can be dated in the time of Gudea, is a welcome addition to the small number of cylinders inscribed for Gudea himself<sup>16</sup> or his son<sup>17</sup> or his officials.<sup>18</sup> All these cylinders so far known show a worshiper led by minor deities toward a major one. The scene of our No. 2, showing a different motif, two heroes overpowering a water buffalo, therefore adds a new criterion for dating in Gudea's time this specific version of a contest with a powerful animal. It is important to note that the composition includes only three figures: two figures flanking the victim, instead of the two pairs of fighting figures common on cylinders of the Akkad age, such as **Pl. III: D**. In the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur the scheme of three figures dominates the renderings of contest scenes; the [142] arrangement of the figures in the present cylinder therefore suggests that the origin of the preference for this tripartite compositional scheme should be sought in the time of Gudea.<sup>19</sup>

The posture of the hero at the right, holding the animal up by a hind foot, grasping its tail and placing his foot on the animal's neck in an effort to break it – at the same time suggesting his victory over the powerful creature – as well as the posture of the hero at the left who is about to tear the animal apart by the hindlegs are both derived from cylinders of the Akkad period like **Pl. III: D**. A new posture, however, is the one showing the second hero placing his foot on the animal's underside near its sexual organ. New, too, is the arc formed by the outward bent arms of the two heroes which converge on the upward pointing leg of their victim, and the general effect of a joint attack which results from this concentration of poses seen earlier in two separate pairs of fighters and now concentrated on one vic-

<sup>16</sup> A combined drawing of several impressions of Gudea's cylinder seal on tablets from Tello was reproduced in Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), p. 143, text fig. 37, from L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux ... Musée de Louvre*, I (Paris, 1920), 12, Pl. 108; photographs of partial impressions are seen *op. cit.*, Pl. 10: 8, 10.

<sup>17</sup> I assume that the person who calls himself Lugal-š[ag-g]a, scribe, son of Gudea on the cylinder seal from Tello reproduced by André Parrot, *Glyptique mésopotamienne: fouilles de Lagash (Tello) et de Larsa (Senkereh)* (1931-1933) (Paris, 1954), Pl. VIII: 131 (transcription and translation by Maurice Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 80, s.v. 131), was the son of the ruler of Lagash since the style of that fine cylinder closely corresponds to that of *CANES*, I, No. 274, the cylinder of an official of Gudea. It seems, however, as if the inscription on the cylinder from Tello was either secondary or very badly planned because the last two signs appear outside the frame for the inscription. I wonder whether this could have been a second seal of Gudea which was re-used by one of his sons, for it seems to me that the original inscription might have been intended to fill two upper and one lower case, consisting of three lines as in the impressions of the seal bearing Gudea's inscription (see above, note 16).

<sup>18</sup> *CANES*, I, 274, and L. de Clercq, *Collection de Clercq*, I, *Cylindres orientaux* (Paris, 1888), Pl. IX, 84.

<sup>19</sup> It is perhaps significant that the dated occurrence of a tripartite compositional scheme of a contest motif comes from the time of Šuturul, the last king of the Akkad Dynasty (*Di-yala* 701 = Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 762a, 762b). There is no parallel known from that period, however, for the scheme of two heroes with a victim as in our No. 2.

tim. It is quite possible that this new tripartite scheme owed its origin to the esthetic predilection of some outstanding artists of the period.<sup>20</sup> It is also conceivable, however, that the expressive [143] scheme of the attack of two heroes on a bull was meant to illustrate a mythological event such as the contest of Gilgamesh and Enkidu with the Bull of Heaven.<sup>21</sup>

Unfortunately, No. 2 is made of soft serpentine and much of the engraving is worn away and the remains are difficult to discern. Nevertheless, one becomes aware of the contrast between the slender and graceful forms of the human figures and the massive shape of the buffalo. The effect is that of a beast so powerful that one hero alone could not have conquered it; only the concerted effort of both heroes could have resulted in victory. Both the subtle change in the ancient theme of contest with animals and the compositional devices by which it was illustrated are an innovation in the glyptic art of the Post Akkad period.

Both cylinders share a slender form with slightly incurving sides and expertly drilled perforation which is slightly widened to a narrow, bevelled ledge about ½ mm wide at the lower end of the Akkadian cylinder, No. 1, and about 1 mm wide at the lower end of No. 2. A few cylinders of the Akkad period show the same feature as No. 1<sup>22</sup> which is probably connected with the way the seal was mounted. In view of the fact that the few extant capped cylinders of the period have not been reproduced with the caps removed, one does not know whether or not this feature was present.

The cylinders were polished but not to a very high gloss, merely to be agreeable to sight and touch. Perhaps the most obvious difference between them and the forgeries, **Pl. I: 3** [144] and **4** lies in the dull and harsh<sup>23</sup> stones

<sup>20</sup> One of the noblest designs on cylinder seals, found on the seal of a priest, perhaps from Lagash and probably of Gudea's time, *CANES*, I, No. 267, shows a tripartite composition in which a lion-headed eagle grasps two ibexes. While the motif goes back to Early Dynastic times (*e.g.*, Parrot, *Tello* (Paris, 1948), Pl. VII (a), VIII (a), it was rendered in an inherently dramatic way by the artist of this cylinder seal. The composition of the fallen ibexes and the lion-headed eagle soaring above them, together with the delicately modeled bodies of the horned animals, contrasting with the spread wings of the bird, produce this effect. It is possible that the same artist created the original version of the tripartite contest found in No. 2 from which I would assume the latter to have been copied (I do not think that both cylinders were made by the same engraver, because our cylinder seems to have less detail in the head of the horned animal).

<sup>21</sup> See the account of this event in E. A. Speiser's translation in *ANET*, p. 85.

<sup>22</sup> Examples from the cylinder seals in the Pierpont Morgan Library in which I have noted this feature are: *CANES*, I, Nos. 198, 202, 207, 250. Two of these cylinders show representations of the water-god, one of a grain-god and one of a banquet scene. These subjects may have been accidentally engraved on cylinders with the slight ledge and again it may have been done purposefully. One will have to watch for this feature in other collections before commenting on it.

<sup>23</sup> I am using here the terminology employed by Isabella Drew, Research Associate in the Arthur M. Sackler Laboratory of Columbia University, with whom I have discussed the technical problems concerning these cylinders. The approach of this scholar whose training was in chemistry and mineralogy, has elicited attention to features which might

employed for the latter by the modern seal cutters. No. 3 is made of gypseous alabaster grooved at both ends (**Pl. IV: E-2**) to imitate the core of the Persian Gulf shell frequently employed for Mesopotamian cylinder seals of the third millennium B. C. In the better worked cylinder seals made of such shell the ends show the section through the core which produced a pleasing coil pattern of various shades of light brown (**Pl. IV: E-1**). In contrast to such patterns, the alabaster of No. 3 is an undifferentiated dull greyish white. No. 4 is even less carefully shaped; only No. 5 (**Pl. V: 5**) has a nice regular form and a narrow well-drilled perforation. The soft red stone from which that cylinder was carved, however, is unparalleled among the genuine ancient cylinders of Mesopotamia, a fact which indicates the spuriousness of the piece.

*Andrews University Cylinder Seals* Nos. 3-5. That all three cylinders, Nos. 3-5 are forgeries is quite obvious from the bungled inscriptions. These suggest that the prototypes for the seals were examples of the Isin Larsa and Old Babylonian periods (20th to 17th centuries B. C.) in which inscriptions of two or three lines are common. A scene with an enthroned king like that of the Old Babylonian cylinder in the Pierpont Morgan Library, **Pl. IV: F**, was probably copied for No. 3 although the enthroned figure was placed in the middle of the scene by leaving out the suppliant goddess at the left. The large fan held by the short-kilted attendant and the flower before him are completely foreign to the repertory of the genuine cylinder seals of that period. The presence of such incongruous stylistic elements, introduced into a work of art by persons not sufficiently familiar with the style of the age [145] which they are trying to imitate, often facilitates recognition of forgeries of works of all periods. Other examples in our seals are the assyrianizing garments and hairdress of the figures in No. 4 which has an inscription of Babylonian type. In No. 5 the scheme of two figures, one seated and one standing, and their hairdress vaguely resemble Kassite cylinder seals of the 15th to 13th centuries<sup>24</sup> but the pattern of the garments and the figure of a bow-legged dwarf are derived from Old Babylonian examples.

Instead of pursuing further the entertaining game of discovering in detail where the forger or forgers found the different elements of their designs, let us see what we can learn from these and other engraved stones cut in modern times which will give us new insights into the achievements of the ancient artist. The latter had the advantage of a long apprenticeship<sup>25</sup>

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have otherwise gone unnoticed. Her observations have been gratefully incorporated in this article.

<sup>24</sup> Kassite cylinders like that of de Clercq, *op. cit.*, 257, 258, come to mind although it is possible that this resemblance is accidental and the scheme of the two figures is merely an abbreviation made by the forger of more extensive Old Babylonian scenes.

<sup>25</sup> J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus ...* (Leipzig, 1890), No. 325 is a text recording an agreement for apprenticeship for a period of five years of a slave. This slave belonged to Itti-Marduk-balātu was entrusted to Hašdaj who himself was a slave of Cambyses,

during which he learned to use the traditional tools, the bow-drill and gravers, first of copper, later [146] of bronze,<sup>26</sup> employed with an abrasive, like fine quartz sand, probably used with oil or water as a binder.<sup>27</sup> The modern forger lacks that training with efficient tools and we observe his resulting lack of control of his craft in the varying height of the figures and the incoherent composition caused by the way in which the single figures seem to project into the field instead of being contained within their own clear outlines, as in the genuine cylinders, Nos. 1 and 2. In No. 4 the figures are so deeply hollowed out of the cylinder and consequently stand out so highly that they crowd the field whereas in Nos. 3 and 5 the engraving is in part so shallow that there are no clear boundaries between figure and background. It is in comparing the spurious with the genuine cylinders that one appreciates the technical and artistic superiority of the ancient craftsman.

The ancient seal cutters had to reduce a scene to the minute size of a cylinder. In order to succeed, lines and shapes had to express much with very limited means. An example is the rendering of the seated figure, a personage of major importance in relation to the standing figures of the scene. In order to stress the solidity and dignity of this posture, the design of the body always includes a horizontal accent even if it is found only in the edge of the flounces of the figure's robe as in No. 1, where the outline of the body itself is somewhat rounded as is usual in cylinders of the Akkad period. One becomes aware of this in contrast to the seated figure of No. 3 (see Pl. V: 3) in which the forger was merely concerned with copying a seated personage, not with its meaning. For this reason his own figure, which lacks a horizontal accent, seems to slip down from the precariously narrow stool.

[147] Moreover, the meaning of the entire scene, worship of an enthroned personage, is impaired by the forger's rendering of the two standing figures in almost naturalistic proportions, a treatment which places the head of the worshiper higher than that of the enthroned figure and that of the attendant on the same level. Comparison with the Old Babylonian cylinder, Pl. IV: F

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crown prince at that time. Obviously, Hašdaj was a master seal cutter. I owe the following translation of this text to the generosity of A. L. Oppenheim:

Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Nabu-aḥḥē-iddin of the family Egibi gave his slave Guzu-ina-Bēl-ašbat to Hašdaj, the *purkullu*, a slave of Cambyes, the crown prince, for five years, to (learn) the craft of the *purkullu*. XXX (the copy has *ardāni šá x* which is senseless in the context). He will teach him the entire craft of the *purkullu*. Itti-Marduk-balātu will clothe Guza-Bēl-ašbat with one (? correct senseless DI in line 9 into 1-it) *mušiptu*-garment. If Hašdaj does not teach him, he pays 20 minas of silver. After he has taught him for five years (restored from TuM 2-3 214: 8f.) [his (the apprentice) wages will be ...] (witnesses).

<sup>26</sup> Frankfort describing the working capital of a seal cutter listed: "some finished seals, some undecorated beads, a copper chisel, *two pointed instruments* of copper, and a whetstone pierced for suspension from the girdle" (the italics are mine), *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 16 (1933), p. 47.

<sup>27</sup> This suggestion was made by Isabella Drew.

shows how subtly the head of the enthroned king is made to appear higher and larger than that of the surrounding figures. It is the round cap with its upturned brim which produces that effect, appearing to be more voluminous, more solid and therefore more impressive than the horned miter of the goddess.

Another feature which distinguishes scenes of genuine cylinders from the forgeries, Pl. I: 3-5, is the self-contained form of the figures. The unfinished cylinder, Pl. III: C, shows how these forms were hollowed out as coherent solid shapes to which the feet were added with sufficient distance from each other to form a visually satisfactory support. That this spread stance was a device to make the figures seem to stand solidly on the ground, can be seen in the short-kilted figure of Pl. IV: F, whose legs and feet describe with the ground line a tall but solidly based triangle. By contrast, the feet of the short-kilted figure in No. 3 are rather close together and the figure seems to sway backwards somewhat uncertainly while the worshiper with a kid seems to step forward in a posture which lacks the dignified calm of ancient Near Eastern persons, a calm which was perhaps expressive of their ideal of human behavior.

The large figures with lively movements which fill the field in an overall manner in No. 3, the uneven depth and scratchy engraving all resemble a spurious cylinder seal in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, recorded in 1952 by Buchanan together with several others of related style.<sup>28</sup> The fact that the forger felt free to add an attendant with a fan in No. 3 [148] and to use only one pair of figures, bull-man and lion, in the Ashmolean cylinder just mentioned – using only half of the scene usually found in representations of the Akkad period – suggests that these seals were cut by a Near Eastern forger rather than by one working in Europe who would probably have kept more closely to illustrated prototypes. The same is probably true of No. 5, in which we have noted stylistic relations with No. 3. Proof that these stylistic criteria have led us to correct conclusions and that Nos. 3 and 5 were made by the same hand (despite the better workmanship of the smaller seal) can be found in the hook-like design below the feet of the sacrificial animal in No. 3. The same design, which is a misunderstood version of the ball-staff of Old Babylonian cylinders, is also found in some other examples of the Ashmolean group<sup>29</sup> of which one<sup>30</sup> has the shallow engraving of No 5 as well as a very similar little figure of a bow-legged dwarf.

<sup>28</sup> *Ashmolean Museum*, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1108, 1109.

<sup>29</sup> *Ashmolean Museum*, 1119.

<sup>30</sup> B. Buchanan kindly informed me that he recorded in 1952 twenty-five of the seals classified as doubtful or fakes which he had found in a drawer, unregistered, together with a number that were good. Nos. 1084, 1095 and 1096 belong to that "1952" group, but doubtless reached the Ashmolean Museum much earlier. Perhaps the fact that *Ashmolean Museum*, 1097 (which has the hook-like design of our group), was registered in 1909, gives us a better indication for the date of our group of forgeries.



By today's standards of taste, with a preference by the public for clear, abstract designs, a cylinder like No. 3 could have been neither made nor bought; the same is true of No. 4, probably also of Near Eastern provenience for the same reasons given for No. 3. The naturalistic proportions of the figures in No. 3 are also more likely to reflect conventions generally observed several decades ago than in the last two decades. One would therefore assume these forgeries to have been made at the end of the last century or at the beginning of the present one.

[149] The detailed discussion of these forged seals was presented for two reasons. First, that every object purporting to belong to the world of the ancient Near East adds something to the picture of the period in which it was made. Forgeries distort that picture and have to be rejected with a full statement of the reasons for such rejection. Second, by detailing the features which justify declaring Nos. 3-5 to be forgeries we hope to have given articulate expression to the evident superiority of the two small – and in the case of No. 1 even mediocre – works of ancient art.

*Cylinder Seals at Andrews University*

- |        |   |               |
|--------|---|---------------|
| No. 1. | Hard black serpentine. Size: 33 × 22.2 (19) mm. <sup>31</sup> |               |
|        | Impression of the cylinder seal, 1:1                          | Plate I: 1    |
|        | Impression of the cylinder seal, <i>ca.</i> 1:1½              | Plate II: 1   |
|        | Photograph of the cylinder seal, <i>ca.</i> 1:2½              | Plate V: 2    |
| No. 2. | Black serpentine. Size: 28 × 14.7 (14) mm.                    |               |
|        | Impression of the cylinder seal, 1:1                          | Plate I: 2    |
|        | Impression of the cylinder seal, <i>ca.</i> 1:1½              | Plate II: 2   |
|        | Photograph of the cylinder seal, <i>ca.</i> 1:2½              | Plate V: 2    |
| No. 3. | White alabaster. Size: 38 × 21.5 mm.                          |               |
|        | Impression of the cylinder seal, 1:1                          | Plate I: 3    |
|        | Photograph of the cylinder seal, <i>ca.</i> 1:2½              | Plate V: 3    |
|        | End of the cylinder, <i>ca.</i> 1:2½                          | Plate IV: E-2 |
| No. 4. | Black serpentine. Size: 34.4 × 16 mm.                         |               |
|        | Impression of the cylinder seal, 1:1                          | Plate I: 4    |

<sup>31</sup> The size is given in the following sequence: height and diameter, with a different diameter of the middle presented in parenthesis for Cylinders 1 and 2.

- No. 5. Red steatite. Size:  $29.2 \times 12.8$  mm.  
Impression of the cylinder seal, 1:1 Plate I: 5  
Photograph of the cylinder seal, *ca.* 1:2½

Reprinted from: *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean"*, Nicosia 27th March - 2nd April 1972, Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1973, 260-273, Plates XXXII-XXXIV.

## On the Complexity of Style and Iconography in Some Groups of Cylinder Seals from Cyprus\*

In 1948 I had found it necessary to prove that some fine cylinder seals had actually been made in Cyprus<sup>1</sup> since most of the examples collected by Cesnola<sup>2</sup> and Ohnefalsch-Richter<sup>3</sup> belonged to the class of which Henri Frankfort said "a certain coarse type of seal ... seems to occur mainly in Cyprus and is therefore probably of local make."<sup>4</sup>

Today, John Boardman's classification of some fine cylinder seals as Cypro-Minoan<sup>5</sup> is generally accepted because the cylinder by which he chose to exemplify the group (Pl. XXXII, 1) has distinctive Aegean as well as Cypriote features: there is a motif with the Minoan "genius",<sup>6</sup> as well as a narrow-waisted, longrobed female figure holding a lion by the tail and a bull-demon, with the horns in quasi three-quarter view, grasping the lion's hind legs. These figures are now recognized as being typically Cypriote. Moreover, signs of the Cypro-Minoan script were unquestionably planned in relation to the motif of the Minoan genii and leave no doubt concerning the Cypriote origin of the cylinder.

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<sup>1</sup> "The Cylinder Seals of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age," *American Journal of Archaeology* LII (1948), pp. 178-198 (henceforth, *AJA* LII).

<sup>2</sup> L.P. di Cesnola, *Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, (New York 1903) Vol. III, Pls. CXVIII-CXX, *passim*. L.P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus, its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples* (London, 1877), Pls. XXXII, XXXIII (Gems, Pls. II, III).  
A.P. di Cesnola, *Salamina (Cyprus) The History, Treasures, and Antiquities of Salamis, in the Island of Cyprus* (London, 1882), Pls. XII: 10-13, 15, 16, XIII: 17-26, 28, 30-32, XIV: 33-36.

<sup>3</sup> Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer* (Berlin, 1893), *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), p. 291, reference to Pl. XLVI r.

<sup>5</sup> John Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings, Early Bronze Age to Late Classical* (London, 1970) (henceforth, Boardman, *Greek Gems*), pp. 64-65 and 106.

<sup>6</sup> M.A.V. Gill, "The Minoan 'Genius'", *Athenische Mitteilungen* 79 (1964), pp. 1-21, has collected the relevant representations of this figure.

In addition to the broad shoulders and narrow waists of the figures, in contrast to those of Western Asiatic ones of more uniform width, the figures' garments are distinctive. They seem to wear blouses that have borders running down the front, often marking neck and sleeves also. The waist is usually circled by a belt that seems to be part of a long, patterned skirt. Furthermore, [261] the typical headdress has a chignon often slightly indicated in the back of the head, and hair piled on top, suggested by a globular form. Stiff curls, stylized into loops or horn-like projections are drawn in front and back of the globe. The eye is indicated by a minute drilling and drillings of equally small size are placed at the end of short horizontal lines that suggest lips and chin. A straight oblique line for the forehead and nose dominates the face. Western Asiatic faces tend to show an aquiline nose jutting out below the forehead (see Pl. XXXIV, 3 below).

In contrast to the faces which have a general resemblance to those of figures in some Mycenaean chariot craters,<sup>7</sup> the position of the figures' feet differ from those of Mycenaean figures by having both feet resting with both the heel and the ball on the ground line<sup>8</sup> or, at least, on the same level, giving the figures' stance a certain solidity in contrast to the frequent representation of figures with their feet at different levels or with their soles raised from the ground in gems from Crete and Mycenaean Greece,<sup>9</sup> a trait creating an impression of elasticity, lightness almost weightlessness.

The analysis given here of some characteristic features in the representation of human figures in a group of Cypriote cylinder seals illustrates the complexity of the interaction of various styles, Western Asiatic, Cretan and Mycenaean, with the Cypriote. While the Western Asiatic elements can be easily isolated, the local Cypriote ones and the Aegean – beyond the most obvious iconographic features – are in need of thorough investigation. This interaction will be examined in representatives of three different groups of cylinders of which one or two characteristic examples are illustrated (Pls. XXXII, XXXIII and XXXIV, 2).

The same diversity of elements noted in the style of Pl. XXXII, 1 can also be observed in the iconography of this Cypro-Minoan cylinder. Boardman said of it "Eastern are the monsters with bull head and human body holding a lion, and with human body and lion legs; eastern the winged sun disc and facing horned head of a deity; mainly eastern the crossed lions, but they are not strictly symmetrical and the way that one trails a leg lends life and interest to the conventional pattern; Cypriot the four-character inscrip-

<sup>7</sup> E.g., Erik Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age* (The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Stockholm, 1940), Figs. 19, 20.

<sup>8</sup> Occasionally, the line of the foot turns slightly upward at the toes but this does not detract from the apparent solidity of the stance.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., Boardman, *Greek Gems*, pls, 107, 148, 165, *et passim*. This characteristic feature is even more obvious in the representations of animals. The observation was made by Florence Karasek in a Seminar Report at Columbia University on the Griffin in the Aegean and the Levant.

tion above the sun disc and, apparently, a character in the field; Aegean the genii with their jugs (albeit not beaked, like the Cretan) who form the centre piece.”<sup>10</sup>

[262] It is true that there are demons with bull-heads in Western Asiatic (Boardman’s “eastern”) iconography of the Late Bronze Age, but they are quite differently represented: with two thick horns as seen from the front, often forming a crescent. Furthermore they usually wear a knee-length kilt.<sup>11</sup> Only in Hittite scenes does a bull-headed figure occasionally appear in a long robe.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, in Western Asiatic contexts the bull-demon is an inoffensive creature, usually a standard bearer.<sup>13</sup>

In the Cypro-Minoan cylinder (Pl. XXXII, 1), the bull-headed demon wears a long mantle, open in front, which covers one leg, leaving the other free for action. The garment is typical of what appear to be the mantles of military leaders in Syrian and Mitannian cylinder seals.<sup>14</sup> Aside from this one feature, the demon is unrelated to Western Asiatic figures and more likely to have been a creature of Cypriote imagination, expressing specifically Cypriote concepts.<sup>15</sup>

Equally different appears the role of the female figure whose horn-like projections on the headgear probably identify her as a goddess. The goddess is actively participating in the action by grasping the lion’s tail, a favorite gesture of Cypriote deities and demons. The action differs from that of Western Asiatic deities in Syrian and Mitannian cylinders of the second third of the second millennium B.C., where the battle against animals, especially lions, is left to heroes. In one cylinder seal of the same Cypro-Minoan group from Ayos Jakovos the deities hold animals in their arms, but one of them also brandishes a knife.<sup>16</sup> The gesture of holding the animal

<sup>10</sup> Boardman, *Greek Gems*, p. 65.

<sup>11</sup> E.g., Edith Porada in Collaboration with Briggs Buchanan, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections* (The Bollingen Series XIV, 1948) (henceforth *Corpus*), No. 981-983.

<sup>12</sup> C.F.A. Schaeffer, “Triade hittite sur un pendentif en electrum de Ras Shamra,” *Ugaritica* III (1956), pp. 94-95.

<sup>13</sup> An exception is a cylinder in the collection of E.T. Newell, now in the Babylonian Collection of Yale University (*Chicago University, Oriental Institute Publications* XXII, 1934), No. 329, which I suspect of being of Cypriote origin. Another exception is the cylinder published by Sedat Alp, *Zylinder und Stempelsiegel aus Karahöyük in Konya* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, No. 26, Ankara, 1968), Pl. 11: No. 21. The bull-headed figures grasping snakes in *Corpus*, No. 981 are also unusual.

<sup>14</sup> I discussed the iconography of this type of mantle in “Iconographical Motifs in Mitannian Glyptic Art,” *Studi di Archaeologia et Storia dell’Arte del Vicino Oriente* I (1973) in press.

<sup>15</sup> Vassos Karageorghis has collected the evidence concerning Cypriote figurines of the archaic period representing figures wearing bull-masks, “Notes on Some Cypriote Priests Wearing Bull-Masks”, *Harvard Theological Review* 64 (1971), pp. 261-270. The existence of such masked figures may presuppose an ancient concept of bull-headed demons.

<sup>16</sup> *AJA* LII, Pl. VIII: 13.

in that way may therefore not have been protective but in readiness for the execution. In Egypt, gazelles may have been <sup>[263]</sup> considered noxious creatures,<sup>17</sup> inhabitants of the desert and associated with nomadic tribes and their deities. With the strong underlying Egyptian influence in the iconography of Cyprus, gazelles and other horned animals could have been typed as noxious without awareness of the background of such a concept in Egypt.

The head between the bull-demon and the goddess poses problems. There is little doubt that, as Boardman intimated, it derives from Western Asiatic prototypes, namely, the monstrous mask which frequently appears in Old Babylonian cylinders of the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries B.C. and survived in cylinders of Mitannian style.<sup>18</sup> In the Mitannian cylinders the principal function of the design was probably to ward off evil. This meaning may have been understood even by a Cypriote engraver. A difference consists in the horns, which are not seen on such masks in Western Asiatic context.

Contrary to the "eastern" associations of the apotropaic head, the Minoan genii (Pl. XXXII, 1) point to the West, though their function of warding off evil may have been quite similar. A difference exists, however, between the genii in the present Cypro-Minoan example and those of a Mycenaean gem such as one from Vaphio (**Fig. 1**).<sup>19</sup> In the gem from Vaphio the dorsal appendage of the genius is drawn like a mantle which covers the back and part of the side of the body. In the Cypro-Minoan cylinder the arms and forepart of the body are divided off from the rest by a deep curve and the dorsal appendage, stylized into small beadlike forms, merely follows the outline of the back like a decorative border. The figure has thereby become a far more abstract composite of forms, <sup>[264]</sup> though quite decorative.

<sup>17</sup> For example, "Horus the Savior", triumphant over the powers of evil on the Metternich stela in the Metropolitan Museum holds: "two serpents, two scorpions, an oryx and a lion – all regarded as malign animals". (Cf., Nora E. Scott, "The Metternich Stela", *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* [April, 1951], p. 206) (the italics are mine).

The head of a gazelle is the identifying emblem worn by the god Resheph, a Canaanite deity introduced into Egypt in the middle of the second millennium B.C. Cf., W.K. Simpson, "An Egyptian Statuette of a Phoenician God", *The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Feb. 1952), pp. 182-187. Also by the same author, "New Light on the God Reshef", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 73 (1953), pp. 86-89.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of this head in Old Babylonian and Mitannian designs, cf. the article mentioned in note 14 above.

<sup>19</sup> Boardman had drawn attention to the fact that the jugs which the genii hold in our Fig. 1. are not beaked like those of Minoan and Mycenaean representations. R.S. Merrillees kindly identified these vessels as Cypriote Base-Ring bottles of his Type III, cf. R.S. Merrillees, *The Cypriote Bronze Age Pottery Found in Egypt* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Vol. XVIII, 1968) pp. 163, and 181, Pls. XV: 1 and XXIV: 2. He also pointed out that the handle descends from the rim to the shoulder, instead of from the neck which would correspond to the actual shape. Merrillees also mentioned that this seems to have been a matter of conventional representation of such vessels because the Red Lustrous spindle bottles are shown in the same manner (Merrillees, *op. cit.*, p. 173).

Increasing abstraction can be noted in the development of Cypro-Minoan cylinders, a fact which makes the one under consideration (Pl. XXXII, 1) and its closest relative, convincingly pointed out as such by Boardman,<sup>20</sup> seem to belong to a later stage of the style than some with figures rendered with greater attention to naturalistic detail.<sup>21</sup> The precise dates of the group cannot be determined on the basis of stratified examples, and at present we may agree with Boardman in placing the representative cylinder in the first half of the fourteenth century B.C. The final phase of this group seems to determine the date of the next to be discussed here, since a cylinder found at Thebes, as yet unpublished,<sup>22</sup> seems to show the transition from one group to the other. The figures engraved on a cylinder belonging to the Cypro-Minoan group are partly erased to make room for a man and animal in what I should like to call "style of broad-shouldered figures," here exemplified by a cylinder in the British Museum, bought in Cyprus (Pl. XXXII, 2). The heavy forms of the figures, use of the drill, and the simplified composition caused Helene J. Kantor to consider that cylinder together with a seal design derived from impressions of the thirteenth century B.C. from Fekhariyah (Fig. 2), late examples of the fully grown Mitannian style.<sup>23</sup> There are no inherent features in these two examples which would require a different classification. Another cylinder of the same group, however, this one from Ras Shamra-Ugarit (Pl. XXXII, 3),<sup>24</sup> has a seated goddess holding on a leash a lion whose head is stylized in typically Mycenaean manner with the outline of the head describing a curve to accommodate the eye of the beast. In lions of Western Asiatic cylinders the eye sits lower in the head; furthermore, the forehead is clearly set off from the nose, especially in Mitannian examples whereas in Mycenaean representations forehead and nose tend to be shown by a continuous line, though the latter usually curves slightly down to the nose.<sup>25</sup> The rest of the scene of the cylinder from Ras Shamra-Ugarit has a motif for which no Western Asiatic parallel exists. Two persons are kneeling, presumably in worship, beside a nude, probably heroic figure that stands with both feet turned

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<sup>20</sup> Boardman, *Greek Gems*, p. 106 pointed to the cylinder in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XLV g as closest in style to Fig. 1.

<sup>21</sup> The finest cylinder of this style is one from the find at Thebes (Inventory No. 206), to be published in the near future.

<sup>22</sup> To be published in the near future (Inventory no. 178).

<sup>23</sup> Helene J. Kantor in C.W. McEwan, *et al.*, *Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah*, (The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications LXXIX, 1958), p. 79, s.v. Pl. 73: XLIV.

<sup>24</sup> A photographic reproduction of this cylinder from Ras Shamra Ugarit was published by C.F.A. Schaeffer, *L'Illustration* (March 3, 1934), Fig. on p. 258, second from top.

<sup>25</sup> E.g., Agnes Sakellariou, *Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel*, Vol. I (Berlin, 1964), Nos. 141, 144, 145, 149, etc.



Fig. 1

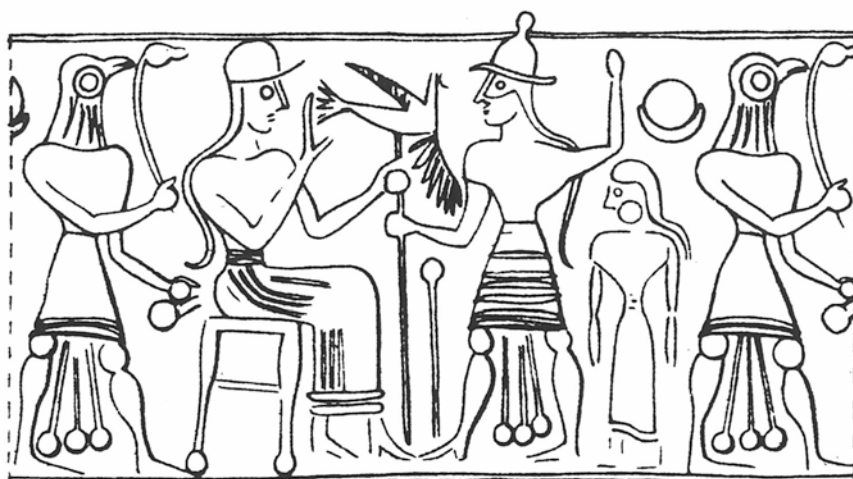


Fig. 2

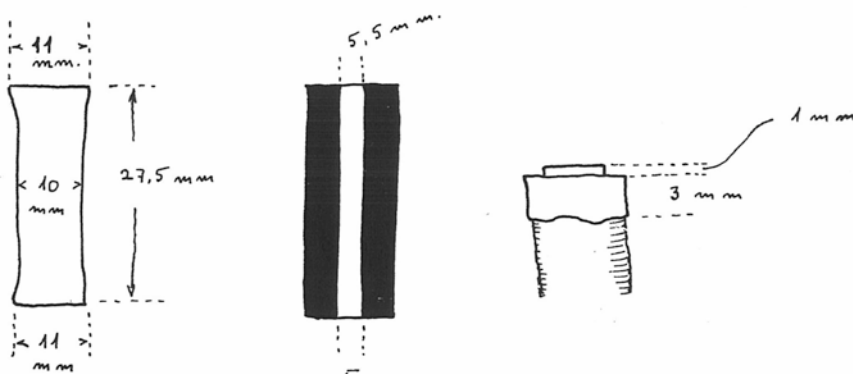


Fig. 3



outward on the backs <sup>266</sup> of two seated lions of which one is being held on a leash by the enthroned goddess mentioned above.

A fourth cylinder of the same group was found at Thebes in Boeotia.<sup>26</sup> Like the majority of the cylinders found at that site, it is made of lapis lazuli whereas the other two examples here mentioned are of hematite. The cylinder from Thebes has the same “well fed, almost puffy, figures ... the knobbed helmet ... and the detailed rendering of the bird’s feathers”, noted by Helene Kantor on the seals of this group, she also pointed out the thickness and solidity of the modeling.<sup>27</sup>

I believe that it was a seal cutter responsible for this group who also recut part of the cylinder found at Vari, now in the Serpieri Collection of which I owe the impression, (Pl. XXXIII, 1), photographs and drawings of the seal itself (Pl. XXXIII, 2-5 and Fig. 3), and the precise description to Spyros E. Jakovidis.

“The cylinder seal of the Serpieri Collection was found by its first owner, M. P. Vlasto, on his estate at Vari (on the southern shore of Attica, 23 km from Athens) where he used to dig for antiquities. More precise details as to the exact place of discovery, context, etc. are unknown. The cylinder is only mentioned in his notes, *Fouilles de Vari*. It is now in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. J. Serpieri. The cylinder was mentioned by Sir Arthur Evans in *Palace of Minos IV*, p. 409, and reproduced in a drawing, *ibid.* Fig. 339. The material is lapis lazuli, weathered to a lead-grey color. The blue core shows through only where the surface had been scratched at the time when part of the design, and probably an existing inscription, were erased and a new design carved on the cylinder. Still later, two gold caps were added. These covered part of the engraving close to the edges of the stone. The narrow strips which had been covered by the caps are less weathered than the rest of the surface and their color is closer to the original blue”.

The original cylinder was typically Old Babylonian, showing a suppliant goddess and a king in the attire of a warrior, a figure considered by the late Henri Frankfort to have been a god with a mace.<sup>28</sup> The king wears a cap with upturned brim and a bordered tunic, the end of which falls between his legs. The strands, of his beard, flowing backwards as if in violent movement, can still be discerned although the figure was partly obliterated from the knees up. Another figure, also partly obliterated, belonged to the secondary engraving of the cylinder. That figure was placed on a platform seated on a stool with the feet set on a footstool. The figure faces to the right, an orientation incompatible with Old Baby<sup>267</sup>lonian conventions according to which the major figure in a scene is placed on the right side, facing toward the left. This convention is so definite that peripheral cylin-

<sup>26</sup> *The Illustrated London News* (Nov. 28, 1964), p. 861, Fig. 9.

<sup>27</sup> See above, note 23.

<sup>28</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 168.

ders can be identified according to this rule.<sup>29</sup> In view of the fact that the figures which have suffered from the damage to which the cylinder was exposed, belong to two different stylistic phases, it seems likely that the disintegration of the surface in the area of these two figures was due to a chemical reaction of part of the stone to acids in the soil.

To judge by other recut cylinders, artists often tried to incorporate the principal forms of the original design into their own creation. It is likely, therefore, that there had been a recumbent animal, a goat or ram, between the king and the goddess in the Old Babylonian design. The secondary artist placed between the two earlier figures a broad-shouldered female figure who stands on a recumbent goat and raises an animal resembling a gazelle by the hind legs. Above her head curves a lotus blossom, and a second one is carved beside it. Probably these floral forms covered symbols, such as the moon crescent, which had been engraved in the upper part of the Old Babylonian design.

More interesting is the second group carved by the artist of the broad-shouldered figures. It consists of the enthroned figure already mentioned, who holds with one hand a staff or weapon, which projects over his shoulder, and has the other raised with a bird perched upon it. Before him stands a small figure holding what may be a sling in one hand and raising a hare by the hind legs perhaps the result of a hunt. The scene can be connected with the one on (Pl. XXXII, 2) where the personage before the goddess holds a bird of prey with a similar gesture while the goddess seems to grasp the ends of the band by which the bird had been restrained. This interpretation can be confirmed by the representation on a cylinder seal, found and probably made in Iran (Pl. XXXIV, 1) depicting a scene at court in which a person seems to offer to an enthroned figure a bird of prey that he was probably meant to hold by two broad ribbons the attachment of which to the bird is, however not indicated. As in the cylinder in the British Museum (Pl. XXXII, 2) there is a gap (though there it is larger) between bird and bands. Yet there can be little doubt that a related practice (falconry?) or a mythological event is being portrayed.

On the basis of related seal impressions on tablets from Assur dated in the late 14th century B.C., I dated the Iranian cylinder in the same period. The cylinder in the British Museum is more simplified, but there are certain details which are surprisingly close to those of the Iranian cylinder, for example, the tassels hanging from the stool of the enthroned figure and the fact that there is a footstool. These similarities may indicate nothing more than that certain 268 motifs and conventions were shared from Iran to Cyprus during an age which has been rightly called International. The evidence here shown may indicate a somewhat earlier date for the group of broad shouldered figures than had been assumed. The likelihood that the

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<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Corpus*, No. 281.

seal cutter was based in Cyprus is great, but there is no incontrovertible evidence for such an assumption. At any rate, the Serpieri cylinder provides us with a scene of extraordinary interest the appearance of which near Athens may show that, wherever the seal originated, it was appreciated by a Mycenaean Greek.

The competent engraving and wealth of motifs in these Cypriote groups and several others, not discussed here,<sup>30</sup> make one wonder whether this art only arose, as a result mainly of Mitannian influence,<sup>31</sup> or whether there was an earlier beginning for Cypriote seal engraving. One group of cylinders in particular, suggests itself as having been made in a place where Western Asiatic, specifically Syrian, glyptic tradition, but also motifs later associated with Crete and Cyprus, were combined in the same small seal design. An example is the impression **Fig. 4**, first published by Briggs Buchanan,<sup>32</sup> who fully realized the importance of the combination of different stylistic trends in what he and many others take to be examples of Syrian glyptic art. The impression from a cylinder seal appears on a tablet dated in the 7th year of Samsu-ditana the last king of Babylon (1625-1595 B.C.) before the Hittite raid on the city and its destruction. Briggs Buchanan and Albrecht Goetze, who had worked on the tablet, had concluded, however, that the cylinder was probably earlier by several decades than the tablet on which it had been rolled. A related seal impression from Atchana-Alalakh, to be published by Dominique Collon<sup>33</sup> confirms the earlier date since the destruction of Alalakh took place before that of Babylon, about 1650 B.C.

**[269]** In the seal impression here reproduced the interest centers on the ancillary scene which shows two long-haired, slender-waisted beardless, hence young, men attacking an ibex over the extended form of another ibex, which is being attacked by a lion. Whether the lower ibex was meant to be shown leaping or prostrate, the posture does not conform to Western Asiatic designs of this period whereas it recalls the flying gallop of later Aegean representations. Also suggestive of Aegean connections is the rep-

<sup>30</sup> For example the delicate, mannered style with strong Minoan features exemplified by cylinders in the Newell and Colville Collections, cf. Briggs Buchanan "A Cypriote Cylinder at Yale (Newell Collection 358)," *BCH* XCII (1968) pp. 410-415 and V.E.G. Kenna, "An Unpublished Cypriote Cylinder," *BCH* XCI (1967), p. 252. Or the beautiful cylinder from Sinda, again belonging to a different style, V.E.G. Kenna, "Quelques aspects de la glyptique chypriote," *Syria* XLIV (1967), p. 114, or two fine cylinders discovered at Kition by Vassos Karageorghis, each of which belongs to a different group V.E.G. Kenna and V. Karageorghis, "Four Cylinder Seals from Kition," *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* III (1967), Figs. 1, 2, opposite p. 96; or one found by Karageorghis in the harbour area of Larnaca Salt Lake (*Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* 1968, Pl. II: 6).

<sup>31</sup> This was implied in *AJA* LII, *passim*.

<sup>32</sup> "On the Seal Impressions on Some Old Babylonian Tablets," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* XI (1957), pp. 45-52, especially pp. 47-52.

<sup>33</sup> *Seal Impressions from Atchana-Alalakh*, Doctoral Thesis, Columbia University, 1971, (to be published in *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*).

resentation of the horns in quasi three quarter view not seen in Western Asiatic designs before the Kassite and Middle Assyrian styles of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.<sup>34</sup>

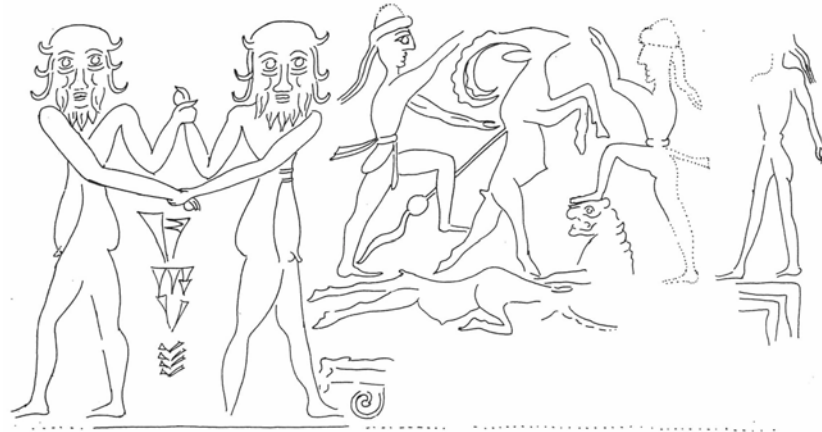


Fig. 4

Furthermore, the stylization of the lion's head with the straight outline of forehead and nose seems to prefigure later Cypriote and other Aegean representations. Lastly, the long flowing hair of the athletes is later seen in Minoan frescoes while the headband,<sup>35</sup> which leaves a curiously pointed top resembles in the stylization of the headdress that of the man carrying an ingot on a bronze stand from Kourion in the British Museum.<sup>36</sup>

[270] Another characteristic representative of the same group (Pl. XXXIV, 2), is a cylinder in the Erlenmeyer Collection, published by M.L. and H. Erlenmeyer. Again, our principal interest is focused not on the two major figures, a weather god and a worshiper, but on the secondary scenes which show athletes landing with their arms on the back of a bull, figures perhaps meant to have been vaulting over its back. Above them is another bull in a posture similar to that of the bull below except for the legs, which are slightly separated as if the animal were leaping instead of standing in a posture of attack like the bull below.

<sup>34</sup> A curious representation of two overlapping horns above the head of a hare in the cylinder Corpus No. 910 probably does not represent an attempt at three quarter view.

<sup>35</sup> Briggs Buchanan did not draw such a head band in his reconstruction of the impressions *Journ. Cun. Stud.*, Pl. II: 14). However, repeated examination of the impressions over a period of several months of study of the imprints on this tablet have convinced me that such a head band was indeed present.

<sup>36</sup> A detail drawing of the figure with the ingot from the bronze stand found at Kourion was published in the article by H.W. Catling, "The Cypriote Copper Industry", *Cyprus at the Dawn of her History* (Archaeologia Viva II/3 March-May, 1969), p. 81.

So far, bull leapers do not seem to have been known from Cretan seals of this period, though bull leaping as such is documented in clay and bronze figurines.<sup>37</sup> Only the head stand is seen in a seal.<sup>38</sup> The closest association of the seal designs was pointed out by S. Symeonoglou who related the posture of the bull with slightly spread hindlegs with that of bulls on the rim of a bronze vessel in the Cesnola collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>39</sup> This posture is not found in what we consider typically Syrian cylinders. The fact of weightlessness implied in the positioning of the leaping animals runs counter to the ponderous solidity which marks the relation of figures to groundline in Syrian glyptic art.<sup>40</sup> As a working hypothesis, Cypriote origin for this group of cylinders [271] may therefore be considered. We would then understand the ibex pawing at the weather god like a dog, a unique representation, also the worshiper who holds a large Egyptian *ankh* in his hands, whereas human figures in Syrian representations do not touch such divine emblems. Lastly, the manneristic way in which the bull's horn comes to stick in the open mouth of the lion in the upper field, would

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Stephanos Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara* (London, 1924), Pl. XXVIII: 4126 and Pl. XXXVII: 5052. Cf. Also the bull-leaper, formerly in the Spencer Churchill collection, now in the British Museum, Reynold Higgins, *The Greek Bronze Age* (The British Museum [London, 1970], Pl. 4 and cover.

<sup>38</sup> Boardman, *Greek Gems*, Pl. 60. Probably the acrobat on the gold covering of a pommel of a bronze sword from the Old Palace, Mallia was also meant to be in a similar posture, cf. Spyridon Marinatos, *Crete and Mycenae* (New York, 1960), Pl. 69.

<sup>39</sup> The rim of the vessel was published in clear and quite reliable drawings by Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia and its Dependencies* (London, 1885), p. 363, Fig. 279. The paper by Sarantis Symeonoglou is on deposit at the Metropolitan Museum and at Columbia University.

<sup>40</sup> Briggs Buchanan seems to have arrived at similar conclusions concerning cylinders which show gracefully and lightly leaping animals executed in an accomplished rounded Syrian style, cf. *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*, Vol. I (Oxford, 1966), pp. 175-176, comment on No. 898. He also discussed the impression on a pithos sherd at Analiondas in Cyprus. I was able to ascertain that the width of the band of figures on this impression is much greater in relation to the height of the imprint, than in a cylinder seal of normal proportions. It is more likely that this and other impressions on pithoi (J.L. Benson, "Aegean and Near Eastern Seal Impressions from Cyprus", *The Aegean and the Near East*, Studies presented to Hetty Goldman [New York, 1956], pp. 59-79 and Pls. VII, VIII: 7), were made with special cylindrical objects of which no original has as yet been discovered but of which the impressions manifest a fine style. Buchanan was able to provide good parallels in Syrian cylinders dated before 1600 B.C. for many of the elements in the impression from Analiondas. Only the details of the horse and chariot which show Egyptian influence militate against such an early date of the imprint according to Mary Littauer.

Buchanan seems to have concluded that such cylinders could have been made under Syrian influence even after 1600 B.C. I cannot see how the great technical proficiency and artistic imagination manifested in the cylinders of this group, could have been passed on by the objects alone, without the presence of the artist. The rather poor quality of a copy of a cylinder of this group is seen in the cylinder published by P.E. Percorella, mentioned in note 41, below.

find its explanation in an origin of the cylinder not in Syria proper, but in Cyprus.

Until this year no example of this group had been found in Cyprus. One of the cylinders discovered at Aya Irini<sup>41</sup> however, appears to have been copied from a cylinder of Syrian type which had in the lower register of the ancillary motif, a leaping bull, postured much like those of the Erlenmeyer seal.

Location of a group of extraordinarily fine cylinder seals<sup>42</sup> in Cyprus in the Late Middle Bronze Age is, at present nothing more than a hypothesis. The presence of good lapidaries, however, would explain the surprisingly large amount of lapis lazuli which Thutmosis III obtained from Cyprus<sup>43</sup> thought to have been an intermediate station in the lapis trade between east and west. It would also make the later development of seal engraving on the island appear as a more natural sequel to an earlier flowering, perhaps in only a very few locations.

[272] So far the number of cylinders of Syrian style datable in the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries B.C. known to have been found in Cyprus is very small<sup>44</sup>. Of these one in the Cesnola Collection (Pl. XXXIV, 3) has

<sup>41</sup> P.E. Pecorella, "La necropoli a mare: rapporti preliminari di scavo", *Studi micenei ed egeoanatolici* (1972), p. 51, Fig. 13.

<sup>42</sup> Buchanan has assembled a number of cylinders which can be assigned to this group in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* XI (1957), pp. 48-49. An imprint from Kültepe Ib may be added: Nimet Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib from Karum Kanish* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, V. Seri, Sa 25, Ankara, 1968), Pl. XIC. Another cylinder which belongs to this group is one published by Pierre Amiet, "Quelques ancêtres du chasseur royal d'Ugarit," *Ugaritica* VI (1969), p. 4, Fig. 3.

One of the most important cylinders of the group was published by Henri Seyrig, "Tauromachie égéenne," *Syria* XXXII (1955), pp. 34-37 and Pl. IV: 2, followed by another article on the subject, "Cylindre représentant un tauromachie," *Syria* XXXIII (1956), pp. 169-174.

Seyrig dealt in two more articles with the subject of relations between Syrian glyptic art and Aegean influences, "Quelques cylindres syriens," *Syria* XL (1963), pp. 253-260 and "Un cylindre du Musée de Vienne," *Ugaritica* VI (1969), pp. 479-481.

The extent to which any of these cylinders were made in Syria or on its periphery, and perhaps even in Cyprus is still unknown.

<sup>43</sup> Cyprus sent off 110 dbn of lapis lazuli in the 34th year of Thutmosis III according to Wolfgang Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Bd. 5, Wiesbaden, 1962, p. 408 and note 105 on p. 455).

<sup>44</sup> In addition to the two cylinders of Syrian type in the Cesnola Collection, *AJA* LII Pl. VIII: 4, 8, few such cylinders were found in Cyprus. The following short list includes the examples known to me: Porphyrios Dikaios, *Enkomi, Excavations 1948-1958*, Vol. II (Mainz, 1971), Pl. 179: 1(780). H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos ... in the British Museum* (London, 1926), Pl. III: 113. The cylinder was recently republished by V.E.G. Kenna in *Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 3: Catalogue of the Cypriote Seals of the Bronze Age in the British Museum* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XX, 1971) Pl. IV: 16. The photograph though enlarged is less clear than that of the earlier publication.

several features which differ so definitely from the usual Syrian prototypes that it seems possible to locate the cylinder outside of Syria, possibly in Cyprus. These features<sup>45</sup> concern the motif, a god and goddess together attacking a lion, the attire of the god and of the goddess, and the fact that the ancillary motif is in three registers instead of two and separated not by an elaborate guilloche pattern but by a very simplified one and by a horizontal line. This treatment suggests that the guilloche, a difficult design, was beyond the competence of the engraver.

This cylinder, then, would give reason to suppose that cylinders of Syrian style were made beyond the borders of the Western Asiatic mainland and that in the Late Middle Bronze Age Cyprus could have had a few artists producing cylinders of their own. The cylinders and the context in which they could have been produced, however, remain to be discovered.

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A cylinder, supposedly from Ayos Jakovos was published by Kenna in *Cyprus* (Archaeologia Viva, Vol. II/3, March-May, 1969), p. 144: 143, text referring to 143 is on p. 139. However, the cylinder is erroneously described as having marked Mitannian influence whereas it shows typically Syrian style with some details similar to those of Pl. XXXIV, 3, below.

<sup>45</sup> The cylinder was discussed in some detail in *AJA* LII, pp. 182-184. When that article was written, however, it was assumed that the Syrian style continued into the Late Bronze Age at which time it could have assimilated various foreign influences. At present, however, seals of Syrian type are thought to have disappeared with the fine style of Alalakh and other towns sacked by the Hittite king Hattushilish I, about the middle of the seventeenth century B.C.

If, as seems likely, our Pl. XXXIV, 3 is to be dated before 1600 B.C. the divergence from Syrian conventions noted in this seal design assumes considerable importance as possible proof for the existence of Cypriote cylinders of Syrian style.

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This review of: F. Digard, *Répertoire analytique des cylindres orientaux publiés dans des sources bibliographiques éparses (sur ordinateur)*, 1975, Vol. 1-3, originally appeared in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102 No. 3, 1982, 501-506.

## Problems of Method in the Archaeology and Art History of the Ancient Near East

This review article contains a discussion by an archaeologist-art historian of present orientations which attempt to impose upon archaeology standards of precision attainable in the “hard sciences.” These attitudes result in a downgrading of the individual work of art as a source of knowledge. The chief example for the application of new methods is the *Répertoire analytiques des cylindres* whose shortcomings are caused by lack of concern for the individual seals, but which is nevertheless an important new tool for the future.

This article began as an evaluation of the computerbased analytical repertory of cylinder seals published in Paris in 1975, here called *Répertoire*,<sup>1</sup> which is one of the most ambitious and – in my opinion – most promising undertakings of archaeology today. In that long review I took issue with some of the basic new concepts concerning the compilation of archaeological materials which had been applied to the *Répertoire* and caused some of its shortcomings. The Editor of the *JAOS* therefore asked me to transform the review into an article in which the discussion of the theoretical concepts involved would precede their application in the *Répertoire*. These theoretical concepts were developed by the brilliant Jean-Claude Gardin, the driving force behind the *Répertoire*. One of his early works was the publication of the pottery and coins found at Lashkari Bazar and Bust in Afghanistan.<sup>2</sup> In working on this publication he realized that the research articles dispersed in a vast array of periodicals and books needed to be organized in more easily accessible and manageable form. At this time he doubtless formed also some of his other ideas which have surfaced in his theoretical

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<sup>1</sup> Françoise Digard avec la collaboration de C. Abellard, L. Boureily, J. Deshayes, J.-C. Gardin, J. Le Maître, M.-R. Salomé, *Répertoire analytique des cylindres orientaux publiés dans des sources bibliographiques éparses (sur ordinateur)*. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1975, Volume I – ‘Principes et resultats’; Volume 2 – ‘Code’; Volume 3 – ‘Commentaire’.

<sup>2</sup> Jean-Claude Gardin, *Lashkari Bazar II: les trouvailles; céramiques et monnaies de Lashkari Bazar et de Bust* (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, Vol. 18, 1963).

writings of the past three decades and which are summarized in his latest book, *Archaeological Constructs*, 1980.<sup>3</sup> In the analytical part of that book, which occupies more than two thirds of the text, the theoretical writings in archaeology from the fifties to the present are surveyed. In addition to the interest of its text, Gardin's book is therefore an excellent guide to this literature. In the last sections he gives his guidelines for future archaeological publications.

He defines "archaeology" as the sum of studies bearing on material objects which may throw some light, in conjunction with other data, on the history and way of life of ancient peoples (specific events, daily activities, institutions, beliefs, etc.) (p. 5). His term "construction" designates "any written text presented as a unit in the archaeological literature..." These constructions are divided into "works of compilation, in which the primary goal is to disclose materials hitherto unpublished or not easily accessible, while the other group is made up of more speculative texts meant to diffuse new ideas on various aspects of life in ancient times (technology, symbolic functions, social organization, etc.) grounded in the study of material remains." Of course, he is aware of the existing connection between the two poles. No decent catalogue of archaeological materials can be drawn without reference to the context and significance of the materials contained, nor is a theoretical treatise without factual data likely to be of lasting value. Gardin's goal is "to reformulate [502] archaeological constructions in order to come closer to the requirements of logical thinking" (p. 15).

One of the most admirable aspects of the book is the tightness and clarity of its structure. Every major topic is set off by a heading, with main points which appear in the first paragraph and are then enlarged upon in the text which follows. This is a fundamental change from the method of presentation of scholarly matter during the first half of the century, in which arguments concerning a topic were summoned to build up gradually to a conclusion.<sup>4</sup> One would wish that Gardin, in addition to demanding logic and

<sup>3</sup> Jean-Claude Gardin, *Archaeological Constructs; an Aspect of Theoretical Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, 1980. The book was also published in French, *Une archéologie théorique*, Paris, 1979, and has received appropriate acclaim and extensive reviews by R. Ginovès and Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets in *Revue archéologique*, (1981), 87-96, and by F. Hours in *Études*, 352/2 (Feb., 1980). Here mainly those points will be mentioned on which I take issue with Gardin.

<sup>4</sup> The realization of this change reminded me of the advice A. Leo Oppenheim gave me in 1946 with regard to organizing my *Seal Impressions of Nuzi* by summarizing the results of the study at the beginning of the book because "people no longer have time to wade through the entire text to find out what has been learnt. For those who are interested, you present the material in the subsequent chapters." However, when I presented a manuscript written according to Oppenheim's stricture to the American Schools of Oriental Research for their 24th Annual, I was asked by Albrecht Goetze, Millar Burrows and Abe Sachs to rewrite the text "in the manner of a scholarly presentation, placing the material before the reader and drawing the conclusions at the end." Today, this leisurely

rigor in publications of the future had added a request for a lucid presentation. Writing as he does, he would take this for granted. Unfortunately, the American theoretical elite often uses a terminology limited to the small field of its specific research, without making any effort at explaining it for the non-theoretical archaeologist, like myself; probably because we, the people who excavate, draw, photograph, describe and record, are considered to be at a lower level of scholarship than those concerned with the “cognitive aspects of archaeology” – an opinion to which Gardin also ascribes, as he states repeatedly in his writings.

Gardin’s attitude in this respect is consonant with his treatment of works of art to which he refuses the status of a special category among archaeological remains in *Archaeological Constructs* (p. 4). This is entirely logical in view of his advocacy of minimalist strategies of description (p. 139) which are inadequate for works of art. These deserve as full a description, that is a visual analysis, as the writer can provide. Such a description can only be made after a long and intensive exposure to the work, from which the writer derives joy and experiences a growth of knowledge. Such a perception of art is thus not only an intellectual but also a sensual and emotional experience and the source of many of our insights. In the resulting description, the writer acquaints the reader with the work, prepares him for the recognition of the style, and in some cases even for the interpretation of the iconography. Such a description would not fit into Gardin’s system; hence, it had to be left out.

A minor issue concerning the descriptions of works of ancient art, which nevertheless deserves to be mentioned in defense of this method, is the occasional stimulus they may provide for scholars outside the field. To cite one example: in the description of the scene on a Middle Assyrian cylinder seal, found by Patricia Bikai at Tyre,<sup>5</sup> I mentioned “a table decked with a cloth and perhaps two cakes in the shape of temple towers ...” I made no special point about these cakes and did not even repeat the statement made in the first publication of that cylinder,<sup>6</sup> that the cakes resembled a larger such object on a table in a scene on the White Obelisk.<sup>7</sup> Yet, Nicholas Postgate and Stephanie Dalley wrote to me about the cakes and I quote from Dr. Dalley’s letter of Nov. 20, 1981, “Such cakes are found in the Middle Assyrian text VS 19 33 commented on by Postgate in BiOr 37, 1980, p. 68 made of linseed/sesame. In a Neo-Assyrian text from Nimrud, which we are editing together, we have a profession, which is probably to be read LÚ ša ziqqurātešu, the ‘man responsible for temple-tower shaped

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buildup of the evidence has been abandoned under the very pressure of time which Oppenheim sensed a generation ago.

<sup>5</sup> E. Porada in *Akkadica*, 13 (May-August, 1979), 9.

<sup>6</sup> Patricia M. Bikai, *The Pottery of Tyre*, Warminster, 1978, Appendix A by E. Porada, 77-82.

<sup>7</sup> For an easily accessible reproduction see *Iraq*, 37 (1975), pls. XXX A-3 and XXI D-7.

cakes'." Without my verbal description, neither scholar would have noticed this feature, which had long been visible in reproductions of the tower-shaped cake of the White Obelisk. Not only does this correspondence of a detail in the representation of the White Obelisk with a Middle Assyrian text add another indication for the much discussed Middle Assyrian date of the pictorial part of the Obelisk, but the fact that the cylinder seal design can be shown to portray an actual object, perhaps of ritual significance, is important because there is little evidence available to assess the relation of the seal designs to the material culture of their period.

In sum, the perception and description of a work of art seems to me to be among the most important functions of an archaeologist, which he can do best if he draws and photographs the object himself, supposedly non-"cognitive" tasks, which do not enter at all into the discussions of *Archaeological Constructs*. In actuality, drawing and photographing an object forces the viewer to follow the artist's creation in every detail and to discover features which might have been missed otherwise. This intimate association with the object also [503] produces what E. Gombrich called "imaginative participation"<sup>8</sup> which one has to attain in order to understand and properly interpret a work of art. That such interpretations are usually based on very limited evidence and are therefore easily faulted, is shown by Gardin in the one section in which he discusses art at any length. He shows up the deficiencies in an analysis of a Seljuk relief in the Konya Museum of the twelfth to thirteenth century A.D. by J.-P. Roux. Among other shortcomings, Gardin points out Roux's failure to mention that the seated man "holds the chin of the man standing in front of him" (p. 112).<sup>9</sup> Gardin's demand for precision in the interpretation of works of art seems to me unrealistic as are many of the postulates in *Archaeological Constructs*. He requires that the thought process, by which results in archaeology are obtained, become an object of scholarly focus. In my opinion this may detract from the primary purpose of gaining new insights into an aspect of archaeology.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Sir Ernst Gombrich, "Focus on the Arts and Humanities," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 35 (Jan. 1982), 21.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps Roux did not mention the gesture especially because it was common in Turkey. I take it to be the same as that portrayed in a relief at Medinet Habu (W. Wolf, *Die Kunst Ägyptens*, Stuttgart, 1957, p. 589, Fig. 591), showing Ramesses III stroking one of his harem girls under the chin, a gesture which reflects both endearment and familiarity. This is the basic meaning expressed in the Austrian vernacular, *das Goderl kratzen*, which has come to mean flattery in a secondary stage of the expression.

<sup>10</sup> Fortunately, Gardin's own publications have none of the theoretical overburden which he calls for in *Archaeological Constructs*. On the contrary, one of his most recent articles (with P. Gentelle) is a must for every scholar dealing with the pre-Islamic art and archaeology of ancient Bactria (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, 66, [1979], 1-29). It explains the ebb and flow of wealth in that region by the varying exploitation of the soil, which he ascribes to the amount or lack of effort put into irrigation projects by the population of the area.

The Répertoire was an early creation of Gardin's, the direction of which he passed on to Françoise Digard. But the idea and the method had been worked out in some detail before the project was set in motion. The work consists in an analysis of the representations on cylinder seals for the purpose of deriving comparanda from the computerized items. Over 4,600 cylinders are reproduced with photographs or drawings on cards, sizes 7.50 x 12.50 cm, which fill two boxes. The cards are exactly of the right size and consistency for easy handling, which is an achievement worth mentioning. The code for the computer is contained in Volume 2 and an explanation of the code's terminology appears in Volume 3. The introduction and some of the results of the work with the *Répertoire* are found in Volume 1. In the catalogue are assembled seals from small collections and scattered articles published to about 1960 (Volume 1, p. 19). Bibliographical lists in Volume 1, pages 250-320, form an index for the catalogue cards. Regardless of the quality of the reproductions, which is generally poor (due partly to the often poorly reproduced originals), the catalogue alone makes the work a valuable acquisition for research on seals by a specialist.

Since the code was devised to find not only single items, which any traditional index would yield, but groupings of figures or objects, a system had to be found to label such groupings. This was done by applying a grammatical terminology to the figures in a scene, of which one became the subject, the other the object of the scene. The entire repertory of the scenes was divided into three zones. The first was called '*Thématique*' and comprises the relation of the iconographical elements to each other, as well as their distribution in the field. The second zone covers animate beings, the third inanimate elements. In a fourth zone, called '*Glyptique*', the non-iconographical features are assembled.

Within the zones the iconography is arranged as follows: Zone I: (1) beings and cases, (2) actions, (3) syntax, (4) number, (5) configuration; Zone II: (6) personages, (7) animals, (8) hybrids, (9) orientation of the figures, (10) postures, (11) gestures; Zone III: (12) garments, (13) hairdress, (14) attributes, (15) structures, (16) seats, (17) other pieces of furniture, (18) receptacles, (19) tools, (20) weapons, (21) emblems, (22) plants, (23) details, (24) nature: earth and waves, (25) nature: sky, (26) ornaments, (27) indeterminate designs, (28) orientation, and (29) manner of carrying an object. The fourth Zone, *Glyptique* comprises (30) seal inscriptions, (31) the cylinder, (32) provenance, and (33) dating. The last two items merely contain brief explanations for the use of the *Répertoire*.

The terminology, together with the explanations given in the commentary contained in Volume 3 of the *Répertoire* should be studied by everyone working with descriptions of cylinder seals. Their precision and brevity are obviously the result of long, careful thought and should be imitated as

far as possible. However, the explanations are not easy to follow and require much concentration.

The possible uses of the *Répertoire* are demonstrated in about 1500 subjects of research, which were formulated as questions put to the data bank of the *Répertoire*, written out in brief sentences for the benefit of persons not familiar with the "meta-language" of the computer. There are numerous questions to which the answers provide valuable iconographic information in the seal designs listed as including the relevant 504 items. I have not checked one question without being made aware of some iconographic detail, which I had not noted before. I therefore consider the project to have produced an important tool for further research in ancient Near Eastern iconography.

However, this tool could have been far more valuable if the work had been performed by persons who had some interest in and knowledge of cylinder seals. This appears to have been purposefully avoided, probably so as not to prejudice the results because, as stated in several places in the introduction, the principal aim of the chief organizers of the *Répertoire* was the perfection of the method employed in this pilot project. Thus the cylinder seals themselves were of secondary importance. This is obvious throughout the entire work, even in the terminology.

To give an example of erroneous terminology, the verb *écraser*, 'to crush,' is used for the action in which a person places a foot on the neck of a feline, thereby breaking it rather than crushing it, as suggested by the description (p. 24: A. 1); illustration (p. 41: Fig. 1.100). This shows a complete lack of understanding of the action and its implication. Placing the foot on the neck of an enemy is amply documented in Assyro-Babylonian texts relating claims of victory. An example is the statement of the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207 B.C.), who said of his victory over Kashtiliashu IV, "[I] trod with my feet upon his lordly neck as though it were a footstool." (A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, I, Wiesbaden, 1972, p. 108 # 716).

Another example is provided by the "anthropomorphic trees" (Volume 2, p. 279: illustration bottom, left, with reference to 2090 and perhaps also 3069). One of the examples cited, perhaps both, shows not a human tree but a deity whose lower body is formed of streams of water from the sides of which plants grow.

Errors, which stem from a failure to observe precisely are even more serious in the explanatory drawings which were doubtless included to satisfy the modern reader's preference for visual, rather than verbal explanations. For example, in the illustrations to the actions of touching (Volume 2, p. 29, 58) a man kneels before a deity, touching the latter's knee. I do not know of any such representation, and there is no reference to this in the catalogue cards as indicated by the answer to the relevant question 41 in Volume 1, p. 70. I wonder whether the action has been properly observed

on the cylinder on which it must have occurred, which would have been of Old Syrian or Syrian colony style, both of which show small worshipers kneeling on one knee before a deity but never touching that god. In my opinion such an action would be much too intimate within the context of Western Asiatic religiosity.

It is unfortunate that the originals of the little drawings were not always indicated to permit the reader to check their validity. The answer of the organizers will be that these drawings are theoretical, not based on specific seal designs of the catalogue (see Volume 2, p. 6, *s.v.c*). But how legitimate are such theoretical designs? The creation of the imaginary grouping of an Old Babylonian king facing right with a deity standing before him (Volume 2, p. 39 [75]) seems to me to be the equivalent of a falsification, because in Old Babylonian scenes the king faces left and is never shown alone with a deity.

Moreover, the schematic drawings are often simplified to such an extent as to create erroneous images in the memories of students who work conscientiously through the *Répertoire*. Thus, the Mesopotamian nude bearded hero with frontal face, whose characteristic appearance from the Agade period onward includes three pairs of curls, is shown with only two pairs (except in the illustrations of hairdress in the Commentary, Volume 3, p. 153: 13.4). There are no recognizable textual references to the appearance of this hero; nevertheless, the three pairs of curls may have been meaningful since they are so consistently portrayed down to the Old Babylonian period. Another simplification which borders on falsification is the representation of the god in ascending posture, holding a saw and thus characterized as the sun god without the few lines elsewhere used to indicate a beard, the main criterion of differentiation between the sexes in seal designs.

How little the person who made the small explanatory drawings had actually looked at the original cylinder seals is shown by the drawings of the figure with a mace, Volume 3, p. 173: 17.17 and 17.18. The figure holds its "weapon" with the mace-head pointing down. This is entirely logical. To use the mace to strike an enemy, one would need to hold the weapon toward the end of the staff with the top pointing down. However, this is not the way this figure was portrayed in Old Babylonian cylinder seals, where it is ubiquitous, or in some clay plaques where it is quite clearly seen (e.g., one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art). Had the draftsman found it necessary to check with photographs of the figure in cylinder seals, even among the drawings of Volume 2, where the figure is correctly shown, he would have realized that the figure was not holding the mace as a weapon in readiness for battle but as the king's symbol of power, held like an emblem.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> To the west of Mesopotamia, in Syria, the king's mace seems to have been held with the head down as seen on a cylinder in Damascus, H. Kühne, *Das Rollsiegel in Syrien*, Tübingen, 1980, 69, No. 27 and in an impression on a tablet from Meskéné-Emar, pub-

An [505] example of extraordinary sloppiness is provided by the interpretation of a drawing of a man said to be attacking two griffins that flank a sacred tree, Volume 3, p. 8 A.2:a, fig. 0.5 and Nos. 3070-1. Any student with only superficial knowledge of Aegean iconography would have immediately realized that no griffin is ever attacked from the back with a thin weapon, resembling a fencing foil, but that a different meaning is suggested by a frequently reproduced Mycenaean gem from Vaphio with a massive priest apparently holding a griffin on a leash. A check of the card in the fichier, No. 3070-1, shows that the man indeed holds the griffins on two thin leashes, one of which was made to sag a little to emphasize its nature. In a work which has pretensions to scholarly validity neither the draftsman nor the supervisor either glanced at the reproduction of the Vaphio gem on plate III of the original article in *Syria* 32 (1955) on which the cylinder excerpted for the *Répertoire* was reproduced, or read Henri Seyrig's description on the first page of that article, which states "standing personage holding two griffins by leashes." This example indicates that the work was done mindlessly, as on an assembly line, by persons who had neither knowledge nor interest in cylinder seals.

The most reprehensible lack of concern for the integrity of the seal material is shown in the inclusion in the *Répertoire* of cylinders the designs of which were forged and of which the printed warnings concerning indication of falsification were obviously ignored.<sup>12</sup>

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lished by D. Beyer "Notes préliminaires sur les empreintes de sceaux de Meskéné," in J. Cl. Margueron, *Le Moyen Euphrate* (Univ. des sciences humaines de Strasbourg, Travaux du centre de recherche sur le Proche Orient et la Grèce antiques, 5, pl. I, Fig. 6). Perhaps a relation was felt between the king's mace and the weapon of the "smiting" weather-god so ubiquitously represented in that region.

<sup>12</sup> No. 3772 of the catalogue, a seal in Turin, is reproduced in reverse, probably from an old mold. The cylinder was probably badly recut, to judge by the figures' undifferentiated and unevenly proportioned forms as well as the presence of a lionheaded eagle over a scorpion, which is not to be expected in what would be classified as a Late Old Babylonian cylinder on the basis of the genuine-looking divine figure at the left of the reproduced scene and of the inscription.

No. 3777-8-9, also in Turin, has as the most distinctive criterion for forgery a hero in the central pair of figures killing a lion with a spear, not to speak of the unparalleled postures and garments of the figures.

No. 3846-7, published by D. J. Wiseman, *Catalogue of Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum* (London, 1962) pl. 1:d, is described in that catalogue as, "Probably recut, Early Dynastic period, authenticity questioned." The fact that the cylinder was questioned does not seem to have prevented the organizers of the *Répertoire* from including it, although they must have been aware of Wiseman's doubts since they cited the reference to his catalogue. Other examples of forgeries are Nos. 3919-20 and 3939 in the Royal Ontario Museum, in which the impressionistic carving of the figures is typical of forgeries made 80 to 100 years ago, but this was not recognized by T. Meek in *Berytus* 8 (1943-44) from which the cylinder was reproduced. The same style may be represented by the forgeries Nos. 4220 and 4221, Collection Saarisalo, *Stud Or* 12/8 (1947 Op 5), figs. 4-5. No. 3949 from Meek's article in *Berytus* was probably recut. No. 4046 in the Archaeological Museum in Florence, published by L. Delaporte in *Arethuse* 4



Not only must a user of the *Répertoire* recognize forgeries, but the extent of what needs to be known about seals is best illustrated by reviewing the cylinder seals to which the reader would be referred by the “answer” to the first question: “comparanda for confronted personages whose legs cross,” (Question 1, Volume 1, p. 38). The first item, No. 101, cited as corresponding to the requested motif is a sealing from Ras Shamra-Ugarit which shows not figures with crossed legs, but instead one figure placing its foot on that of the confronting figure. The analyst rightly connected the representation with those of figures with crossed legs because in the latter a plant is also held by both figures, as in No. 465 from Levels V-IV from Atchana-Alalakh. Both scenes may have been meant to show figures in a dance. Such scenes differ completely from a cylinder from Atchana-Alalakh, No. 441-2, which is also listed among scenes in which figures cross their legs. Here one man places his foot on that of his opponent but the meaning is that of a contest, perhaps a wrestling bout. The next number, 1495-6 has two confronted bull-men whose legs do not cross at all. The double or triple number on a card was meant to indicate that the representation could be considered as showing several different actions. In No. 2221-2 two men with a plant again have one foot placed on that of the opposite figure, while No. 2902-3-4 is not relevant at all. No. 3128 from the Iranian Talyche has two kneeling figures in the typical posture required by the question. In No. 3780-1, a 506 Syrian cylinder in the former Schmidt Collection in Solothurn, two small figures have their entire bodies crossed, not just their legs. No. 3919-20 is a forgery in which two small figures cross legs in the posture of modern soccer players; a sealing from Kirkuk, No. 4034, is once again a typical Mitannian representation of the desired scheme. No. 4088-9, a cylinder of classical Syrian style, formerly in the Imhof-Blumer Collection, difficult to make out in the reproduction, shows a row of marching men, who cross legs, but this is not a pair of figures, hence this cylinder is again not relevant.

In eleven examples cited by the computer, there are three genuine representations of pairs of figures with crossed legs and one forgery; two representations show closely related pairs of figures and five are not related. This could be expected in view of the fact that the answers were printed as they came out of the computer and were not checked for their validity so as not to give the impression of precision when “in actuality approximation is

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(1927), p. 65, pl. VIII, 31, from which it was reproduced, is a modern pastiche with pseudo-writing; No. 4052, also in Florence, is a modern copy of the Neo-Assyrian cylinder in the Pierpont Morgan Library, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections I* (Washington, 1948) No. 714. No. 1164, Collection E. Grossman in St. Louis, is a forgery in which quasi-alphabetic figures are used.

Finally, No. 4357 is published with a reference to *Corpus I*, 1151 under which I included the cylinder among the forgeries of the Pierpont Morgan Library Collection and referred the reader to the original of the cylinder in J. Menant, *Catalogue ... de la Haye* (The Hague, 1878), No. 25. Therefore, this could scarcely have been an oversight.

the rule in such automatic documentation" (Volume 1, p. 37(b)). Moreover, the differentiation between crossed legs and one leg placed on top of the other in scenes of figures with a tree was probably omitted for the reason cited *ibid* – that the precision of the description stopped at a certain level of refinement. However, such precision is essential for a valid statement concerning ancient Near Eastern iconography. Everything short of precision is not only useless but misleading, and damaging to scholarship instead of contributing to it.

The monumental project which could have greatly furthered iconographical studies of ancient Near Eastern art founders on the insufficient interest of the researchers in the works of art with which they were dealing. Gardin confirms this by stating (Volume 1, p. 32, s.v.2.(a)) "Neither the principal author nor any of the assistants have the sense of mission, strength or desire to continue the project, for example to continue the bibliographical 'diaspora' of cylinder seals after about 1960, where the project stopped, to fill the lacunae of earlier years, or to add to the considerable mass of cylinders published in the catalogues of collections or in excavation reports particularly rich in cylinder seals, which had been purposely omitted from the first edition of the fichier." This means that the undertaking is basically unfinished. The reason given by Gardin is lack of institutional patronage. In my opinion it is the preoccupation with *method per se*, rather than interest in the iconography of the ancient Near East as it can be derived from cylinder seals, which has doomed the project. Had compilers acquainted with ancient Near Eastern history, culture, and art been chosen for the task, interest and commitment might have led them to continue the project even after the completion of its initial stages.

What can be done to make the *Répertoire* in its present state useful to persons not intimately familiar with cylinder seals? I suggest appending a list of at least approximate up-to-date stylistic determinations of every cylinder on a catalogue card. This means indication of approximate date and region so that an uninformed user has some idea from where his parallels come. Perhaps the organizers of the *Répertoire* feel that such uninformed users have no place in scholarship, for their attitude throughout is exclusive, not inclusive. But one can be well informed in one field and not in another, and even if a person is completely uninformed, as is a beginning student, one has to start somewhere!

I would be glad to furnish such a list as soon as I would have the time to do so as a contribution to this project, which was intended as an efficient way of organizing and subsequently disseminating information on cylinder seals. Their number grows with every campaign of excavation in the Near East. At the same time their importance for our knowledge, not only of ancient Near Eastern art but also of culture in general and of political and trade relations with east and west – Afghanistan on the one hand and the Aegean regions on the other – is becoming more commonly recognized.

From a desideratum in 1957, their classification and accessibility has become a necessity in 1982. The *Répertoire*, for which the use of computer techniques is essential, is a valiant beginning in this direction. But even more important than developing mechanical techniques, methods of recording, and “cognitive theories” about them, (all of which change with every generation of machines and scholars), are the creation of a precise pictorial record and the presentation of a detailed verbal description of the cylinder seal. For, in the final analysis, it is the work of art alone which is of lasting value for future generations of scholars.



## Edith Porada as a Teacher

Dominique Collon

I had the great privilege of being one of Edith Porada's students at Columbia University from the Autumn of 1968 to the Summer of 1971. This article is therefore based very much on my personal memories, recorded here as a tribute to Dr Porada.<sup>1</sup>

When I first met her, Dr Porada had been asked to write Volume IV of the catalogue of the British Museum's collection of Second Millennium Cylinder Seals (excluding Old Babylonian seals). I was then working one or two days a week in the British Museum as a volunteer in what was then the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities. I had been asked to identify the earliest seals to have entered the collection – a fascinating project which led to my having to sort the collection into chronological groups so that the seals could more easily be located. This in turn led to my organising these groups according to the most workable catalogue size. Although I learnt a great deal about the seals in this way, there were – inevitably – “problem seals”. This was particularly the case with Dr Porada's Volume IV, and during her brief yearly summer visits to the British Museum, she taught me a huge amount about seals before I ever officially became her student.<sup>2</sup>

Another of the jobs I had been given by the Keeper of the Department, Richard Barnett, was the drawing of all the seal impressions of so-called “Cappadocian Seals”, as an addendum to the sixth and last volume of the series *Cuneiform Texts on Cappadocian Tablets*. Up till then, the British Museum's cuneiform tablets had always been published without drawings of the seals impressed on them, even when these bore the names of witnesses to contracts. Richard Barnett had the wisdom to see that this made no sense, and that tablets and their envelopes should be published together

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<sup>1</sup> Although she became a full professor in 1963, Edith Porada was still called “Dr Porada” by her students. When we obtained our doctorates, she would tell us, “Now you may call me Edith!” – but the transition to first-name terms was very difficult! In this article I have also referred to her as EP.

<sup>2</sup> Volume IV remained unfinished and has become my retirement project. I have completed the main chapters, but the “problem seals” are still waiting to be tackled.

with their impressions. So when he was approached for permission to publish a German translation of the British Museum's tablets from Tell Atchana (the ancient Alalakh, near Antakya in southern Turkey), he agreed on condition that the seal impressions were also published, and I was called upon to draw those impressions too. There were single and multiple impressions of about 20 different seals, including those from the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and two duplicates from Melbourne in Australia. Richard showed my drawings to Dr Porada, who had long experience of drawing seal impressions herself, and she must have approved because she suggested that I come to study the sealings as a student of her's at Columbia University in New York. In order to have the complete corpus, I therefore went to Antakya to record those that were preserved in the Hatay Museum, and the total number of different seals recorded rose dramatically from 20 to 237! Some of the sealings were represented only by tiny fragments, but for the official and royal seals there were many fragments of the same impressions, allowing the more or less complete reconstruction of many of the seal designs of a sequence of governors of Alalakh, of their cousins and overlords – the Kings of Iamhad (Aleppo) and of their functionaries in the Middle Bronze Age. A further group documented the seals of the vassal kings of Alalakh under their Mitannian overlords in the Late Bronze Age.

When I took up my Department Fellowship at Columbia University in New York, I was eager to work on the topic of my thesis and all the sealings I had recently drawn. I therefore decided not to attend Dr Porada's lectures on the general art history of the Near East as I believed that they would largely duplicate the courses I had attended at the Institute of Archaeology in London. This was a mistake because the two courses would have complemented each other. Dr Porada taught the art history of the Ancient Near East in far greater detail than I had learnt in London, and I later discovered that she was very hurt by my decision. In London I had been taught by field archaeologists: Kathleen Kenyon, Max Mallowan and Seton Lloyd, and the latter was also an architect who had shown us how to "read" plans and reconstruct from them the elevation of buildings – something that was a mystery to Dr Porada. Nor was she a field archaeologist.

She was a brilliant art historian with a marvellous eye for detail, and I attended all her seminars in a tiny room in the Pierpont Morgan Library where we were able to handle and examine examples of the wonderful collection of cylinder seals she had catalogued in her *Corpus* (1948). I discovered that she had based her course for the year on Syrian seals in the collection, tying them in with the categories of seals that she and I were both, separately, working on. There were six or seven of us who attended these seminars over the two and a half years I was in New York, and we were assigned topics which, in turn, we had to present to our colleagues. In each case Dr Porada would produce evidence for or against our arguments and we would have animated discussions. She was perfectly happy to revise her

views but we had to argue our cases convincingly. As we became more familiar with the material we were working with, so the arguments and discussions became more lively, enthusiastic and interesting. Sometimes EP would telephone her students late at night or in the early hours of the morning to discuss a point! She looked upon her students as her family: she was a wonderful, caring person, with a tremendous interest in her students as individuals, offering real practical help when needed, as I personally discovered.

Serdar Yalcin, a Turkish graduate student assistant who is writing his doctoral dissertation on seals at Columbia University has, at my request, contributed the following lines:

“During the summer of 2011, I produced an inventory of the archive of Professor Edith Porada, which she accumulated throughout her long career in the Art History and Archaeology Department of Columbia University. This archive, which has now been transferred to the Pierpont Morgan Library, consisted of her books and journals as well as thousands of offprints and some photographs.<sup>3</sup> The greater part included her correspondence with students and colleagues, student papers and examination papers, dissertations that she had sponsored, drafts and study notes of the articles and books that she authored, and her notes for graduate and undergraduate classes that she taught at Columbia for more than three decades. The Edith Porada Archive is the record of a life that was truly dedicated to the study and teaching of ancient Near Eastern cultures. From this mass of books and documents, Professor Porada emerged before my eyes as a hardworking scholar, who constantly updated her scholarship through recent literature (written in different languages such as English, German, French, Italian, Turkish, Greek, Russian and Persian), and transmitted her knowledge generously to her students until the very end of her life. As a young scholar, who did not have the chance to meet Professor Porada in person, I am deeply impressed by her enthusiasm for her field and her fair and continuous guidance of her students even after they started their professional careers. After having looked so closely at various aspects of her scholarship and personality, my respect and admiration for Professor Edith Porada has greatly deepened.”

Dr Porada was aware that her lack of experience in field archaeology deprived her students of important resources. After she became Professor, she therefore established in 1966 the “Columbia University Seminar for the Archaeology of the Eastern Mediterranean, Eastern Europe and the Near East” at which scholars were invited to discuss their research or excavations before an audience including students, faculty members from various

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<sup>3</sup> Professor Porada’s immense slide archive is still kept at the Art History and Archaeology Department of Columbia University.

universities, museum curators and others. As she wrote herself (Porada 1995c, p. 117), “The principal aim of the Seminar was to coordinate the chronologies of the regions involved” – a question that is still hotly debated and remains unresolved, but which, thanks to her Seminars, is now a topic for interdisciplinary discussion! Minutes were taken and circulated. EP edited them for publication in a series entitled “Chronologies in Old World Archaeology: Archaeological Seminar at Columbia University” in the *American Journal of Archaeology* between 1968 and 1988, and in 1992 in the *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* of Columbia University. After almost half a century, these Seminars still continue, chaired by Allan Gilbert – one of EP’s former students and a contemporary of mine at Columbia. He replied to my query about the seminars, adding:

“EP’s high intensity focus and boundless energy were an inspiration; she never seemed to get tired. There is a great deal of work involved in chairing the Columbia Seminar, but I consider it a privilege to keep the tradition going and honoring her memory by making it as active and as successful as I can.”

Dr Porada also obtained funding that enabled her to invite scholars to give public lectures and sometimes a semester’s courses for her students (e.g. Roman Ghirshman on “Problems of Iranian Art” with frequent references to his excavations), or one-off classes (e.g. Vassos Karageorghis on his excavations in Cyprus).

So that her students would have a chance to participate in fieldwork, Dr Porada also obtained funding for excavations at the site of Phlamoudhi in northern Cyprus, which she initiated and directed, with an archaeologist ex-student as field-director. These excavations, from 1970 to 1973, were brought to an abrupt end by the 1974 Turkish invasion and military occupation of Northern Cyprus. Unfortunately, much of the excavations’ records and material were inaccessible as a result, so that EP was unable to see her excavations through to publication. Decades later, however, Joanna Smith, one of her successors at Columbia, organised an exhibition, a conference and a catalogue of EP’s work, and the excavations are now finally being published.<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, publication was one of the means Edith Porada used for transmitting knowledge, and her many articles are still valid, as testified by their republication in the present volumes. She wrote few books, but these have become classics. The first, after her arrival in the United States, was a volume on the seal impressions from the site of Nuzi (Porada 1947a) and the second was a catalogue of the cylinder seals in the Pierpont Morgan Li-

<sup>4</sup> The catalogue is Smith 2005; another publication by Joanna S. Smith (2008) contains essays, by a variety of contributors, about the initial work done on the Phlamoudhi material. A further volume about the excavations at Phlamoudhi Vounari was the doctoral dissertation of Selma Al-Radi, another of EP’s students, that was published in 1983.



brary (Porada 1948a). Indeed, throughout her career she published many articles, and contributions to excavation reports concerning recent glyptic finds; those from Tchoga Zanbil (1970b) and Boeotian Thebes (1981/82) became books in their own right. Her interest in chronology resulted in several studies entitled *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, co-authored with specialists in other areas, and of which updated versions frequently appeared. A further book was *Ancient Iran: The Art of pre-Islamic Times* (Porada 1962b; 1965a).

In the summer, after her visits to the British Museum, Dr Porada would attend the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, and then spend the rest of the summer at Hagengut, her family's home in Austria. Here she would invite friends and colleagues, and hold small Seminars and scholarly discussion groups that alternated with walks in the countryside and long meals where delicious food and wine were served. Edith knew how to make the sharing of knowledge enjoyable!

In 1984 Dr Porada retired as professor and, not surprisingly, she was busier than ever.

With his permission I include the following assessment by Allan S. Gilbert<sup>5</sup> about Edith's importance in his life and, I believe, in all her students' lives:

"She instilled some of the most valuable professional habits and ethics in me, so that I have long decided that my diversion in art history prior to anthropology was worth every minute. This is what I learned under her tutelage:

1. You must be passionate about what you are doing because it is one of the most important qualities (but not the only one) that inspires your work and makes you do it well.

2. Absolute academic honesty is required in thinking, speaking, and writing what you sincerely believe to be accurate and true, or else you are a fraud and untrustworthy.

3. The full effort of your scholarly wits is required all the time; no task should be done half way because colleagues will count on your assessment, and their time should not be wasted."

Edith described the last seminar she taught, in the Autumn of 1993, as "'the very best seminar' of her career" (Pittman 1995, 144). She then left for Honolulu to spend Christmas with her sister Hilde, who lived there. At about that time I learnt, through a friend of Edith's who was passing through London, that she was terminally ill with cancer, but I was not to let her know that I knew. She was due to give a major lecture in New York in

<sup>5</sup> Associate Professor of Anthropology and Associate Director of Middle East Studies at Fordham University at New York. He was a member of the original Columbia University Expedition to Phlamoudhi, lead for four seasons by Edith Porada in the early 1970s.

the spring of 1994 and was determined to return to New York. I was planning to attend, but in the end the lecture was read by John Russell, her successor at Columbia. By that time Edith had admitted to me that she was not well.

I was unsure whether to go to see her, but when a friend said to me: “If you don’t go you’ll regret it!” I booked a round-the-world flight the next day so that I could also attend the marriage of the daughter of friends in Sydney. When I arrived in Honolulu, I rang Hilde and took a taxi to her house in the hills above the town. Later that day, another of Edith’s students, Laurie Sackler, also arrived. We both had excuses for “dropping in”: mine was the wedding in Australia, and Laurie was on her way to China! Edith accepted both these as valid reasons for our visits. Hilde lent me her car and during the next couple of days I drove from my hotel in Honolulu, picked up Laurie from where she was staying, and we spent the day – sometimes together, sometimes separately – with Edith and with Hilde. The latter was ably assisted by the daily visits of hospice nurses who had provided a new bed and other equipment and supervised Edith’s medication, but Hilde had borne the whole responsibility until then and was glad to have others who loved Edith with whom to share her anxiety and grief.

Edith was delighted to see us. She felt she had “unfinished business” in New York, so we spent much time on the telephone to various people, explaining what Edith wanted to be done about her students, the publication of her lecture (Porada 1995a), the effects in her room at Columbia, her tiny apartment, her office at the Morgan Library, and who was to do what. Edith, who was absolutely lucid, listened on another line and intervened when clarification was required. When it came to moving her effects, all were astounded by the weight of paper-work and books, particularly in her apartment and under her bed, and were surprised that the floors and book-cases had supported the weight! The telephone calls exhausted her, she slept a lot, she ate virtually nothing, she was very thin and in some discomfort but she did not seem to be in pain. She did not talk much. As we sat quietly by her bedside, Laurie and I both felt we were attending a final Seminar with Edith.<sup>6</sup>

I spent three days in Honolulu and, as arranged, I went home via the wedding in Australia and I returned to London in time to attend a lecture by Maurits van Loon.<sup>7</sup> Afterwards the hittitologist John David Hawkins invited us back to his nearby flat for a drink. Both knew Edith: indeed Maurits had been her first PhD. I was able to tell them of my Honolulu experience the previous week. David said: “Why don’t you telephone to find out how things are?” So I telephoned, spoke to a nurse who put me through to Hil-

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<sup>6</sup> Laurie Sackler’s youngest daughter is called Edith in memory of our professor.

<sup>7</sup> Maurits van Loon (1923-2006) studied at Columbia University from 1958 until 1964, when he submitted a doctoral dissertation about archaeological findings from Turkey (Loon, 1966).

de. She told me Edith had died a few minutes earlier. So David, Maurits and I spent some time sharing our memories of Edith, we went out and had a meal together and we drank a toast to her memory.

When I obtained my PhD, Edith told a mutual friend: "I never had any children, but when Maurits was examining Dominique's thesis, I felt like a grandmother!" We were, indeed, truly blessed to have been members of her "family" of students.

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## **OST-WEST-TRANSFER**



Edith Porada als Professor emerita nach 1984

Foto aus Centro Veneto studi e ricerche sulle civiltà orientali,  
Premio internazionale "I Cavalli d'oro di San Marco" 1988, 8.

## Seals and Interconnections

Joan Aruz

Edith Porada's penetrating studies of ancient glyptics, extending from the Oxus to the Mediterranean, have created the lens through which we are not only able to view regional artistic differences but also trace paths of interaction that might otherwise remain invisible in other art forms. Both stamp and cylinder seals, the latter being the main focus of her attention, offer many advantages for the study of cultural exchange. These small, durable, and portable objects—markers of cultural identity with distinctive shapes, materials, styles and an enormous corpus of images—were integral to the trade process. For reasons of security, identity, status and adornment, they traveled with their owners and users. Both seals and their impressions were distributed widely in a variety of contexts, and imported seals reflect the movements of peoples—merchants, craftsmen, officials, immigrants and other travelers—as well as, in some cases, the transfer of ideas. The visual manifestation of such stimuli—glimpsed in the adoption or adaptation of foreign stylistic and iconographic elements in the seal corpus—has shed further light on the complexities of exchange and its social, political and economic significance.

### *The Tôd Treasure and Seals Along the Lapis Lazuli Route*

Edith Porada's research across vast geographic boundaries is perhaps best exemplified by her article on the seals found in the four copper-alloy chests bearing the name of Amenemhat II (ca. 1919-1885 B.C.), discovered under the temple of Montu at Tôd in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> They represented, according to an inscription from the temple, "what foreigners and explorers who travel across the lands, had delivered,"<sup>2</sup> The silver vessels from Tôd, of mediocre craftsmanship and folded up for storage or transport, have been the subject

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<sup>1</sup> Porada 1982b.

<sup>2</sup> Aruz 2008a, 388.

of much speculation in regard to their possible origin in Anatolia or the Aegean.<sup>3</sup> What is in no doubt, however, is the Minoan inspiration for the imagery on a steatite seal amulet from the hoard (**Fig. 1**).<sup>4</sup> This unique piece was found along with an extraordinary variety of lapis lazuli stamp and cylinder seals that derive from cultures extending from Syria-Levant, Mesopotamia and Iran to Bactria in western Central Asia (**Fig. 2**), the source for lapis lazuli itself. Porada's astute analysis of this diverse body of material provided the basis for her reconstruction of the possible sequence of historical events that led to the procurement of these works as precious raw materials for the Egyptian court. She first focused attention on the corpus of "Syrian cylinders," including one depicting the typically Anatolian bull-god (**Fig. 3**) but with features that might suggest an attribution to northern Syria, like another with parallels at Ebla. She also recognized the remnants of two outstanding Early Dynastic seals, possibly from Mari, like the lapis lazuli amulets with parallels in shell at the site. This interpretation led Porada to suggest that this material was forcibly removed from temple treasuries at the site, perhaps by a local conqueror from Ebla, before entering the commercial sphere for trade or diplomatic exchange.<sup>5</sup> Excavations at Ebla have revealed enormous quantities of lapis lazuli, found in the administrative quarter of the royal palace, which Frances Pinnock believes, based on textual evidence, may have been transferred from the entrepôt of Mari.<sup>6</sup> The raw lapis blocks were found along with imported Egyptian stone vessels with pharaonic inscriptions, including one of Pepi I naming Hathor, "mistress of the east". James Allen notes that, like other objects from Pepi's reign that were found at Byblos, this may have been a royal gift either presented to his contemporary Ibzi-Zikir, the last king of Ebla, or acquired from Byblos by trade.<sup>7</sup>

While this evidence suggests an overland corridor for the lapis trade to the Levant, and contacts between Egypt and Byblos, Porada addressed the overall complexities involved in the transfer of such a variety of lapis lazuli objects to Tûd, perhaps under many different circumstances and periods of time, over a variety of trade routes. Noting that Bactrian and southeast Iranian seals were rarely found in the Levant, she posited that those in the Tûd Treasure arrived more directly by sea, following routes that had linked these regions already in the predynastic period, when lapis lazuli first appears in the Nile Valley—most notably in the form of a female figurine that she believed to have Iranian features.<sup>8</sup> Porada's analysis of the Iranian

<sup>3</sup> Pierrat-Bonnefois 2008, 66

<sup>4</sup> Aruz 2008a, 66, fig. 25; Aruz 2008b, 87.

<sup>5</sup> Porada 1982b, 287, 291, where she posits that treasure from the temples at Mari may have been looted and brought to Ebla.

<sup>6</sup> Pinnock 1986, 225-227.

<sup>7</sup> Allen 2003, 253.

<sup>8</sup> Porada 1982b, 291; Porada 1980; Collins 2003, 252; Eaton-Krauss 2011, 187-190; see also Teissier 1987.



seals at Tôd set the stage for subsequent studies of unprovenanced examples that provide visual evidence for interaction along the eastern lapis route. In particular, the imagery on a seal in the Jonathan P. Rosen collection, judged to come from eastern Iran, as well as depictions of seated females, evoke features characteristic of the art of Bactria-Margiana (for a further discussion of Iranian seals, see Pittman essay).<sup>9</sup>

*The Theban Seals and the Near East*

Edith Porada's 1982 contribution on the lapis lazuli seals deposited at Tôd during the Middle Bronze Age, and their political implications, was paralleled by a landmark work in the same year, on the subject of well-traveled lapis lazuli seals discovered in a foreign royal context during the Late Bronze Age. I refer to her monumental monograph on the cylinder seals found—along with lapis lazuli and agate beads, unworked lapis cylinders, as well as ivories and Aegean stamp seals—at Mycenaean Thebes.<sup>10</sup> The “treasure” was discovered in a building near the center of the Theban citadel, probably a jewelry workshop that was associated with the palace known as the Kadmeion. Porada's comprehensive study will always have special meaning for those fortunate students, the author among them, who were privileged to participate in a seminar at the Pierpont Morgan Library, which turned out to be a master class in advance of her publication of the Theban seals. Her characteristic generosity in sharing research with us was further rewarded by the inclusion of a number of our observations in the final analysis.

The cylinder seals imported to Thebes can be associated with the large Late Bronze Age territorial states in the Near East: Kassite Babylonia, Mitanni, Assyria and Hittite Anatolia. Along with Alashiya/Cyprus and Egypt during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, they formed an international alliance of great powers, as reflected in the Amarna Letters. The stunning evidence from Thebes, combined with recent interpretations regarding the proposed Mycenaean destination of the Uluburun ship—itsself carrying an assortment of seals, some recarved, and other jewelry workshop materials—suggests that there was also Aegean involvement in this system.<sup>11</sup> This conjecture may also be reinforced, on a more popular level, by the widespread distribution of Syro-Mitannian “common style” glyptic in tombs on the Greek mainland.<sup>12</sup> One distinctive example, contextually dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C., was found in a chamber tomb at Mycenae

<sup>9</sup> Porada 1982b, 289-290; Porada 1988a; see also Amiet 1986, 165-170, 298-300; Potts 1981.

<sup>10</sup> Porada 1981/82.

<sup>11</sup> Pulak 2008, 298-304.

<sup>12</sup> Aruz 2008b, 192-195.

(**Fig. 4**) and, based on parallels published by Claude Schaeffer, appears to have originated in a workshop at Ugarit specializing in seals of vitreous materials.<sup>13</sup> Porada recognized its close relationship with seal impressions at Nuzi, in contrast with other Mitannian-style imports to the Aegean—particularly from the Mycenae acropolis (**Fig. 5**) and the Zapher Papoura cemetery near Knossos. Noting their unusual imagery, apparently not bound by Mitannian conventions, she attributed the latter to a coastal workshop of the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C., possibly at Beth Shan if not Ugarit.<sup>14</sup> Her interesting suggestion that the imagery on these seals was modified to conform to Aegean taste led Beate Salje to question whether such works were in fact not imports but produced in the Aegean—although they share materials and overall imagery with the Mitannian “common style.”<sup>15</sup> While not used for sealing in the Aegean, these mass-produced seals were valued highly enough to be buried with their Greek owners and may have been worn as jewelry in life as well as death. With their exotic appearance, whether imported or even if imitations, they may have been markers of the social status associated with voyages in the eastern Mediterranean.

The impulse to display foreign cylinder seals as jewelry may reflect practices at the most elite levels, as witnessed in the Theban jewelry workshop. Perhaps the most beautifully carved import found in the Theban hoard is a Kassite seal of Kidin-Marduk (**Fig. 6**),<sup>16</sup> an official in the court of Burnaburiash II (ca.1359-1333 B.C.)—a king whose greeting gifts to the Egyptian pharaoh included great quantities of lapis lazuli.<sup>17</sup> It is one of two Kassite seals bearing the imagery of a nature god holding flowing water, whose lower body appears to merge with a landscape of mountains and plants, suggested in one instance by undulating lines to indicate mountain streams and, in the other, roots emerging from a mountain-like garment. Pristine seals such as these examples were found along with others that had been abraded and recut, while local Cypriot cylinders and those demonstrating a mixture of Aegean and Cypriot styles were also part of the group—pointing to the role of Cyprus both in the creation and collection of much of the glyptic assemblage before it traveled to the Greek mainland. The idea of a single collection point is reinforced by recent assessments of the nature of the objects from the Uluburun ship, which indicate a homeport north of the Carmel coast in the Levant, where goods of diverse origins were loaded as cargo or carried as personal effects for the voyage across the Mediterranean.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Wace and Porada 1957, 203, pl. 38b; Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, 166.

<sup>14</sup> Wace and Porada 1957, 201.

<sup>15</sup> Wace and Porada 1957, 202-203; Salje 1997, 260.

<sup>16</sup> Porada 1981/82, 49-50.

<sup>17</sup> Moran 1992, 13, 19, 22 (EA 7, 10, 11), including raw lapis, jewelry but not seals.

<sup>18</sup> Pulak 2008, 299. See also Aruz 2008a, 285, for a discussion of Porada's idea that the lapis lazuli seals that came from Cyprus had been collected at Thebes from the 15<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup>

Porada's stylistic assessment of the Kassite seals at Thebes—their quality, imagery, and the inscriptions to Marduk on two examples—provided the underpinning for her theory regarding their original function and historical circumstances that caused them to travel.<sup>19</sup> She believed they were first deposited, along with the unworked lapis lazuli cylinders, as votive gifts in the Temple of Marduk at Babylon, only to be forcibly removed by the Assyrian conqueror Tukulti Ninurta I during the conquest of Babylon in ca. 1225 B.C. He would then have utilized one mina of this cache—the typical size of a greeting gift—as a means of establishing trading relations with the king of Thebes sometime during the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C., nearly a century after the Uluburun ship went down.

One of the seals that is key for Porada's argument for direct contact between Assyria and Thebes is a third carved Kassite cylinder seal from Thebes, bearing the image of a “master of animals” holding the elegantly rendered horns of flanking ibexes, under the inscription “By the command of Marduk, may the wearer stay in good health” (**Fig. 7**).<sup>20</sup> Unlike the pristine seals with nature gods, the main figure on this piece has a poorly defined head and an unusually elongated torso, which is out of proportion with and barely connected to his lower body—recognizable signs of re-cutting. In order to support her argument, Porada suggested that this reworking occurred on the Greek mainland, although the result is difficult to relate to Mycenaean seal carving, with its emphasis on wasp waists and capturing the body's natural curves, even in the most abstract renderings. Whether slightly reworked or perhaps derivative from another scene of a nature divinity, which might better explain the bulbous and segmented form of the torso,<sup>21</sup> the idea that this seal alone—among the Theban corpus—was recut upon arrival at Thebes, remains controversial. It may challenge the notion that the Kassite seals came separately to Greece as a gift from the Assyrian ruler, although admittedly providing a plausible explanation for the removal of such significant seals from Babylon.

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centuries, which is of course possible but, based on the rarity of lapis lazuli in the Aegean, seems unlikely.

<sup>19</sup> Porada 1981/82, 68-70.

<sup>20</sup> Porada 1981/82, 51-53.

<sup>21</sup> Aruz 2008a, 282.

*Middle Assyrian Seals and the West*

There can be no doubt, however, that the extent of Tukulti-Ninurta's westward reach is reflected in the glyptic record. A seal found at Tyre was dated by Porada to his reign and judged to be an import from a provincial Assyrian town rather than a local product.<sup>22</sup> Her view is supported by the work of Dominique Collon on a seal from Tell Mohammed Arab.<sup>23</sup> Tally Ornan, however, has focused attention, not on the typically Middle Assyrian aspects of the imagery on the Tyre cylinder, but rather its unusual features and comparisons with an heirloom discovered in Beer-Sheba. She has suggested that the long-haired divinity with a lightning bolt on the Tyre seal was inspired by North Syrian or Hittite renderings of the storm-god.<sup>24</sup> Another Middle Assyrian style seal studied by Porada, presumably from Nineveh (**Fig. 8**), depicts a ruler seated before a table, on which is a Hittite-type stag head and an Anatolian dagger protruding from its mouth—pointing further to the international dimension of Middle Assyrian glyptic.<sup>25</sup> Ornan also highlights one lapis lazuli cylinder in the Theban hoard with a goddess mounted on a lion and a kneeling hero flanked by lion demons, which also may exhibit a combination of Assyrian, Syrian and Hittite features (**Fig. 9**).<sup>26</sup> Porada believed that, along with another Assyrian-style seal from the hoard, this work could have been produced in Carchemish—a northwest Syrian site on the route from Mesopotamia to the easternmost Mediterranean shore and Cyprus.<sup>27</sup>

*The Theban Seals And Cyprus*

The island of Cyprus is the one region that was certainly involved in the collection and re-carving, as well as the creation, of the lapis lazuli seals that travelled to the Theban palace workshop. Among the most fascinating of the recarved seals was one that must have originally belonged to an Old Babylonian official. It depicts a presentation scene, with the procession of a bald headed male, followed by a suppliant goddess, toward an enthroned divinity. A Cypriot craftsman transformed the image by adding vertical wings to the male figure, exaggerated features to others, as well as a typically Cypriot scene of a winged figure holding two horned animals

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<sup>22</sup> Porada 1978a, 78

<sup>23</sup> Collon 1988, 74-76.

<sup>24</sup> Ornan 2005, 34.

<sup>25</sup> Porada 1986b.

<sup>26</sup> Ornan 2005, 36

<sup>27</sup> Porada 1981/82, 43.

upside-down and an array of reworked and new devices in the field (**Fig. 10**).<sup>28</sup>

Among the seals apparently created on Cyprus and included in the Theban hoard are two that attracted the special interest of Edith Porada, because they demonstrate the ways in which Aegean stylistic elements were integral to the formation of the Cypriot figural style. One, which she studied in depth, is judged to be datable to perhaps the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C., based on the Minoan prototypes for a number of its elements (**Fig. 11**).<sup>29</sup> These include facial features and the appearance of a double-axe held by a lion-headed figure that Jennifer Webb notes, in her discussion of ritual iconography on Cypriot seals, may be related to the Minoan Genius.<sup>30</sup> This seal is therefore highly significant as the prelude to the creation of perhaps the finest of Cypriot glyptic styles, labeled “Elaborate” and sharing similar imagery: animal-headed demons and horned divinities in blouse-like upper garments and distinctively patterned skirts, acting as controllers of animals, shown dangling lions and other wild creatures between them. Elaborate Style glyptic of the 14<sup>th</sup> century B.C. also integrates other features that set it apart, such as the sinuously curving bodies of bull-headed creatures, imparting movement to their bodies in a manner evocative of Aegean works—with one spectacular hybrid published by John Boardman as “Cypro-Minoan” (**Fig. 12**).<sup>31</sup> Webb believes that the production of Elaborate class of Cypriot seals, with their rare materials, obviously specialized workmanship and complex divine iconography, was strictly controlled with a restricted distribution to high-level elites, “legitimizing their claim to divinely sanctioned authority and promoting a privileged relationship to the supernatural realm.”<sup>32</sup> Collon has observed that these finely worked cylinder seals may in fact have belonged to merchants, since many of them were found at the emporium of Ugarit.<sup>33</sup> The “Theban seal with Minoan elements” discussed above (see **Fig. 11**), is also distinctive because it preserves in its string-hole the remains of a gold tube, which in the Aegean world was used for the attachment of gold caps.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps this addition occurred in the Theban workshop, where cylinder seals and beads found there may have been fitted for display as parts of jewelry ensembles,

<sup>28</sup> Porada 1981/82, 14-16.

<sup>29</sup> Porada 1979c; Porada 1981/82, 9-12.

<sup>30</sup> Webb 1999, 271.

<sup>31</sup> Porada 1973d, 260-264 commenting on the seal published by Boardman 1970, 64-65, 106, pl. 206; Webb 1999, 270, makes the point that bull men on Elaborate and Derivative style seals must be distinguished from the Minoan minotaur and Near Eastern bull demons.

<sup>32</sup> Webb 2002, 136-137; Crewe 2007, 28.

<sup>33</sup> Collon 1987, 73, ill. 317; for another Levantine example from Lachish, see Beck 1983, Beck 2004, 1530-1532.

<sup>34</sup> Porada 1979c, 111-112, 115 fig. 2, pl. xiii, 2. See also discussion of gold caps in Aruz 2008b, 96-97, fig. 207.

a fashion expressed by the necklace of Aegean-style cylinder seals discovered at the site of Kasarma in the Argolid.<sup>35</sup>

The second seal that Porada singled out (**Fig. 13**) is very different in style from those of the Cypriot Elaborate group. Rather, she associated it with a seal engraving in the Yale Babylonian Collection (**Fig. 14**) and a more derivative example now in the Rosen collection.<sup>36</sup> Together they provide perhaps the most crucial evidence for the understanding of the intercultural styles that emerged during the Late Bronze Age. The Yale seal, while made of hematite rather than the more precious lapis lazuli, is a masterpiece that seamlessly melds Aegean, Cypriot and Levantine ingredients so that they become inseparable. It is reported to have come from Latakia,<sup>37</sup> the modern town near Ugarit and its international port of Minet el Beidha. While the form of its Cypro-Minoan signs relate most closely to inscriptions from Ugarit,<sup>38</sup> certain stylistic elements are paralleled on glyptic from Enkomi, complicating the attribution to either a mainland or an island workshop.<sup>39</sup> In discussing these seals, Porada commented on “the exquisite delicacy of the engraving and the use of minute drillings for the details of the design (which) evoke images of a goldsmith’s work” and the “grace of the animal figures that twist and turn in a manner that transcends natural postures.”<sup>40</sup> The central theme is an animal combat with two lions attacking a stag, and every aspect of its composition and the rendering of the primary figures and those that fill the field demonstrate a subtle blend of Mediterranean elements.<sup>41</sup>

As for the rendering of the imagery on the Theban seal (**Fig. 13**), Porada attributed more to the Mycenaean world than to Cyprus, the source only for the man’s costume and the signs in the field. She concluded, however, that “despite the paucity of truly Cypriot elements, the cylinder was certainly carved for someone in Cyprus, and the two victories portrayed may have had a specific meaning for the seal owner.”<sup>42</sup> Here two main scenes fill the full height of the cylinder: a man stabbing a lion, and a griffin attacking a stag from behind and it is only when this work is compared with Aegean seal carvings, that the stylistic differences become apparent. The most significant comparison may be with the single Aegean cylinder in the Theban hoard, which, like many of the beads and Aegean stamp seals in the

<sup>35</sup> Pappi 2008, 402-403.

<sup>36</sup> Porada 1981/82, 22-23; Porada 1986d, 296-297, fig. XIX:3; for a more recent discussions of these seals, see Aruz 2008b, 215-219.

<sup>37</sup> Buchanan 1968.

<sup>38</sup> Olivier 2007, 409, no. 217, 416.

<sup>39</sup> Aruz 2008b, figs. 407, 408, 425.

<sup>40</sup> Porada 1981/82, 22; Porada 1992c, 362.

<sup>41</sup> Aruz 2008a, 399-400.

<sup>42</sup> Porada 1981/82, 23.

palace workshop, was made of banded agate (**Fig. 15**).<sup>43</sup> It also has two distinct motifs: a hero dominating lions and a griffin attacking a stag from behind. The animal-attack scenes encapsulate the differences between the dynamic Aegean style, posture, and composition, and the more stilted version on the “intercultural style” cylinder created in the Yale master’s workshop. Porada’s careful attention to the ways in which seal carvers portray movement led her to note that the man attacking a lion on the lapis lazuli seal has one foot placed slightly higher than the other, a concession to Aegean posture that destroys “the immutable solidity of the Western Asiatic figures.”<sup>44</sup> Otherwise, the man’s entire body exhibits a static quality that, in fact, contrasts with an Aegean style, and the rendering of the lion as well mixes elements of eastern and Aegean derivation.

### *Cyprus and the Creation of Intercultural Style Seals*

Seals that exhibit such a subtle integration of Aegean and oriental styles, syntax and iconography demonstrate a close cultural interaction that goes beyond the mere adoption of exotic motifs. Found not only on Cyprus but also on Crete, the Greek mainland and possibly in the Levant, they may have been produced for an international clientele by carvers who were themselves of mixed heritage, familiar with both traditions and possibly dispersed to foreign lands in the wake of the Minoan collapse. These cylinders, usually made of hematite with lines marking their upper and lower borders, perhaps designated for gold caps, have been categorized by terms such as “Levanto-Minoan,” “Cypro-Minoan,” or “Cypro-Aegean” and scholars have been divided regarding which seals with mixed imagery belong in this very diverse group and how to classify them.<sup>45</sup> It is of special interest that these cylinders were found mainly in the Aegean and on Cyprus, where cylinder seals were not generally used for administrative purposes.<sup>46</sup> One of Porada’s greatest contributions to the study of this material was her insightful work on the origins and development of Cypriot seals themselves. Her keen observations regarding contacts across the Mediterranean evolved, in large part, from her early definitions of the groups of Cypriot seal styles in a seminal article published in 1948. This early work still guides specialists, among them Webb, who has further interpreted the significance of the “elaborate,” derivative,” and “common” styles, based on their imagery, materials, and the technical skill

<sup>43</sup> Aruz 2008a, 286-287; Aruz 2008b, 199-201; for the beads, see Aravantinos 2008, 280-281; for the Aegean agate stamp seals, see Pini et al. 1975, nos. 672, 674.

<sup>44</sup> Porada 1981/82, 22.

<sup>45</sup> Perhaps the most comprehensive attempt at classification, although sometimes dividing seals from a single workshop, was by Pini 1980; see also Aruz 2008b, 202-222.

<sup>46</sup> Webb 2002, 126-128.

demonstrated in their carving.<sup>47</sup> The identification of specific workshops came next, among them the “common style” group depicting men, ingots, palm trees, and fragmented animals. A cylinder seal of this type was found at Hala Sultan Tekke (**Fig. 16**),<sup>48</sup> along with one of the most interesting seals from Cyprus, published by Porada, which appears to defy classification. It is engraved with a very fluid rendering of an axe-wielding hero who seems to be threatening a rather docile griffin, the bent profile of its wings slightly reminiscent of Aegean creatures (**Fig. 17**). The central plant, guilloches above and Cypro-Minoan signs in the field allude to Near Eastern composition, signaling perhaps a work of mixed derivation.<sup>49</sup>

Our view of Aegean artistic stimuli on the island is further illuminated by the “Melissa group,” named after a seal discovered by Porada during her excavations at the site of Melissa near Phlamoudhi (**Fig. 18**). Characterized by a style with a “smooth plain surface of the (animal) body and the pattern of sharp lines with which details are indicated,” she noted Aegean parallels for both these and other elements of style and postures such as the lion with frontal head and foreground hind leg kicked forward as he attacks a bull.<sup>50</sup>

Porada recognized that Cypriot seal styles themselves were inherently derivative, already incorporating a confluence of stimuli from their inception during the Middle Bronze Age, under the influence of Syrian glyptic, to their development in the Late Bronze Age, where Aegean imagery and stylistic elements are embedded into a Near Eastern framework.<sup>51</sup> By isolating details such as the exaggerated curving lines that produce torsion in the bull creatures on the finest examples of the Cypriot Elaborate Style, as mentioned above, and the position of a lion’s rear legs, Porada offered a window into the world of the seal carver, capturing one’s natural instincts and adaptations to new environments.

Edith Porada’s pioneering work has inspired many scholars to use seals as a means of delving into the intricacies of interaction, the sharing of ideas and the adoption of stylistic innovations in various circumstances. Just to mention a few instances that stand at the beginning of such trends, Collon’s study of the “Aleppo Group” has focused attention on the prelude to the creation of intercultural styles and this author has further interpreted the bull leaping scenes of Syrian seals and an extraordinary procession scene in Vienna with close parallels to depictions on a Thera wall painting (**Figs. 19, 20**).<sup>52</sup> As for later periods, Michelle Marcus has enhanced our understanding of the value of glyptic imports and adaptations for marking

<sup>47</sup> Webb 2002, 117-126.

<sup>48</sup> Porada 1976d, 101-102, no. 3; see also Webb 1999, 276, Keel-Leu and Teissier 2004, 325-328.

<sup>49</sup> Porada 1976d, 100-101, no. 1; Olivier 2007, 275, no. 201.

<sup>50</sup> Porada 1986d, 294-297, pl. XX, 1; see also, Aruz 2008b, 219-222.

<sup>51</sup> Porada 1992c, 360-362; Porada 1973d, 271-272.

<sup>52</sup> Collon 1982; see also Aruz 2008b, 139-143.



and maintaining social differentiation at the site of Hasanlu during the Assyrian Empire.<sup>53</sup> Margaret Cool Root's studies of Persian seals have illuminated the relationship of patron, program and artisan during the Achaemenid empire—a time that Greek craftsmen were employed in the court of Darius. Perhaps the desire to impart messages of power, prestige, and all-inclusiveness stimulated the creation of intercultural—Graeco-Persian—style seals at this time. One must also consider the choice made by one of the Persian king's closest courtiers for the imagery on his seal: an animal combat scene of Aegean derivation.<sup>54</sup>

For Edith Porada and those honored to have had her as a mentor, seals are a constant and continuing subject of conversation, as she aptly titled one of her many engaging articles, in the festschrift dedicated to Machteld Mellink.<sup>55</sup> In characteristic manner, after a thorough analysis of the unusual seal with a stag's head placed before the Assyrian ruler (**Fig. 8**), mentioned above, she asked for the “disciplined imagination and the wisdom of her close colleague,” whose expertise in Anatolian archaeology is renowned. When honoring Maurits van Loon, she dissected and interpreted the imagery on an ostensibly Mitannian “cylinder seal with problems” in the Rosen collection, depicting a mounted storm god holding two lightning rods before a Persian Gulf-type bull-headed snake; she then challenged him to “find the answers” to explain its unusual features.<sup>56</sup> With such an approach, not only did Edith Porada set the standards for the study of cylinder seals, so brilliantly presented in one of her earliest works—the volume on the Pierpont Morgan Collection—but also created an atmosphere in which generations of seal specialists were trained to look carefully at some of the smallest and yet most complex works of ancient Near Eastern art, intimately connected to individuals and yet indispensable for widespread exchange—and to elicit so much about the larger world in which they were created and circulated.

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<sup>53</sup> Marcus 1996, 77-78.

<sup>54</sup> Aruz 2008b, 237-238.

<sup>55</sup> Porada 1986b.

<sup>56</sup> Porada 1992d, 234.

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## Mycenae 1939–1956, 1957 Part II. A Faience Cylinder

*Alan John Bayard Wace, The Context*

In 1939 we cleared away the prickly oak scrub and excavated the rock ledge below the north temple terrace on the north summit of the acropolis of Mycenae.<sup>1</sup> Here we found on the edge of the steep rock remains of a wall of largish blocks of limestone. These we believe to have been part of a Middle Helladic fortification wall running round the upper part of the acropolis<sup>2</sup> behind this and held up by the wall were the ruins of two rooms and a thick deposit of M. H. pottery. Over this lay another stratum in which L. H. IIIB pottery was found. Here we found the splendid ivory group of two women and a boy which has already been published.<sup>3</sup> Associated with it were a number of other objects, a male head in painted stucco,<sup>4</sup> a sword pommel in white stone, some ornaments of gold and ivory, a number of beads of stone, paste, and faience including a lantern bead, and a cylinder of faience. The pottery, as stated, was of the L. H. IIIB style, but it was unfortunately lost in the Nauplia Museum during the war.

This collection of precious objects we suggested might have belonged to the Shrine of the Palace, which we believe can be recognized in a small room<sup>5</sup> with

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<sup>1</sup> In the excavation notebooks and on the labels this area was known as 'Prinaria' from the oak scrub. The excavation was conducted by Mr. F. H. Stubbings.

<sup>2</sup> *BSA* xlix. 248 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Wace, *Mycenae* 83 ff., pls. 101–3. Professor Mylonas, *Ancient Mycenae*, thinks the ivory group 'was prepared to be deposited in a grave', a theory for which there is no evidence.

<sup>4</sup> Wace, *op. cit.* pl. 104 b.

<sup>5</sup> Numbered 16 in Dr. Holland's plan, Wace, *op. cit.* pl. 4. Professor Mylonas, *op. cit.* 62 ff., is unwilling to accept this as a shrine. He minimizes the fact that the Archaic and Hellenistic temples later built on the ruins had a north-south orientation, most unusual for Greek temples, but which is nevertheless the orientation of the 'Shrine'. He offers no explanation for the unusual orientation of the Archaic temple, but believes that the builders of the Hellenistic temple preferred to orient it from north to south on 'easily handled debris' rather

a cement floor underlying the western foundations of the temples built here in classical times over part of the ruins of the Mycenaean Palace.

The faience cylinder is of special interest, since it is obviously an import and may therefore provide independent evidence for dating the collection, which may be listed roughly as follows:

- 39-168. Ornamental inlays in bone and ivory, but mostly in bone:  
 Lily flowers, bone, two, H. 0.045 m. (Fig. 1 *a.*)  
 Lily flowers, bone, three, H. about 0.034 m. (Fig. 1 *b.*)  
 Snail shell, bone, L. 0.024 m. (Fig. 1 *d.*)  
 Disk, pierced, bone, Di. 0.01 m.  
 Disk, pierced, broken, bone, black, Di. 0.01 m.  
 Strips, curvilinear, bone, two, L. about 0.05 m. (Fig. 1 *c.*)  
 Strips, rectangular in section, bone, nine fragments, longest L. 0.05 m.  
 39-169. Ivory, broken fragments, several, longest L. 0.065 m.  
 39-170. Faience, cylinder, pierced along longitudinal axis. Rather rubbed and glaze partly worn off. L. 0.027 m., Di. 0.01 m.  
 Soft white paste covered with yellowish blue-green glaze rather rubbed off. It shows in intaglio a long-legged bird, a man in a long cloak, a tree, another cloaked man, another tree, and another cloaked man in this order from left to right. (PLATES 37 *a, b*, 38 *a.*)  
 39-171. Dagger pommel, white stone, base pierced for attachment by a pin, Di. 0.075 m., H. 0.04 m.  
 39-172. Pounder, green stone, L. 0.055 m., W. 0.035 m.  
 39-173. Glass, several fragments of ornaments of glass now too much decayed to identify.  
 39-173 *a.* Button, steatite, H. 0.008 m.  
 39-174. Pendant, gold, pomegranate bud shape, L. 0.015 m. The globe and the petals seem to be in one piece. The suspension ring at the base and the centre among the petals [198]

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than on hard rock. The Hellenistic foundations follow the lines of the Archaic temple and lie only a few centimetres above the cement floor of the 'Shrine'.

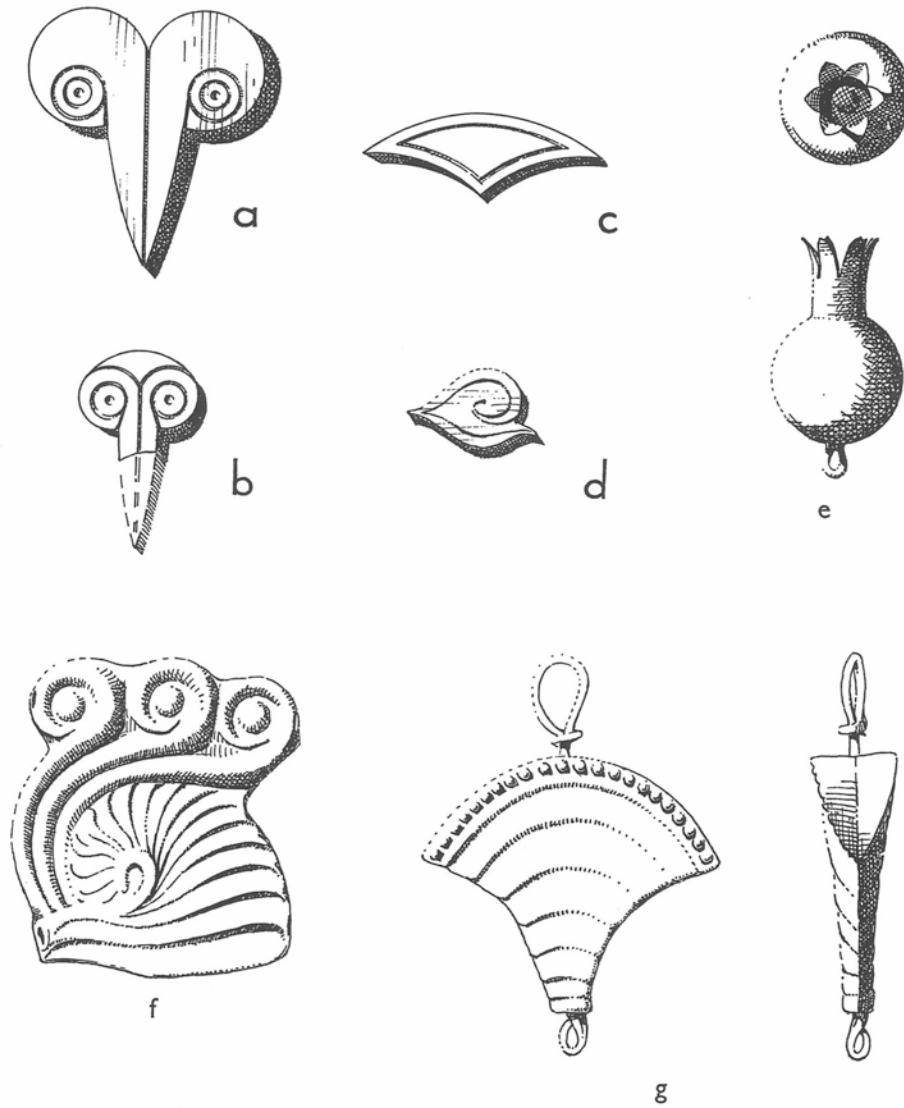


FIG. 1. *a, b*: LILY FLOWERS (1 : 1). *c*: CURVILINEAR BONE STRIP (1 : 1). *d*: BONE SNAILSHELL (1 : 1). *e*: GOLD POMEGRANATE-BUD PENDANT (3 : 1). *f*: GOLD ARGONAUT ORNAMENT (3 : 1). *g*: GOLD ORNAMENT (2 : 1)

- [199] may belong together and have been inserted in one piece through the globe. (PLATE 37 *d*, Fig. 1 *e*.)
- 39-175. Argonaut ornament, gold, single, for a necklace, pierced for threading, back plain, L. 0.015 m., W. 0.015 m. (PLATE 37 *e*, Fig. 1 *f*)
- 39-176. Beads, paste, melon shape, grooved, thirteen (of which eight are yellow and five blue), L. 0.015 m., W. 0.05 m.  
 Beads, paste, globular, blue, three, black, two, grey, one, Di. 0.006 m.  
 Beads, paste, disk shape, grey, eight, Di. 0.006 m.
- 39-177. Beads, stone:  
 Pink stone, globular, one, Di. 0.01 m.  
 Carnelian, globular, five, Di. 0.007 m.  
 Carnelian, spheroid, two, Di. 0.008 m. and 0.006 m.  
 Carnelian, spheroid, one, Di. 0.01 m.
- 39-178. Beads, paste, carinated with vertical grooves, yellow, twenty-three, Di. 0.007 m.  
 Beads, paste, similar to preceding, yellow, two, Di. 0.017 m.  
 Beads, paste, spheroid, yellow, two, Di. 0.008 m.  
 Bead, faience, spheroid with vertical grooves, greenish, one, L. 0.01 m.  
 Bead, faience, cylindrical with vertical grooves, greenish, one, L. 0.01 m.  
 Beads, faience, spheroid with vertical grooves, yellowish, two, Di. 0.009 m.  
 Bead, faience, spheroid with vertical grooves, grey, one, Di. 0.007 m.  
 Beads, faience, carinated with vertical grooves, yellowish, three, Di. 0.007 m.  
 Bead, faience, lantern type, yellowish, one, Di. 0.017 m.
- 39-456. Ornament, curvilinear triangle or shell, gold, front and back alike, join in the middle of the base. A gold wire runs through it from top to bottom and has a loop for suspension at each end. The ornament suggests a bivalve shell. There is a row of small granulations set along the edge of the base. L. 0.033 m., W. 0.025 m. (PLATE 37 *C*, Fig. 1 *g*.)

A study of these objects suggests the following explanation for them. The lily-shaped bone and ivory inlays look as if they had been intended for insertion as ornaments in some wooden object. It is possible that they once decorated a small wooden box for trinkets or jewellery. Evans illustrates such a box from the tomb of the Tripod Hearth at Knossos.<sup>6</sup> This box we may then imagine to have contained a small collection of jewellery, a necklace with the argonaut ornaments, another necklace with the curvilinear triangle or shell ornaments, the pomegranate pendant, and two or three strings of beads of faience, stone, and paste. Such objects might well have formed part of the treasures of a shrine. Looters would have broken open the box which contained the treasures and carried off the objects of precious metal except for one or two small pieces which escaped them. They would not have been interested in the faience, stone, or paste beads.

The same deposit also yielded a number of fragments of painted stucco altars or tables of offering of the well-known Mycenaean type.<sup>7</sup> These strengthen the suggestion that the deposit may have belonged to a shrine and so

<sup>6</sup> *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos* 44, fig. 40.

<sup>7</sup> Wace, *op. cit.* pl. 100.



perhaps to the room which we identified as a ‘Shrine’<sup>8</sup> of the Palace and may have fallen or been thrown over the edge of the terrace when the building was looted, destroyed, and burnt.

In this same deposit were found portions of thirteen female terracotta figurines.<sup>9</sup> Of these, two are almost complete and are good examples of the Psi type with hollow stem and polos. They have elaborate painted detail as is usual. There are also three fragments of bodies and hollow stems probably from the Psi type and one of columnar stem and six fragments of heads with polos. The most interesting, however, is the upper body of a large figurine of the Psi type. The width of the body across the arms is 0.11m. It is of buff clay, fired rather soft and the paint is much worn. The breasts are applied lumps of clay and the decoration is unusual. This is somewhat similar to the example from Phylakopi<sup>10</sup> Athens, National Museum No. 5850.

Necklaces with a double or a single argonaut ornament are not rare among Mycenaean jewellery.<sup>11</sup> The shell-like curvilinear ornament is well known.<sup>12</sup> The pomegranate bud ornament is not uncommon in the Mycenaean repertory of designs.<sup>13</sup> The most striking is the lantern bead of faience. Beads of this type are fairly common, but seem to be restricted mainly to one period, the Amarna Period.<sup>14</sup> They occur in Egypt and Syria as well as in Greece, and it is possible that the type originated in Syria or in its neighbourhood somewhere in the Levant, for it is best known at sites like Ras Shamra. The presence of a lantern bead among these objects would then thus date them roughly to the Amarna Period. If, therefore, we date the whole collection about the close of the fourteenth century B.C. after the beginning of the L. H. IIIB style, we shall

<sup>8</sup> Wace, *op. cit.* 82. As remarked above, Professor Mylonas (*op. cit.* 61 f.) does not think this was a shrine, but a store-room.

<sup>9</sup> I owe this note on the figurines to Miss Elizabeth Wace.

<sup>10</sup> *Phylakopi* 202, pl. xxxix. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs* 58, figs. 60, 110, and *Tomb of Double Axes* 45, fig. 59; *BSA* xxv. 365, fig. 79 a. It is frequent in glass, e.g. *BSA* xxv. 383, fig. 89 a; Blegen, *Prosymna* figs. 305, 379.

<sup>12</sup> Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs* 76, figs. 85, 110; Vollgraff, *BCH* 1904, 383, fig. 15. It is frequent in glass, e.g. *BSA* xxv. 383, fig. 89 j. The mould from Mycenae (Schliemann, *Mycenae* 107, fig. 162) was probably for casting examples in glass or paste.

<sup>13</sup> Wace, *Chamber Tombs* 87 (75), 195, pl. xxxviii; an example in gold from Tomb 518.

<sup>14</sup> There is an example in gold from Mycenae from Tomb 2, Tsountas, *EA* 1888, 137, which is No. 2307 in the National Museum, Athens. There is a faience example from Mycenae from Tomb 526, see Wace, *op. cit.* 94, 7 g, where other examples are quoted; see also *ibid.* 205. The gold specimens from the Argive Heraeum (Blegen, *op. cit.* 271, fig. 541), which are not later than L. H. I, are of a different type.

probably be not far wrong. Such a date, as will be seen, does not disagree with Miss Porada's opinion about the faience cylinder which follows.

*Edith Porada, The Faience Cylinder*

This cylinder, as far as the poor preservation permits us to judge, shows three figures separated by two tree designs, advancing toward a bird. As noted by Professor Wace, the cylinder resembles western Asiatic examples of the style called Hurrian or Mitannian, with the latter term favoured by this writer.<sup>15</sup> Characteristic of this style is the frequent use of faience and the predominance of cup-shaped depressions which create in the seal impression an effect of globular forms by which features such as caps, shoulders, and minor details of design are marked.

The most extensive material of Mitannian glyptic designs was discovered in seal impressions on the clay tablets of Nuzi near modern Kirkuk in northern Iraq.<sup>16</sup> Another large number of tablets with impressions as well as cylinders of Mitannian style were found at Atchana-Alalakh.<sup>17</sup> The date of the Nuzi material can be set between 1500 and 1350 B.C.<sup>18</sup> At Alalakh the latest cylinders of Mitannian style were found in Level I, dated by Sir Leonard Woolley 1273-1194 B.C.<sup>19</sup> Some cylinders from Alalakh so closely correspond to the style of certain seal impressions from Nuzi that one may assume the origin of the cylinders in a common workshop, perhaps located at Alalakh.<sup>20</sup> The greatest number of cylinder seals (as distinct from seal impressions) of what we call

<sup>15</sup> Cf. 'Seal Impressions of Nuzi', *AASOR* xxiv (1947) II (henceforth abbreviated as *Nuzi*).

<sup>16</sup> For the bulk of seal impressions from Nuzi cf. *Nuzi* and also E. R. Lacheman, *Miscellaneous Texts from Nuzi* ii, *Harvard Semitic Series* xiv (1950) pls. 3-7 and 110-18. For cylinder seals excavated at that site cf. R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi* (1939) pls. 118 D, E, G, H, 119 A-H. For seal impressions on tablets said to have come from Kirkuk itself cf. G. Contenau, *Babyloniaca* ix (1926) 69-151, figs. 88-113 and 115-31.

<sup>17</sup> Woolley, *Alalakh* (1955) pls. ix-lxvii *passim*.

<sup>18</sup> The inception of the four to five generations observable in the tablets of Nuzi may be set about 1500 B.C. on the basis of the occurrence of the name of King Barratarna (or Shurratarna) of Mitanni on one of the tablets (cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *BASOR* xciii (1944) 16) dated by W. F. Albright and Sidney Smith in the early fifteenth century (cf. *BASOR*, *ibid.* n. 1). B. Landsberger places Saushatar, Barratarna's successor, about 1480-1455 (*JCS* viii (1954) 54).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Woolley, *op. cit.* 399.

<sup>20</sup> e.g. Woolley, *op. cit.*, nos. 21, 52, 54, 55, 102, and 104 belong to the closely related *Nuzi* Groups xi (nos. 467-91) and xii (especially nos. 497-508). *Alalakh* nos. 25-27 correspond to *Nuzi* nos. 35-37, of which only one example of an original cylinder was published from Nuzi itself (cf. Starr, *Nuzi* pl. 119 c).

Mitannian style were found in Ras Shamra, according to C. F. A. Schaeffer.<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately these cylinders cannot be used for comparison here because they are not yet published. Lastly, an important though somewhat peripheral place was Beisan in Palestine, [201] where among a large number of other Mitannian cylinders one type occurs so consistently that it seems to have been made there.<sup>22</sup> None of the well-defined groups from Nuzi, Alalakh, or even Beisan, however, include designs of the specific style in which this cylinder from Mycenae was made. This is distinguished by several features: the rendering of the head by a small globe from which a short oblique line descends to the shoulder; the robe which appears to be longer in front; the tree in the shape of a bouquet<sup>23</sup> with a disproportionately large central drilling and two descending branches below the middle; lastly the motif of a procession toward a bird.

The rendering of the head looks like a simplification of the manner found on a cylinder excavated by Professor Wace in one of the Mycenaean chamber tombs (Tomb 517, **PLATE 38 b**).<sup>24</sup> A small drilling indicates the cranium, from which mounts a curving line, perhaps meant to indicate a horn in the manner of the headgear of some deities pictured on other Mitannian cylinders.<sup>25</sup> An

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Stratigraphie comparée* (1948) 409.

<sup>22</sup> The cylinders from Beisan were published with good photographs and reliable data by Miss Barbara Parker in her article 'Cylinder Seals from Palestine', *Iraq* xi (1949) 1-43, pls. i-xxvii (hereafter *Iraq* xi), to which references to cylinders from Beisan will be directed rather than to the often misleading drawings in A. Rowe, *Four Canaanite Temples of Beth Shan* (1940), pls. xxxvii-xl.

Of fifty-six cylinders of Mitannian style found at Beisan the following can be assigned to Group ii of the Nuzi imprints, *Iraq* xi. 35, 37, 39, 41-44, 46, 50, 53, 56, 60-65, 69-70, 71-73, 76, 82, 87, 88, 115. To these could be added a number for which there were no parallels among the impressions of Group ii of Nuzi. With the exception of *Iraq* xi, no. 35 and perhaps nos. 37 and 88 (the latter badly preserved) which have the precise and clean carving noted in the cylinders *Alalakh* nos. 25-27 (see n. 20), the cylinders from Beisan here listed all have simple, large, and rather sloppily cut (or moulded) designs, in which there may be noted a preference for rows of animals or fish and for vertical and sometimes horizontal panels filled with various patterns, usually a star impaled on a vertical axis (e.g. *Iraq* xi, nos. 43, 44). This entire group of seals from Beisan is stylistically consistent and could have been made in one workshop, which may have lasted for more than one generation since the cylinders cover Levels IX-VII.

<sup>23</sup> The writer has termed 'bouquet-tree' a design in which the crown is indicated by four or six (rarely two or eight) globular shapes arranged on either side of a stem which is topped by another globe of similar size, the whole design being reminiscent of an old-fashioned bouquet of flowers.

<sup>24</sup> Wace, *Chamber Tombs* 73, fig. 28.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals* i (1948), nos. 1024- 8 (henceforth referred to as *Corpus* i). Only on a Mitannian cylinder found in Cyprus (*JHS* lxxi (1951), pl. xlvii b top) the enthroned figure has a headgear with one frontal horn, probably a side view of the horned

oblique line descending to the shoulder may be interpreted as the back-flap of the headgear or as hair. Two lines meeting at an angle form the nose of the bird-like face. Only the lines of the headgear differentiate PLATE 38 *b* from a group of impressions on tablets from Nuzi with the same linear and angular style.<sup>26</sup> In that group the figures have the same type of robes with vertical stripes, and there frequently appears the same tree design with opposite oblique lines on either side of a stem which ends at the bottom in a globular form. No cylinder seals of this type were found in Nuzi itself, and the group may not have originated there but in northern Syria, as suggested by C. F. A. Schaeffer for the example from Tomb 517.<sup>27</sup>

A crude but related cylinder of faience with blue glaze (PLATE 38 *d*) was found at Beisan in Palestine in Level V, dated to the eleventh century B.C. by W. F. Albright<sup>28</sup> a date which must indicate the time when the cylinder was discarded, not when it was made.<sup>29</sup> The design is less [202] assured, less angular than that of the cylinder from Tomb 517 at Mycenae (PLATE 38 *b*) and more simplified. The headgear of one figure in PLATE 38 *d*, for example, is rendered by only one line which curves upward slightly in front, giving the impression of the brim of a hat; the brim of the second figure is scarcely visible in front. The cylinder from Beisan, furthermore, lacks a tree design but has a horned animal in a pose related to that of the example from Tomb 517 at Mycenae (PLATE 38 *b*), though on the Beisan cylinder (which is obviously a poor copy of a design like the one found at Mycenae) this pose has become unbalanced and awkward owing to such slight changes as the lowering of the animal's head.

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headgear as seen occasionally in the rendering of gods, genii, and sphinxes with multiple-horned mitres (e.g. Lacheman, *Misc. Texts from Nuzi* ii, pl. 113, 278, 279; pl. 114, 83, 284).

<sup>26</sup> Nuzi, Group i, especially nos. 1, 2, 7-13, and 20, 21, though the last-quoted designs are more cursorily executed than the cylinder from Tomb 517 at Mycenae.

<sup>27</sup> *Stratigraphie* 411, end of n. 5. The appearance of a cylinder of Group i at Mochlos (see n. 30) tends to confirm this supposition.

<sup>28</sup> 'Excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim' ii, *AASOR* xvii (1938) 77.

<sup>29</sup> Only three cylinders of Mitannian style were found in Level V at Beisan: our PLATE 38 *d* and *Iraq* xi, nos. 120 and 121. The last-mentioned is an exceptional piece because of its fine cutting and its material, hematite (cf. also B. Parker, *Iraq* xi. 27), and was doubtless kept over a long period for these reasons. Though of humble faience and showing poorer cutting, the other two cylinders must also be considered as survivals in this level, to which only no. 161 seems to belong by right, with a tree of late Kassite or post Kassite type (e.g. L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones* (1912) pl. liv, trees embroidered on the robe of King Marduk nadin-Ahhe of the eleventh century B.C.) and a large figure of late Middle Assyrian style (e.g. A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* (1940) nos. 590, 593, 594). Even *Iraq* xi, no. 30, the well-known cylinder of Level V (Rameses II shooting at a target), was probably kept as a venerated object in the temple of Rameses III in which it was found.

A stag in a related pose, apparently with a bird above its back,<sup>30</sup> occurs on a poorly cut and badly preserved cylinder from Crete (**PLATE 38 c**), from Zafer Papoura Tomb 66. It shows three figures perhaps advancing toward the stag; the third figure seems to touch or grasp one of the two plants or poles which separate these figures. Whether the second figure also touches the plant or pole before it, cannot be determined.

Returning from *d* to *a* on **PLATE 38** we find that there is some similarity in the general arrangement of the figures, which are separated by plant designs or poles and appear to be advancing toward a stag in *d* and a bird in *a*. Relations to cylinders from Beisan can be cited for both designs: for the motif of the figures with a stag in *d*<sup>31</sup> and for the stylization of the bird in *a*. The latter is rendered with the same decisive curving lines for the body, drilling for the head, and two oblique strokes for the long legs as seen in a row of birds on a cylinder from Level VII at Beisan,<sup>32</sup> dated by W. F. Albright in the thirteenth century B.C.<sup>33</sup> No western Asiatic scene, however, (as in **PLATE 38 b** and possibly also in *c*) shows more than one tree or plant design of the same type between the figures of a procession. On cylinders from Enkomi, however, assigned by Schaeffer to the Iron I Period (1200-1050 B.C.),<sup>34</sup> such processions, in which figures are separated by plants which they grasp, are a common motif. This difference between western Asiatic and Cypriote designs may reflect a difference in ritual practices.

For this reason it seems likely that our Mycenae cylinder (**PLATE 38 a**) was not made in a purely western Asiatic centre but rather in some place in the coastal or island regions of the eastern Mediterranean where the Mitannian style had found acceptance during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries. Even people with a background of Aegean concepts were apparently willing to buy Mitannian-type cylinder seals which had been made attractive to them by slight changes in the arrangement and the appearance of the figures.<sup>35</sup> Such an

<sup>30</sup> Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs* 71, 117, figs. 81 *b*, 117. On a cylinder seal in the Metropolitan Museum, Acc. no. 26.31, 297, which is contained in a bequest of seals from Mochlos by R. B. Seager, a bird is placed similarly over the back of a horned animal.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Iraq* xi, no. 66.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Iraq* xi, no. 69.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. 'Tell Beit Mirsim' ii, *AASOR* xvii. 77.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia* (1952) 88-96, pl. ii. 1,3-5. Schaeffer suggested that these processions are derived from Syro-Palestinian prototypes. None of the published examples, however, shows a similar tree or plant design repeated in one and the same scene.

<sup>35</sup> A good example for such a transformation is a cylinder seal from Palaikastro in Crete (*BSA* xl (1939-40) 45, fig. 16) which shows a long-robed winged figure between two fish, and a bouquet-tree between two water-birds. The manner in which the drill was used to produce cup-shaped hollows for the heads of the birds and the winged figure as well as for the

explanation would account for the various divergences from Mitannian conventions in the figures on the cylinder, such as the robes which appear to hang down lower in front than at the back, in contrast with the usual western Asiatic renderings, in which the robe is shorter in front than at the 203 back,<sup>36</sup> or marked by a straight line at the bottom,<sup>37</sup> or by one curving up slightly in the centre.<sup>38</sup> The unusual shape of the bouquet-tree with pendants might also be explained as a design of a man not bound by Mitannian usage, despite the fact that one crudely made tree design of somewhat related type occurs at Beisan.<sup>39</sup>

In summarizing our finds concerning the two cylinders from Mycenae, we may say that the cylinder from Tomb 517 (PLATE 38 *b*) was made in western Asia within the orbit of Mitannian glyptic style, to judge by the close relationship with seal impressions from Nuzi. Those closest in style to *b* date mostly from the early part of the second generation of that city.<sup>40</sup> The cylinder from Tomb 517 at Mycenae, which had been found with L. H. I and II pottery by Professor Wace and had been placed in the fifteenth century by C. F. A. Schaeffer,<sup>41</sup> may therefore be even more precisely dated in the middle of that century.

It might be added here that the horn-like projection of the headgear renders the latter not unlike a simplified version of a Mycenaean helmet as seen on the so-called Warrior Vase from Mycenae.<sup>42</sup> This accidental similarity may have provided an attraction for the presumably Mycenaean buyer. The headgear of the cylinder, though not found in Nuzi designs, must nevertheless have existed

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bouquet-tree is Mitannian, as is the symmetrical arrangement of the scene. Yet water-birds with gracefully curving necks are not found in Mitannian seal designs, nor can one point to a parallel for the prominent position of the fish. Fish and water-birds, however, occur frequently in Late Helladic pottery designs and are also found on several Minoan and Mycenaean seals and impressions (e.g. Bossert, *Art of Ancient Crete* (1937) 226, fig. 389 *d*; 238, fig. 401 *g*; Evans, *Palace of Minos* iv. 2 (1935) 492, figs. 426, 427 for the water-birds; Evans, op. cit. 496, fig. 435 for a cylinder entirely decorated with a row of the type of fish found on the cylinder from Palaikastro). Obviously a gem-cutter familiar with Aegean preferences has adapted a design of Mitannian derivation.

<sup>36</sup> e.g. *Corpus* I, nos. 1006 (middle figure), 1020, 1021 (the figures wearing mantles).

<sup>37</sup> e.g. *Corpus* I, nos. 1012, 1014-19.

<sup>38</sup> e.g. *Corpus* I, nos. 1013, 1032.

<sup>39</sup> *Iraq* xi, no. 84.

<sup>40</sup> *Nuzi*, no. 1 (early or middle Tehiptilla, second generation), no. 7 (eT), no. 21 (eT); only two impressions of the entire group were on tablets of the third generation; all others not listed here were from the middle or late period of the second.

<sup>41</sup> *Stratigraphie* 411, n. 5.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Wace, *Mycenae* pl. 82 *a, b*; Bossert, *Ancient Crete* 72-73, figs. 133-4.

in some other examples,<sup>43</sup> as indicated by the derivative design from Beisan (PLATE 38 *d*). In turn, the relations of the Beisan cylinder with one found in Crete (PLATE 38 *c*) lead to the Aegean region. Lastly, some similarity exists between the cylinder from Crete and our cylinder from Mycenae. Though not sufficiently close to indicate that both cylinders were made in the same workshop, this similarity suggests, nevertheless, that both originated in the same area.

Unless that area proves to be Ras Shamra, it should be sought on present evidence within those regions which were in close contact with Palestine, since the relations which could be established for our Mycenae cylinder (PLATE 38 *a*) point so largely to that country, specifically to Beisan.<sup>44</sup> Though the pottery from that site is insufficiently published, the presence of Mycenaean sherds in Level VII<sup>45</sup> indicates possible connexions with Greece, Cyprus, or Rhodes.

<sup>43</sup> It will be interesting to see whether the two cylinders from Ras Shamra, nos. 11201 and 7190, mentioned by Schaeffer as parallels for the cylinder from Tomb 517 at Mycenae, show this headgear.

<sup>44</sup> One of the two cylinders from the Mycenaean layers of the Argive Heraeum published by Blegen, *Prosymna* (1937) 146, from Tomb xxxviii seems to belong to the same type of crude but distinctive design as *Iraq* xi, no. 146 from Beisan Level VII (note especially the occurrence of what seems to be a tree, a standard, and between them an offering table? in both cylinders). Miss Parker draws attention to a closely related cylinder from a Mycenaean tomb at Enkomi in Cyprus now in the British Museum (*Iraq* xi. 32, S.V. no. 146). Again this group of three cylinders may provide a link between the Aegean and Palestine. Schaeffer, however, cites four cylinders from Ras Shamra as parallels for the example from the Heraeum (R.S. nos. 249, 3172, 7107, 6130). If these cylinders from Ras Shamra are indeed as close in style as the one from Beisan, we would have to look to Ras Shamra as the fountain-head for the relations with the Aegean and with Palestine.

<sup>45</sup> A. Rowe, *Topography and History of Beth Shan* (1930) 21, merely refers to a 'quantity of (Cretan) pottery', but W. F. Albright (*AASOR* xvii. 77) mentions Mycenaean sherds in Level VII, a statement confirmed and elaborated by I. Ben Dor, who suggested that the pottery from Beisan in the University Museum at Philadelphia be examined for the possible presence of Mycenaean sherds. I therefore wrote to Professor Machteld Mellink of Bryn Mawr College who kindly requested one of her students to examine the Beisan pottery for Mycenaean sherds. Mr. Ross Holloway has therefore kindly examined the pottery and reports as follows:

'There are three pieces of pottery which seem to me to be genuine Mycenaean imports:

'1. No. 29-103-412, Level IX, Room 1337. Wall sherd. On a cream ground sections of three undulating lines of dark brown paint. Two of them have a solid white centre line; one has a row of white dots. No doubt they represent the arms of an octopus. This piece must have come from a large and handsome vase.

'2. No. 29-102-919, Level VIII, Room 1303. Three sherds; two join to form the shoulder of a stirrup jar. The third is probably from the same vase. The clay is cream colour with encircling lines in dark brown. The shape is possibly related to the following piece.

[204] The relations with the cylinders from Beisan established above for this cylinder from Mycenae also give some indication for its dating in the thirteenth century B.C. At that time no more Mitannian influences could come from northern Mesopotamia, because the style of that region had been transformed into the Middle Assyrian, as shown by seal impressions from Assur.<sup>46</sup> In Ras Shamra only a few degenerate cylinders of Mitannian style were made after the first half of the fourteenth century, according to C. F. A. Schaeffer.<sup>47</sup> Alalakh shows in Level II (1350-1273) to I (1273-1194) or clearly in Level I, one or two cylinders with busy designs related to the early Middle Assyrian<sup>48</sup> while others are very cursory and degenerate,<sup>49</sup> comparable to this cylinder from Mycenae. The thirteenth century, a time when the international style of the Late Bronze Age began to disintegrate in many places, agrees with the date indicated by the circumstances of the excavation, L. H. IIIB as stated by Professor Wace, who is able to narrow down (see p. 200 above) the date of this

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'3 No. 29-102-914, Level VII, Room 1263. Stirrup jar; about one-half of the vase is preserved, giving a complete profile. The clay is light cream, the decorations encircling rings of light red paint. The shape seems to me to belong to Furumark's class III A: 2 (-B); *Mycenaean Pottery* 614, no. 178 and *British Museum Catalogue* (1925) A 924.

'In addition to these imported pieces there are thirty-five examples of local imitations of stirrup jars. They are of a coarse buff to reddish fabric (often friable) and are sometimes decorated with broad encircling lines in a matt red. The shapes are ill-proportioned but tend to be globular rather than wide-shouldered and flattened as the two imported vases. Many come from unstratified material, mostly found in the neighbourhood of tombs. In particular, round Tomb 219 twenty examples, round Tomb 210 four, round Tomb 229 one. The stratified material I was able to locate is as follows:

Level VII, Room 1263, one example.

Amenhotep III Temple, one; Area CN II, 29 (18th Dynasty), one.

Level VI, Room 1588, two.

Area CN II, 7 (Early Iron Age), two.

The interpretations 'Amenhotep Temple', '18th Dynasty', and 'Early Iron Age' are those of the file cards. As far as I can tell, this is the extent of the Mycenaean material. There are also a number of lentoid flasks from the site. They seem to be of local manufacture. The fabric is similar to that of the imitation stirrup jugs. Perhaps there may be some Mycenaean influence on them.'

<sup>46</sup> Cf. A. Moortgat, *ZA* (N.F.) xiii (1941) 50-88.

<sup>47</sup> *Stratigraphie* 409, in the layers of Ras Shamra I (3) (1365-1200 B.C.)

<sup>48</sup> Woolley, *Alalakh* no. 120, shows some resemblance to the impression of an earlier cylinder on a tablet dated from the second half of the reign of King Adad-nirari I (1304-1273 B.C.) to the reign of Shalmaneser I (1272-1243 B.C.). Moortgat, *op. cit.* 85, 87, Abb. 80, and Woolley, *op. cit.* no. 121, may also belong to a late and transitional group of Mitannian cylinders.

<sup>49</sup> Woolley, *op. cit.* nos. 122 and 144; no earlier examples of this degenerate group are known.



seal as probably not later than the first half of that century on the basis of the lantern bead and the pottery with which the cylinder was found.

*A. J. B. Wace, Additional Note*

It must be remembered that Furumark's use of the Beisan material for chronological purposes is based upon the dating in the original publication. The entire chronology, however, of the Palestinian Late Bronze Age pottery is under revision in the light of recent excavations.

[Abbreviations<sup>\*</sup>

BSA	The Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens
AASOR	The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
EA	Ephemeris Archaïologique
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
Z.A (N.F.)	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie

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<sup>\*</sup> We are indebted to Dominique Collon (London) for decoding the abbreviations and to Sue Sherratt (Sheffield) for providing the full bibliography of the articles and monographs, which Edith Porada quoted in her article.

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Reprinted from: Paul Åstroem, D. M. Bailey and Vassos Karageorghis (eds.), *Hala Sultan Tekke I, Excavations 1897-1971* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLV 1), Göteborg: P. Aströms Förlag, 1976, 99-103, Fig. 78-80.

### Three Cylinder Seals from Tombs 1 and 2 of Hala Sultan Tekke

The following discussion of the three cylinder seals found in Tombs 1 and 2 of a necropolis at Hala Sultan Tekke near the Larnaca Salt Lake has been prepared at the generous invitation of Dr. Vassos Karageorghis. The tombs range in date from about 1400 to 1200 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Since all three seals belong to different stylistic groups, they will be discussed singly with a description of the design preceding the discussion of each seal.

No. 1. Hala Sultan Tekke, Tomb 2.230. Hematite. 23 x 9.9 mm. **Fig. 78.** The hematite has the silvery sheen typical of some seals from Cyprus, but its surface shows an unus[u]al type of corrosion, pitted by minute holes, that obscures the design.

#### Description of the Seal Design

A hero, kneeling on one knee, grasps with one hand a volute emanating from a sacred tree and with the other seems to brandish an axe, probably menacing the griffin which sits on the other side of the tree. The hero seems to wear a patterned garment indicated by chevron-like markings on the torso and shorter chevrons at the division of the legs. Three lines around the waist probably denote a belt, and a clearly drawn ridge on the upper left leg marks the end of the garment, while the line on the right leg is less definitely shown.

The design of the tree consists of two pairs of volutes, the one at the bottom curling inward, the one above it rising upward. On either side of the conical stem hang three semicircular inflorescences. At the top symmetrical leaves suggest the presence of a palm crown.

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<sup>1</sup> See V. Karageorghis, "Notes on a Late Cypriote Settlement and Necropolis near the Larnaca Salt Lake", Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1968, 1-11, for a partial list of the objects found in the tombs on which this writer's statement concerning the chronological range of the tombs is based.

Above the tree design are two horizontal twist or guilloche designs which turn in opposite directions, thereby forming an ornamental unit. To right and left are signs in the Cypro-Minoan script. Immediately to the left of the upper guilloche the seal is badly damaged and another sign may have been obliterated. The other signs on that side are much clearer than those on the right which flank a rosette and which are very thin.

Two versions of the same sign appear above and below the raised arm of the human figure, but the upper one is placed upside down. A rosette is inserted beside one of the two signs, under the arm of the human figure; a second rosette is seen under the griffin's head. A form consisting of two large drillings beside the head of the human figure is unrecognizable.

#### Discussion

As implied in the description, the writer reads the scene as a defence of the sacred tree with which the hero manifests his relation by grasping a branch. The hero's threateningly raised axe can be meant to menace only the large griffin, a creature whose association with death may be taken for granted in the iconography of the international Late Bronze Age.<sup>2</sup>

The same motif (but without the tree) may be represented in a more direct way in a cylinder of a simpler, cruder style from Ayia Paraskevi in the Cesnola Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art<sup>3</sup> in which the hero directly faces the griffin. In general, however, single male figures clad in short garments and engaged in heroic activities are less frequent than those in which a pair of such figures is shown.<sup>4</sup>

In a cylinder in the Erlenmeyer Collection<sup>5</sup> a lion killer and a griffin killer are shown with different weapons, the lion killer with a dagger, the griffin killer with an axe. The latter also seems to wear a helmet possibly adorned with a pair of horns. Deities with horned helmets, of which several representations from Cyprus are known,<sup>6</sup> might well have been thought to have

<sup>2</sup> See H. Frankfort, "Notes on the Cretan Griffin", *The Annual of the British School at Athens* XXXVII, 1936-1937, 106-122 and comments on this article in my Appendix I, "Seals", in P. Dikaios, *Enkomi, Excavations 1948-1958*, II, Mainz 1971, 792, note 579.

<sup>3</sup> E. Porada, "The Cylinder Seals of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age", *American Journal of Archaeology* LII, 1948, (henceforth *AJA* LII), Pl. X, 33.

<sup>4</sup> For examples of such single figures in heroic activities see M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer, "Über Philister und Kreter IV", *Orientalia* 33, 1964, Pl. II, Abb. 1,2. For scenes with a pair of figures e.g., *AJA* LII, Pl. IX, 19, 20, 36.

<sup>5</sup> *Orientalia* 33, 1964, Pl. V, Abb. 24.

<sup>6</sup> See the well known bronze statue discovered at Enkomi by P. Dikaios and published by him in *Enkomi*, IIIa, Mainz, 1969, Pls. 139-144. Dikaios suggested that the statue be identified with Apollo Kereatas or Keraiates, "considered the God of horned cattle" (*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1962, 35) and repeated the suggestion in *Enkomi* II, 528. This view was further elaborated by K. Hadjioannou, "On the Identification of the Horned God of Engomi-Alasia," (*Mission archéologique d'Alasia* IV, 1971), 33-42. For our suggestion that the figure may be associated with one seen in heroic feats, mention should be made of C. F. A. Schaeffer's remarks (*Alasia*, 514) concerning the athletic appearance of the personage represented by the statue. Perhaps the personage with a

achieved heroic feats such as the killing of the supernatural griffin. No mortal hero is likely to have been cast in such a role.

It should also be noted that the hero of our seal, though kneeling on one knee, is actually shown with his arms in the posture of "the smiting god" of Anatolia and the Levant,<sup>7</sup> where this posture is one of power, whereas in Egypt it signified victory.<sup>8</sup> It is therefore possible that the hero of the cylinder from Hala Sultan Tekke represents a major heroic personage of the as yet unknown pantheon of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age.

The style of the cylinder is as unusual as its subject. Owing to the kneeling posture of the main protagonist his head is on the same level as that of the griffin. This creates a feeling of tension between the two opponents and results in a horizontal composition in which the principal figures fill two thirds of the field, while the upper third has only the Cypro-Minoan signs, the guilloches, and a rosette. This arrangement gives weight and an air of reality to the scene - qualities lacking in most other cylinders from Cyprus in which the field is evenly filled. [100]



Fig. 78. Cylinder Seal from Hala Sultan Tekke Tomb 2.230.

horned helmet, presumably a deity, seen in a gem published by Dikaios, Enkomi II, Pl. 323, should be associated with the same god.

Whether or not the god of the ingot, of which a statuette with a horned headgear was discovered by Schaeffer at Enkomi (see C. F. A. Schaeffer, "An Ingot God from Cyprus", *Antiquity* XXXIX, 1965, 56-57, Pl. XVib), presents an aspect of the same deity, cannot be determined on the basis of the evidence available at present.

<sup>7</sup> See D. Collon, "The Smiting God", *Levant* IV, 1972, 111-134.

<sup>8</sup> See Collon, *op. cit.* 130 and references given there.

[101] The markings of the trunk of the sacred tree on the cylinder under discussion have a very slight relation to those of a sacred tree on a cylinder found in Tomb 4 at Hala Sultan Tekke by the British Museum excavations in 1898.<sup>9</sup> It is more surprising that so little links our cylinder to those previously found than that one or another feature was shared by seal engravers of what must have been an important site.

A few observations should be made concerning the Cypro-Minoan signs of our cylinder. The only unsymmetrical sign shows it to have been engraved without regard to the impression in which it is reversed.<sup>10</sup> In view of the fact that this sign as well as the one next to it are more deeply carved than the two thin ones next to the rosette and those beside the hero's arm, it is possible that the signs were cut at different times for different owners.

No. 2. Hala Sultan Tekke, Tomb 2.231. Faience. 24 x 10 mm. **Fig. 79.**

Description of the Seal Design

Three men walking toward a tree.

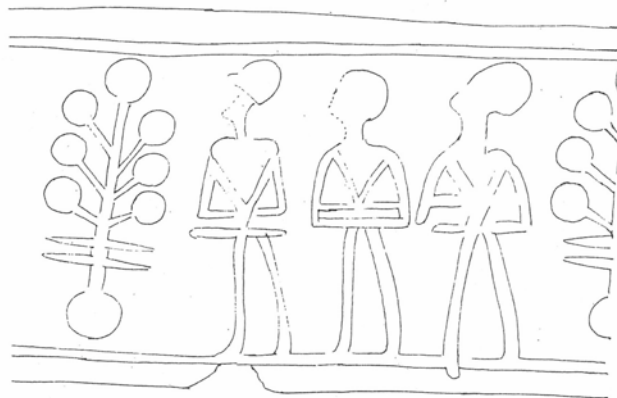


Fig. 79. Cylinder Seal from Hala Sultan Tekke Tomb 2.231.

#### Discussion

At first glance, the cylinder looks like the faience examples of the Mitanni-period from the Levant and northern Mesopotamia. The material is the same as is the technique of using cub-shaped hollows to indicate features like the heads of the figures. The subject, a procession of three or more

<sup>9</sup> V. E. G. Kenna, *Catalogue of the Cypriote Seals of the Bronze Age in the British Museum* (Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 3, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* XX, Göteborg 1971), Pl. XVII, No. 71.

<sup>10</sup> For the sign, see J. F. Daniel, "Prolegomena to the Cypro-Minoan Script", *AJA* XLV, 1941, 254, Fig. 1 (sign 1 a), and p. 280:55.



male figures, is frequently seen, but there is no precise parallel for a procession toward a tree of the type depicted in No. 2, with globular ends on the branches. Moreover, the stylization of the human figures, in which the lower body is merely indicated by two lines that cross at what stands for the waist and continue upward to outline the thorax, is unparalleled in Mitannian designs of the Levant and elsewhere on the Asiatic mainland. The image conveyed is that of slender, long-legged figures, possibly wearing a broad belt below the hands, which are clasped at the waist with the elbows jutting outward. Usually, men of Western Asiatic representations are shown with some indication of the lower part of the body, and the lines do not run through from shoulder to leg, even if the simplification is very great.<sup>11</sup> It seems likely, therefore, that No. 2 was made in Cyprus in imitation of Mitannian examples. This suggestion is supported by the related stylization of even more abbreviated human figures on a cylinder seal from Idalion<sup>12</sup> which were mistaken for signs in the Cypro-Minoan script.<sup>13</sup>

No.3. Hala Sultan Tekke, 1968, Tomb 1.41. Grey stone. 22.7 x 9 mm. **Fig. 80.**

#### Description of the Seal Design

A human figure and a tree dominate in a field of apparently unconnected angular forms and two circles, each with a central dot. The head of the human figure is flanked by two small ingots, one of them merely indicated by an oblique cross. Below the latter is another oblique cross, on each end of which is a globe. Under this sign is a long-horned bucranium with a v-shaped line on one side and an indefinable one on the other. To the right of the human figure is what may be a large ingot, though one 102 pair of lines in front of and another behind the form suggest the fore and hind legs of an animal whose head would be a small bucranium. Above the ingot form is a circle with central dot under which are five wedges; a single wedge to the right does not seem to belong to the group of five. Below the large ingot form is a second circle with central dot between two pairs of lines which, together with a horizontal one that reaches over the circle, might again be read as the fragmented form of an animal. The tree repeated in the rolling of the cylinder serves as a frame for the design.

<sup>11</sup> An example of very great stylization of a human figure in a seal impression from Nuzi is found in my *Seal Impressions of Nuzi* (The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research XXIV, 1947), Pl. III, No. 46, yet the manner in which this simplification was achieved differs from the linear structure of the figures in the seal from Hala Sultan Tekke.

<sup>12</sup> E. Gjerstad et al., *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition II*, 1935, Pl. CLXXXVI, 21.

<sup>13</sup> See on this matter O. Masson, "Cylindres et cachets chypriotes portant des caractères chypro-minoens", *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* LXXXI (1957/1), 18, note 2 (the cylinder is reproduced by Masson on the page cited here).

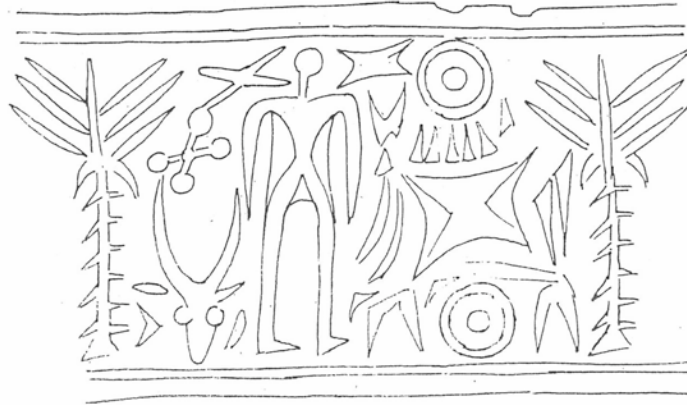


Fig. 80. Cylinder seal from Hala Sultan Tekke Tomb 1.41.

### Discussion

There are numerous seals which closely resemble this example in material, subject, and style. They were found at different sites: Kourion,<sup>14</sup> Enkomi,<sup>15</sup> and a somewhat more thinly engraved version in Stratum V at Tell Abu Hawām in Palestine.<sup>16</sup> Stratum V at Tell Abu Hawām, dated in the thirteenth century B.C.<sup>17</sup>, fits in well with the general dates of the Hala Sultan Tekke tombs.

Details in these seals resemble each other so closely that one is often uncertain which seal is represented in a none too careful drawing.<sup>18</sup> All show the palm tree with the crown indicated as in a fixed sign by three obliquely upright fronds; below, two short fronds hang down, probably the dead palm

<sup>14</sup> AJA LII, Pl. XI, 50, from Kourion (according to Cesnola).

<sup>15</sup> Kenna, *Catalogue ... British Museum*, Pl. XXX, No. I 14; B. Buchanan, *Catalogue of Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum I: Cylinder Seals*, Oxford 1966, No. 977 was thought by Buchanan (p. 191) to have possibly been the same as one recorded by A. P. di Cesnola, *Salamina*, London 1882, Pl. XII, 16, although the seal now in the Ashmolean was bought in Beirut, not in Cyprus. Two more cylinders reproduced in *Salamina*, Pl. XIII, 18 and 24, belong to the same group, as does *Salamina*, Pl. XIII, 17 where the central figure differs from those of the other seals by being enthroned. If these seals were really found in or around ancient Salamis, they must have come from Enkomi. See on this question Masson, *op. cit.*, in note 13, above, p. 34. The place of discovery in Cyprus of two other seals in the Ashmolean Museum, Nos. 975, 976, both belonging to this group, is unknown.

<sup>16</sup> R. W. Hamilton, "Excavations at Tell Abu Hawām", *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* IV, 1935, Pl. XXVI, No. 415. Hamilton dated Stratum V ca. 1400-1230 B.C.

<sup>17</sup> Barbara Parker, who included the cylinder from Tell Abu Hawām in "Cylinder Seals from Palestine", *Iraq* XI, 1949, No. 152, dated the seals in the thirteenth century B. C.

<sup>18</sup> See the remarks about the cylinder in the Ashmolean Museum, No. 977 in note 15, above.

branches so characteristic of such trees, and on the stem a series of oblique markings on one side and horizontal ones on the other suggest the imbricated pattern of this type of tree.

Equally constant is the appearance in the field of what seem to be fragmented parts of animals. Such fragmentation and incoherence of forms is not paralleled in designs of Western Asia, and one would like to look to the Aegean for the origin of this feature. No parallels appear to exist there, however, for this period. These Cypriote examples therefore appear to have been *sui generis*, probably with a specific purpose and meaning of their own. The constant presence of two small ingot-shaped forms or oblique crosses flanking the head of the human figure may be significant as well as the fact that the large ingot-shaped form and the bucranium are always present on these seals. The human figure, apparently female on our seal, No. 3, but marked as male by a short vertical line between the legs of others of the same class,<sup>19</sup> can scarcely have been intended to represent a mortal. More likely it is the deity to whom the ancient Cypriotes ascribed their wealth of copper and whose protection such seals might have been meant to assure. Made of undistinguished steatite and apparently cut without much variation or inspiration, these seals were probably cheap and available to the men who worked copper and bronze.

In a slightly later period, in the first half of the twelfth century B.C., a god standing on an ingot<sup>20</sup> and a female figure similarly posed<sup>21</sup> may show a transposition into three dimensions of the concept compressed so schematically in earlier cylinder seals like our example from Hala Sultan Tekke.

The variety in the three seals here discussed and the foreign connections implied for Nos. 1<sup>22</sup> and 2 would alone suggest that the ancient site of Hala Sultan Tekke had far-flung relations in and beyond Cyprus. To the three seals, however, must be added cylinders found earlier at the site<sup>23</sup> as well as the two Egyptian amulets discussed below by Nora E. Scott. Vassos Karageorghis' insistence on the importance of this site<sup>24</sup> is indeed well founded.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. the cylinders in the Ashmolean Museum, Nos. 975, 977 cited in note 15, above and the cylinder from Kourion, AJA LII, Pl. XI. No. 50.

<sup>20</sup> See the article by C. F. A. Schaeffer in *Antiquity* XXXIX, 1965, 56-57, cited in note 6, above.

<sup>21</sup> H.W. Catling, "A Cypriot Bronze Statuette in the Bomford Collection", *Alasia* (mission arch. d'Alasia IV), 15-32.

<sup>22</sup> The chevrons suggesting a pattern in the garment worn by the hero of our No. 1 from Hala Sultan Tekke, may have been inspired by the representation of musculature of athletes on Mycenaean and Cretan gems, e.g. *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel* I, No. 9 from tomb III of Grave Circle A and XI, No. 152, said to have come from Sitia in East Crete. I owe these references to Elisabeth Willams.

<sup>23</sup> Kenna, *Catalogue ... British Museum*, Nos. 70, 71, 78, 93, 108, 112.

<sup>24</sup> Above p. 89.



Reprinted from: Patricia Maynor Bikai (ed.), *The Pottery of Tyre*, Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1978, 77-82, Fig. 1-7. Appendix A.

## The Pottery of Tyre Appendix A: The Cylinder Seal

### *Description:*

The description of the scene has been made on the basis of photographs of the cylinder and its impression and, in addition, a sketch kindly supplied by Patricia Bikai (see pl. XLIV.16 [referring to the plates in *The Pottery of Tyre*, 95ff., *Drawings of Pottery and Objects*, Stratum XV; the drawing ins inserted here:]).



[Fig. 1 (drawing from Pl. XVIV.16 of photo Fig 1a, see plates to this article): Seal, Register Number 74/11/646; Tyre, Square IC-6 A Area 10, Cylinder seal; brown stone.]

From left to right: a long-haired, female worshipper in a floor-length bordered, and fringed garment raises one hand and has the other lowered over a large footed open vessel. Damage to the cylinder between her lowered hand and the vessel makes it impossible to state with certainty that she does not pour or sprinkle something into its mouth. Beyond the vessel are a tall slender censer with what appears to be a burning flame and a table with leonine legs secured above the legs by a horizontal strut. On the table are a double cloth curving up on one side and down on the other and two objects

which may be cakes in the form of temple-towers. Beyond these ritual furnishings stands a bearded god on a platform, his head on the level of the eight-pointed star above the table and the crescent moon beside it. Slightly lower in the upper field, partly over the head of the worshiper, are the seven globes representing Pleiades and over the worshiper's raised arm an omega-shaped symbol.

In one hand the god holds a lightning fork and in the other a weapon with slightly curved blade, here termed a scimitar. He wears a tall miter topped by a feather crown resting on a bull's horn that curves up in front. His hair hangs down the back in a single queue. Over his shoulder and onto his breast passes a second coil-like form which cannot be identified with certainty. A flounced mantle in several tiers covers the god's bordered robe. The platform on which he stands consists of two stages, a higher and wider lower one at the base and a smaller one above. Both stages are marked by pairs of vertical lines suggestive of architectural features such as the buttresses and recesses along the walls of official buildings in ancient Mesopotamian architecture.

#### *Comments*

The most obvious comparison for the design of the cylinder from Tyre is with a cylinder, **Fig. 2**, found in the Dinitu temple at Assur and now in the Vorderasiatische Museum, Berlin. Walter Andrae, director of the excavations in the course of which the cylinder was found, said that it was no younger than the ninth century B.C. and perhaps from the level of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> Both cylinders are engraved in a style in which the main forms were only slightly hollowed out of the stone in flat relief and all the details were indicated by lines. Such engraving is in contrast to the style common at Assur on cylinders owned by the court officials of kings Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 B.C.) and Tukulti-Ninurta I<sup>2</sup> to Tiglath-pileser I (1115-1077 B.C.).<sup>3</sup>

Both cylinders show a worshiper before a censer and a table supported on lions' legs and feet. Each table is decked with a cloth and bears food and in the sky, above the table is an eight-pointed star. Both worshipers wear bordered garments with a fringe at the bottom. Here the similarities end. In the cylinder from Assur the worshiper is a man with a beard and shoulder-length hair. In the cylinder from Tyre, the worshiper is a woman. The garments of these figures, while similar in principle, appear to have been dif-

<sup>1</sup> *Mitt. d. Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 64 (1926), p. 45; cited by Anton Moortgat in *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1940, p. 139, s.v. 591.

<sup>2</sup> A. Moortgat, „Assyrische Glyptik des 13. Jahrhunderts,” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (henceforth ZA) 47 (1942), pp. 50-88.

<sup>3</sup> A. Moortgat, „Assyrische Glyptik des 12. Jahrhunderts,” ZA 48 (1944), pp. 23-44.

ferently wrapped with the more easily recognizable and more ornate garment of the woman open at the side and reaching to the floor, covering her feet, in contrast to the ankle-length garment of the man. The woman's hair, which is depicted in wavy lines around the head, hangs down the back in a single tress. This coiffure seems to have been one of the modes of dressing the hair of women in ritual scenes on Middle Assyrian cylinders,<sup>4</sup> where women are shown more frequently than in the Neo-Assyrian period.

The woman on the cylinder from Tyre, however, seems to have had an exceptional importance since she is the only human figure represented and is pictured with a very ornate garment. Support for the suggestion of her importance can be found in the fact that the same three ritual objects seen on the cylinder: a footed open vessel, a censer, and a table held up on lion's feet and bearing a repast are shown in the White Obelisk [a work that is certainly Middle Assyrian though probably wrongly ascribed to Ashurnasirpal I (1050-1032 B.C.)<sup>5</sup> in a scene (**Fig. 3**) where the king officiates before a sanctuary in which a goddess is enthroned. The woman on the cylinder from Tyre thus appears in a context very similar to that in which an Assyrian king is portrayed. It is therefore likely [78] that her rank was close to that of the monarch. She may have been a princess and a high priestess as were many daughters of Mesopotamian rulers from the time of Sargon's daughter Enheduanna onward.<sup>6</sup>

The figure of the god before whom the woman appears as a worshiper is not precisely paralleled in any Middle Assyrian representations of deities. In the sealings made with a royal cylinder of the Middle Assyrian period on the tablets of the vassal treaties of Esarhaddon found at Nimrud, **Fig. 7**, one of the two large figures of deities shown is, however, a god who holds in one hand a lightning symbol that differs from the lightning fork held by the god on the cylinder from Tyre but doubtless was intended to convey the same meaning. In the other hand the god in Fig. 7 holds an emblem which unfortunately is not preserved in its entirety in any of the numerous fragmentary sealings made with the same cylinder on Esarhaddon's treaty tablets. This emblem was rendered as a plain staff in the composite drawing of

<sup>4</sup> See for example T. Beran, "Assyrische Glyptik des 14. Jahrhunderts," *ZA* 52 (1957), p. 161, Fig. 32; and *ZA* 48 (1944), p. 37, Fig. 37 and *Expedition* 13/3-4, Spring-Summer 1971, p. 33, Fig. 10. Admittedly, the 14th century example as well as the one just cited might be of Elamite origin, and the example from the archive of Tiglathpileser I (in *ZA* 48) is not very clear.

<sup>5</sup> For the most recent article on this controversial subject with good bibliographical references, see J. E. Reade, "Aššurnasirpal I and the White Obelisk," *Iraq* XXXVII (1975), pp. 129-150.

<sup>6</sup> See W.W. Hallo and J.J. van Dijk, *The Exaltation of Inanna*, New Haven and London, 1968, pp. 1-11; also H.W.F. Saggs, *The Greatness that was Babylon*, New York, 1962, p. 349.

the sealing, but it might have been a staff together with a ring, the two constituting a symbol of divine power.<sup>7</sup>

The greatest similarity exists between the two deities who carry lightning symbols in their attire. The god on the sealings of the treaty tablets also wears a divine headdress which is topped by a feather-crown and rests on a bull's horn that has the same curve as the horn in the headdress of the god on the cylinder from Tyre. Furthermore, the mantles of both gods have flounces arranged in tiers. None of these details appear in the drawing, but they can be seen quite clearly in the photographs of the sealings. If Donald J. Wiseman is correct in ascribing the sealing to an original cylinder once owned by Tukulti-Ninurta I,<sup>8</sup> the cylinder from Tyre should be similarly dated.

Despite a stylistic relation to the god with a lightning symbol in the sealing from Nimrud, the god on the cylinder from Tyre differs from that of the sealing from Nimrud in two respects: he has long hair and he carries a second symbol. His long hair might be a reminiscence of the pigtail worn by Syrian weather gods.<sup>9</sup> The scimitar seems to have been an important emblem in the Neo-Assyrian period when it is occasionally seen in the hand of the goddess Ishtar in representations of cylinder seals.<sup>10</sup> The only male deity who carries a scimitar is the weather god depicted in the great relief

<sup>7</sup> See E. Douglas Van Buren, "The Rod and Ring," *Archiv Orientalní* XVII/3-4 (1949), pp. 434-450.

<sup>8</sup> *Iraq* XX (1958), pp. 19-22. Wiseman suggested that the cylinder used for sealing the vassal-treaty tablets was the one mentioned in a clay tablet from the time of Sennacherib. J. A. Brinkman said about this inscription that it was "purportedly copied from a seal of lapis lazuli," and further that "the inscription contains: (a) a notice that the seal was the property of Šagarakti-Šuriaš (repeated twice, lines 8 and 12); (b) an inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I mentioning booty from Babylonia, including presumably the original seal of Šagarakti-Šuriaš (repeated twice, lines 1-3 and 9-11, each time slightly defective); (c) an inscription of Sennacherib recording that the original seal was taken back to Babylonia and then retaken by him some 600 years later on the occasion of his conquest of Babylonia." (quoted from J. A. Brinkman, *Materials and Studies for Kassite History* (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1976), Vol. I p. 315. Assuming that Wiseman is right and that the cylinder used on the tablets was indeed the one described in Sennacherib's tablet, I suggest that Tukulti-Ninurta I not only had his inscription engraved on Šagarakti-Šuriaš' cylinder, but also the scene. The seal impressions on the tablets show that the figures were surrounded by numerous lines of text, the signs of which are much weaker than the lines defining the details of the figures. The text may therefore have been abraded to prepare the surface for the figures of Tukulti-Ninurta's scene. That it is an Assyrian and not a Babylonian scene is obvious from the Assyrian gesture of the kneeling king.

Brinkman's suggestion that Sennacherib's scribe could have copied the text of the cylinder from an impression and therefore repeated items (a) and (b) (*ibid*, note 11), is most likely to have been correct because the scribe would have had to roll out the cylinder to read the inscriptions.

<sup>9</sup> See Dominique Collon, "The Smiting God," *Levant* IV (1972), pp. 111-134, especially p. 131.

<sup>10</sup> D.J. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia*, London, n.d., No. 75 (B.M. 119426)



from the temple of Ninurta at Nimrud, built by Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.), **Fig. 6**; here this deity has the weapon slung over his arm while he brandishes lighting tridents in his pursuit of a lion-griffin. It is likely that this figure of a weather god was meant to represent the deity for whom the temple was built, namely, Ninurta. Identification with Ninurta also seems likely for a god shown on a cylinder seal, **Fig. 4**, whose scimitar hangs from his shoulder while he aims with bow and arrow at a fleeing lion-griffin. Ninurta forms the main element not only in the name of the seal owner, Ninurta-bēl-ušur, but also in that of his overlord, the eponym Ninurta-ašared.<sup>11</sup>

The identification of a god with a lightning fork and a scimitar as Ninurta, whose heroic aspects, especially in his fight against demons threatening the country,<sup>12</sup> would have made that figure appropriate for representation on seals of officials, may therefore be suggested here. By extension, then, it seems likely that the cylinder from Tyre shows a priestess making a sacrifice before the god Ninurta.

Given this Assyrian theme, it seems equally likely that the cylinder from Tyre originated in an Assyrian town, although the linear style and the long hair of the god do not seem to be documented among the certainly Assyrian sealings from Assur. It should be mentioned, however, that one or two of the Middle Assyrian sealings from Fakhariah<sup>13</sup> also show a linear type of execution. Nevertheless, the following remarks on details of the objects represented on the cylinder found at Tyre point in the direction of a characteristically Assyrian repertory of forms, forms scarcely to be explained as having been produced in a contemporary Syrian or Phoenician workshop.

A parallel for the footed deep vessel of the cylinder from Tyre is seen in a sealing from an archive of Tiglathpileser I, **Fig. 5**. Since no such footed vessels are known from excavation reports of Middle Assyrian pottery, the engraver must have shown vessels with round or button bases set in pot-stands such as those carved in one with the alabaster vessels found at Assur.<sup>14</sup>

The tall slender censer is of a type which remained much the same from the Middle Assyrian to the Neo-Assyrian period. It is represented as if it

<sup>11</sup> See Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, p. 139, s.v. 595 and R.M. Boehmer in *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 14, Der Alte Orient*, Berlin, 1975, p. 355, s.v. 273a, where Ninurta-ašared is named as Ninurta-bēl-ušur's overlord.

<sup>12</sup> D.O. Edzard in H.W. Haussig, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, Teil I, Vorderer Orient, 1960, Mesopotamien, p. 115, s.v. Ninurta.

<sup>13</sup> See the drawings by Helene J. Kantor in McEwan, *et al.*, *Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah* (OIP 79, 1958), Pl. 70, No. II, and possibly also No. I. The latter sealing seems to show a worshiper with the same long hair as the female worshiper in the cylinder from Tyre. There is no suggestion, however, that the originals of these sealings were made locally, at the site now called Fakhariyah.

<sup>14</sup> Arndt von Haller, *Die Gräber und Gräfte von Assur* (65. Wissenschaftl. Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 1954), Pl. 31.

had a flame burning on top, but Andrae suggested that this was probably meant to indicate the heat which was to consume the grains of incense.<sup>15</sup> He also pointed out that in a painting on an enameled vase from Assur the censer was shown in gray, probably to signify that the original was wrought in silver.<sup>16</sup> In general, it is likely that these slender objects were made of metal.<sup>17</sup>

The table standing with its leonine feet directly on the ground, without the conical supports seen later in the ritual and royal furniture depicted in Assyrian art, is typical of the Middle Assyrian period. A good representation is found in a sealing of the thirteenth or twelfth century B.C.<sup>18</sup> The table cloth which curves up on one side and down [79] on the other may be explained as a piece of linen that had been flattened with rollers to eliminate creases. The towershaped cakes on the table resemble larger such objects on the table seen in the frequently mentioned scene, Fig. 3, on the White Obelisk.<sup>19</sup>

The platform, the architectural character of which has been mentioned in the description of the cylinder resembles somewhat the tower structure [79] on the cylinder from Assur, Fig. 2, rather than the plainer platform seen on a middle Assyrian cylinder seal in the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>20</sup>

Lastly, the omega-shaped symbol occurs on several Middle Assyrian seals.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Coloured Ceramics from Ashur*, London, 1925, p. 55.

<sup>16</sup> Andrae, *ibid.*, comment on the vessel reproduced on Pl. 29.

<sup>17</sup> For general comments on Assyrian offering stands and censers, see Joan Oates, "Late Assyrian Temple Furniture from Tell al Rimah," *Iraq XXXVI* (1974), pp. 179-184.

<sup>18</sup> Ursula Moortgat-Correns, "Beiträge zur mittellassyrischen Glyptik," *Vorderasiatische Archäologie ... Anton Moortgat*, Berlin, 1964, p. 167, Fig. 2.

<sup>19</sup> *Iraq XXXVII* (1975), Pls. XXX, and XXXI.

<sup>20</sup> L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux ... de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1910, No. 364.

<sup>21</sup> See the study of this symbol by Ilse Fuhr, *Ein altorientalisches Symbol* (Wiesbaden, 1967), pp. 23-25, Figs. 30, 30a, 32, 32a, 33, and Pl. 1, Fig. 31.

Reprinted from: *Acts of the International archaeological symposium "The relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca 2000-500 B.C.", Nicosia 16th April-22nd April 1978*, Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1979, 111-120, Plates XIII-XIV.

## A Theban Cylinder Seal in Cypriote Style with Minoan Elements

During the summer of 1977 I received permission from Dr. Nicholas Yalouris, Director of Antiquities of Greece, to examine again the cylinder seals from Thebes on which I had worked for several years after their discovery in the autumn and winter of 1963 to 1964 by Professor Nicholas Platon and Mrs. Evi Touloupa.<sup>1</sup> I stopped work on the entire group of cylinder because a fourth of them consists of sealstones made during the rule of Kassite kings in Babylonia and I realized that it was my first task to find precise dates for that group. Although I have searched ever since for dated Kassite cylinders and sealings to be related to those of Thebes, it was only in the spring of 1977 that I saw a small fragment of a Kassite sealing, found in the new excavations of Nippur in a Kassite house and dated between the reigns of Kudur Enlil (1264-1256 B.C.) and Shagarakti Shuriash (1255-1243 B.C.);<sup>2</sup> this fragment I hope to be able to associate with one of the distinctive Kassite seal designs of Thebes in the final publication.

One of my objectives in returning to Thebes was to photograph the string holes in the cylinders, especially those of seals which I believe to have been recut. Cylinders of fine materials, like lapis lazuli, the stone of which most of the seals found at Thebes were made, were often re-used. The cylinder which is the subject of the present study (**Pl. XIII. 1-3**) had a gold tube placed in the large string hole. There are two parallels for the mounting of a tube in the string hole of a cylinder. One is a cylinder of glass paste or faience found at Kasarma in a rich tholos tomb with Late Helladic I-II pottery. The mounting is described by Ingo Pini as having in the string hole a little gold tube to which gold caps were soldered at either end. The caps grip the edges of the cylinder; in the centre of each cap,

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<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Platon, „Oriental Seals from the Palace of Cadmus, Unique Discoveries in Boeotian Thebes“, *I.L.N., Arch*, Section 2207 (Nov, 28, 1964), pp. 859-861 and „Ivories and Linear-B from Thebes“, *I.L.N., Arch*, Section 2208 (Dec, 5, 1964), pp. 896-898, Evi Touloupa, „Bericht über die neuen Ausgrabungen in Theben“, *Kadmos* III/1 (1964), pp. 25-27; *Delt.* 19 B2 (1964), pp. 194-196 and pls 228, 229; *BCH* 90 (1966), p. 850.

<sup>2</sup> See McGuire Gibson, „The Twelfth Season at Nippur“, *Expedition* 16/4 (1974), p. 32.

around the opening of the string hole, a ring was soldered to the cap.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting that the second example, a cylinder found on Cyprus at Enkomi, was also made of a composition: blue glass, partly broken, [112] so that the gold tube holding the ring-shaped caps is clearly visible.<sup>4</sup> Such caps must have been attached to the cylinder from Thebes, although the shape cannot be determined. Perhaps this type of mounting originated in Egypt, where elaborate provisions were made for the suspension of jewellery, especially that of the Middle Kingdom and the following periods.

Two traces of the original design of the cylinder from Thebes (**Fig. 1**) appear in the secondary motif above two human heads. But this earlier design was completely abraded and reworked. Presumably the alteration took place on Cyprus because the principal scene of the cylinder, consisting of long-robed figures, one of them with an animal head, all holding up



Fig. 1. Drawing of the cylinder seal impression in Plate XIII. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ingo Pini, „Kleinere griechische Sammlungen,“ *CMS* V/2, (1975), p. 463, no. 583. An extraordinarily elegant walking griffin is preserved on this badly weathered seal.

<sup>4</sup> A.S. Murray, A.H. Smith, H.B. Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus*, The British Museum 1900, photolithographic reprint, 1970, pl. VIII, upper left, described by F.H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum*, London, 1911, p. 44, no. 658, as having gold caps at either end and a hollow gold cylinder running from end to end through the glass.

Blue glass was often used in place of lapis lazuli as can be learnt from cuneiform texts of Mesopotamia, see A. Leo Oppenheim, *Glass and Glass Making in Ancient Mesopotamia*, New York, 1970, pp. 13-14. This forms another link between the blue glass cylinder from Enkomi and the lapis lazuli one found at Thebes. It would not be surprising, however, if the cylinder from Kasarma also were deep blue under the weathered yellowish-white surface.

animals or symbolic [113] objects, belongs to a well-known group from Cyprus,<sup>5</sup> although not one of the cylinders found there has the detailed engraving seen in the present example.

Two female figures who raise a dog and a lion in the manner usually interpreted as a gesture of triumph over an inimical creature are the main subject of the cylinder (Fig. 1 and Pl. XIII. 1). At their right is a lion-headed figure holding up a double axe. The two identical figures wear headgear which turns up at the ends in a manner resembling horns and was probably meant to indicate the horned miters of Near Eastern goddesses. They will therefore be so called from here on. In the upper field between them is a winged griffin seated with its head turned backwards.

In the secondary scene one of two bull-men holds up a feline animal with a striped skin. The second bull-man raises his hand as if to support one of two human heads alternating with two feline heads, all arranged to form a cross. A second feline with a striped skin seems to turn to the heads, perhaps in a posture of attack, while a sign of the Cypro-Minoan script appears at the other side.

The aim of the present study is to determine the date of the cylinder and to probe into the meaning of the representation. Indications for dating may first be sought within the group itself. Reference has already been made to the distinctively careful carving of the cylinder in contrast to the others of the group, which also have far less naturalistic detail, as for example in the faces of the figures. Development of a style of cylinder seal carving from careful, detailed renderings to more abbreviated, stylized indications is a common pattern of evolution in Near Eastern seal engraving. I therefore take the cylinder under consideration to be at the beginning of the group and to be dated earlier than the others with the same iconographical elements but with smoother, less detailed forms.

One of the cylinders from Thebes (Pl. XIII. 4), which belongs to the same stylistic group as the first cylinder discussed, but is far more simplified in its execution, also has a greatly extended string hole (Pl. XIII. 3), indicating abrasion of the original design. Enough remains, however, for the original forms to be recognizable. In the part which was completely abraded a figure of different style was engraved on the cylinder. I call the second style the "broad-shouldered figure style"<sup>6</sup> after the salient feature of the large-figured seals, which are completely cut in that style and which contrast strongly with the delicately executed [114] figures of what must have been an earlier style. The broad-shouldered figure style was probably the

<sup>5</sup> See my article, „The Cylinder Seals of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age,“ *AJA* LII (1948), Group II, pp. 186-188.

<sup>6</sup> See my article "On the Complexity of Style and Iconography in Some Groups of Cylinder Seals from Cyprus," *Acts of the International Symposium "the Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean"*, Nicosia, 1973, pp. 260-273.

latest at Thebes and may have been contemporary with the Kassite cylinders mentioned above, which belonged to the middle of the thirteenth century B.C. Some of the latest examples of the earlier style may have been made at the same time, such as a cylinder found by S. Iakovidis at Perati,<sup>7</sup> which appears to have been made under the influence of the portraits of Akhenaten (1379-1362 B.C.), an influence which Iakovidis believes to have still been felt in the time of Rameses II (1304-1237 B.C.).<sup>8</sup>

For the beginning of this Theban group, a sealing made with a cylinder of the group and discovered at Knossos in the passage by the Service Stairs may provide an indication for a date about 1400 B.C.; John Boardman places the sealing at that time, together with the other sealings from this location.<sup>9</sup>

Comparison with other works of art does not militate against a dating of the cylinder design in Fig. 1 about 1400 B.C. or even slightly earlier. Thus the leonine head of the demon resembles somewhat the head of a lion on a gem from Knossos (**Fig. 3a**) dated in Late Minoan II (c. 1450 B.C.). It is a typically Aegean lion's head with the lower jaw hanging open and the tongue and jaw combined in a single line. This rendering is in striking contrast to those of lions represented in Western Asia, for example on Middle Assyrian cylinders of the thirteenth century B.C., where the lower jaw has a tooth aggressively projecting upward (**Fig. 3b**) and creating a much fiercer image than the demon of Fig. 1.

Another feature comparable to Cretan conventions is the stylization of the face of the goddess at the right (Fig. 1) in which a sharply curving line sets off the cheek from the mouth, as in the faces pictured on the Harvester vase from Hagia Triada (**Fig. 4**), dated Late Minoan I (c. 1550-1500 B.C.).

Lastly, the stylization of the top of the shaft of the double axe, ending in a globular form is limited in pottery designs to a time before about 1450 B.C.<sup>10</sup> Although all these features could have survived for a while after the time of the works of art cited here, they would probably not have been rendered in as much detail in the later examples of the group. A date 115

<sup>7</sup> S. Iakovidis, "Ein beschrifteter Siegelzylinder aus Cypern," *Europa, Festschrift für Ernst Grumbach*, Berlin, 1967, pp. 143-151.

<sup>8</sup> The dates for the reigns of the Egyptian kings, though controversial, are given according to *CAH* II/2, p. 1038.

<sup>9</sup> John Boardman, "The Date of the Knossos Tablets," in L.R. Palmer, *On the Knossos Tablets*, Oxford, 1963, p. 72 (PMIV, pp. 598 f., fig. 593). Boardman referred there to my dating of the Cypriote group II in *AJA* LII (1948), pp. 186-188, which was principally based on the discovery of cylinders of the group in a fourteenth century context in the Bronze Age sanctuary of Aghios Jakovos (see *SCE* I, text volume, p. 361).

<sup>10</sup> I owe this information to Günther Kopcke.



Fig. 2. Drawings of two cylinder seals the gold mountings of which include a tube through the string hole: (a) Cylinder seal from Kasarma, see Pini, *CMS* 5/2, No. 583, Nauplion Museum. (b) Cylinder seal from Enkomi, see Murray, Smith, Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus*, pl. VIII, upper left.



Fig. 3. (a) Head of a lion on a gem from Knossos, found with Late Minoan II pottery; see *PM* IV, p. 588, fig. 583, and V. E.G. Kenna, *Cretan Seals*. Oxford, 1960, No. 315. (b) Head of a lion from a Middle Assyrian cylinder seal of the thirteenth century B.C. see *Corpus* I, No. 604.



Fig. 4. Head of one of the harvesters from the steatite vase from Hagia Triada (drawing after a photograph by Hirmer in *Marinatos Crete and Mycenae*, pl. 105, below).

[114] shortly before 1400, implied [116] here, would mean that the Theban cylinder could have been influenced by Minoan rather than by purely Mycenaean prototypes.

What the Minoan prototypes were which could have influenced a seal engraver on Cyprus is left to our imagination since no Minoan gems or seal rings have as yet been discovered on the island. In fact, nothing but pottery, a few daggers and a razor of Cretan origin have as yet been found.<sup>11</sup>

Not only do stylistic features seem to link the cylinder shown in Fig. 1 to Cretan prototypes but iconographic traits also suggest relationships with Cretan forms. The first to be discussed are the goddesses. Or is it one goddess, duplicated for reasons of symmetry? A goddess dominating one or more lions is known from Cretan seal rings and gems;<sup>12</sup> furthermore, the floral element forming the top of the headgear of the goddesses suggests association with Cretan iconography, although there is no precise parallel to which one can point. The garment of the figures was probably a bordered tunic created by sewing together at the top and sides two or more lengths of material and leaving open at the top holes for head and arms.<sup>13</sup> Evelyn Harrison suggested in conversation, on the analogy of some frescoes from Thera, that the long, patterned skirts were kilts worn over the tunic and held with a girdle at the waist. Such garments would correspond to those of the ladies of Crete and Cyprus except for the fact that those of Cyprus never show their breasts. The prominence of the two figures on the cylinder shown in Fig. 1 indicates that they – or she – played a dominant role in the scene. Probably the position of the griffin in the upper field above the suspended and perhaps defeated lion was meaningful. The relation between griffin and lion in Aegean art differs from that pictured in the art of Western Asia, where the two creatures alternate in menacing human figures or horned animals. In the Aegean they occasionally fight with each other<sup>14</sup> and, in several instances appear together being restrained by a hero. The latter is the case in two cylinders of Cypriote style, one found at Morphou, the [117] other on Rhodes.<sup>15</sup> Since both creatures were thought to be inimical

<sup>11</sup> See H.W. Catling and V. Karageorghis, "Minoika in Cyprus," *BSA* 55 (1960), pp. 109-122.

<sup>12</sup> See especially Evans, *PM*, II, p. 831, fig. 546, described as the impression of an earlier signet from the Temple Repository and *PM* IV, pp. 169-170, figs 132-133.

<sup>13</sup> See Evelyn B. Harrison for a description of the Carian dress which is "Essentially the same as the Mycenaean dress ..." in "Notes on Daedalic Dress," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* XXXVI (1977), p. 48.

<sup>14</sup> See the ivories from Delos, *BCH* LXXI-LXXII (1947-1948), pl. XXIX and a cylinder in the Pierpont Morgan Library described by Edith Porada in collaboration with Briggs Buchanan, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections* (Bollingen Series XIV, Washington 1948) (henceforth *Corpus I*), no. 1069, a cylinder of Aegean style but of unknown origin.

<sup>15</sup> Emily T. Vermeule, *Tomba tou Skourou*, The Harvard University Cyprus Archaeological Expedition and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1971-1974, fig. 69; Ingo Pini, "Kleinere griechische Sammlungen," *CMS* VI/2 (1975), p. 527, no. 657, A cylinder from



to man, they were probably meant to neutralize each other when represented fighting and to be subdued by gods and heroes on behalf of humanity. At the same time the frequent association of an Aegean deity with a lion<sup>16</sup> or griffin<sup>17</sup> may symbolize the fearful power of the god or goddess or of their emissaries. Perhaps the griffin in the upper field of the cylinder design in Fig. 1 was meant to convey such a meaning.

Slightly smaller than the two goddesses and perhaps somewhat less important is the lion-headed demon who raises a double axe with a leonine paw. It is interesting to see that the symbol was lifted to the height of the head in a ceremonial gesture. The figure is probably not to be identified with any of the male lion-headed demons occasionally found in Minoan gems.<sup>18</sup> Instead, the long robe may mark the figure as female. Perhaps she should be associated with the goddess Sekhmet, whose fearful destructive power could be turned to protection. Thus the priests of Sekhmet, a goddess who brought epidemics, formed one of the most ancient associations of medical doctors and veterinaries.<sup>19</sup> It is also possible, of course, that the lion-demon was an independent creation comparable to the lion-man of Assyro-Babylonian iconography, who was also thought to be a protective figure.<sup>20</sup>

The secondary motif of the cylinder is very problematic. The two Near Eastern-looking bull-men seem close in their appearance to those represented on a faience cylinder also found at Thebes,<sup>21</sup> from which they may have been copied. In turn, that cylinder can be dated by its stylistic identity with a seal impression from Nuzi in the time of king Shaushattar of Mitanni in the first [118] half of the fifteenth century B.C.<sup>22</sup> While this association of our cylinder, Fig. 1 with an early fifteenth century seal from Mesopotamia may not be chronologically important, because it could have been copied at

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Kasarma, *ibid.*, p. 464, no. 584, shows a griffin facing a lion on which sits a female figure side saddle. She may have been meant to dominate both creatures.

<sup>16</sup> See the references given in note 12.

<sup>17</sup> See the references given by Ingeborg Flagge, *Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des Greifen*, St. Augustin, 1975, p. 22, notes 13-16, I owe this reference to Alfred Frazer.

<sup>18</sup> For lion-headed male demons see V.E.G. Kenna, *Cretan Seals*, Oxford, 1960, no. 321 and PM IV, p. 441, no. 365.

<sup>19</sup> Jean Yoyotte, "Sekhmet," in Georges Posener, *Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne*, Paris, 1959, pp. 263-264.

<sup>20</sup> Richard S. Ellis, "'Lion-men' in Assyria," *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* XIX (1977), pp. 67-78.

<sup>21</sup> This cylinder from Thebes was reproduced in *Delt.* 19 B2 (1964), pl. 229b.

<sup>22</sup> The seal impression of Nuzi was published by me in the *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* XXIV (1947), no. 777, it dates from the time of Tehiptilla, a contemporary of king Shaushattar of Mitanni whom several scholars now date in the first half of the fifteenth century B.C., the most recent publication is that of Maynard P. Maidman, *A Socio-Economic Analysis of a Nuzi Family Archive*, University of Pennsylvania Dissertation, 1976, University Microfilms 77-861, pp. 29-30.

a later date, it nevertheless fits in well with the indications for a date before 1400 B.C., mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

One of the bull-men on the Theban cylinder holds with his left hand the feline animal toward which both bull-men reach, and his partner raises his right hand in the posture of supporting an object above him, thereby forming a parallel to the postures of bull-men who support a winged disk on a Syro-Mitannian cylinder from Perati, (Pl. XIV. 1). One wonders whether the meaning in the present scene is that the bull-man supports the heads of the humans and felines above and whether these have a directional or a celestial meaning. Their general resemblance to Minoan seals with hieroglyphs and the presence of a sign of the Cypro-Minoan script indicate that this was not a haphazard jumble of forms, but lack of precise parallels precludes efforts at interpretation beyond the statement that the human heads have several parallels on seal designs from Crete<sup>23</sup> and the feline heads appear in a square, held up by what may be a bull-man on a seal impression of the latter part of the third millennium B.C. from Ebla, Tell Mardikh.<sup>24</sup>

Aside from the two goddesses, the figures on the cylinder do not seem to have any connection with one another. This impression, however, may be misleading. A cylinder seal in the British Museum (Pl. XIV. 2) shows a pair of identical figures, probably distinguished by a globe on their heads as deities, holding their daggers in readiness to stab the dog which they are holding up between them. A bull-headed demon seems similarly to threaten a bird on a stand. Behind that demon is a lion-headed one holding a dagger and an indefinable object, perhaps an axe. The last figure is a griffin-demon, also holding a dagger.

The group of figures, each holding the same dangerous-looking dagger or knife, is reminiscent of a group of demons which appears on a relief of the Ptolemaic period in the Brooklyn Museum.<sup>25</sup> The figures have the head of [119] a crocodile, bull, lion, baboon, jackal, the god Seth and a hare. Texts collected by Serge Sauneron describe the creatures as emissaries of the fearful goddesses Sekhmet, Bastet, Nekhbet, and Neith. The envoys who bring illness or death are likened to arrows released by one of the divine archers. The texts indicate quite clearly that the figures in the Brooklyn relief and also in other representations such as a relief in the Rabenou Collection or the reliefs on the second floor at Dendera,<sup>26</sup> depict the envoys whose beneficial action consists in not doing evil to those who seek their protection.

<sup>23</sup> See John Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, London, 1970, p. 51, fig. III from Kalyvia Mesara, Late Minoan IIIA.

<sup>24</sup> See Paulo Matthiae, *Ebla, un impero ritrovato*, Turin, 1977, pl. 42.

<sup>25</sup> Serge Sauneron, "Le nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et le rôle du dieu Toutou-Tithoes," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* XIX (1960), pp. 269-287.

<sup>26</sup> Sauneron, *ibid.*, pp. 279, 280.

The late relief preserves several figures pictured on the magical “wands” of hippopotamus ivory made in the time of the Middle Kingdom of Egypt,<sup>27</sup> doubtless for the same protective purpose as the sphinx and its cohort in the relief of the Brooklyn Museum were carved in the Ptolemaic period. In the wands, however, the figures are not as tidily arranged as in the late relief, and not all the figures hold knives. Nevertheless, the similarity seems sufficiently strong to suggest that the wands constitute fore-runners for the later representations in which the powerful and frightening emissaries of the great gods appear with their knives held as on the wands, not only with their hands, but also with their feet.<sup>28</sup>

Here an interesting relation can be observed with one of the two heroes portrayed on the faience rhyton found by Vassos Karageorghis at Kition.<sup>29</sup> From that hero's feet rise knife-shaped objects although these are not differentiated in colour from the rest of his body as is the yellow knife which he holds in his hand. The knives on the feet are surely of Egyptian origin but apparently not completely understood by the maker of the rhyton.

In view of this connection with an Egyptian prototype, we may be justified in using Egyptian representations and their meaning for the interpretation of Cypriote scenes. Thus figures portrayed as killers of what seem to be nonaggressive animals, and which therefore appear destructive, may actually have been meant to be beneficial for the person for whom the object was made.

The fact that the Cypriote seal designs of the group discussed here, to which the Theban example belongs, are not a meaningless alignment of figures may also be indicated by a cylinder in a private collection which shows, like Fig. 1, two facing deities with an animal between them (**Pl. XIV. 3**). This time [120] the divine horns adorning the miters are clearly recognizable. The griffin of Fig. 1 is here placed in a different part of the field, and the bull-men are replaced by lion-men flanking a sacred tree. Nevertheless, there is a certain similarity in the choice of the motifs despite the great stylistic difference between the two examples, with the second certainly much more simplified, mannered, and surely considerably later in date. The retention of certain motifs, as here, probably indicates that they were intended to fulfil a definite purpose, to ward off evil in its various forms. It is, of course, the purpose of all amulets to be apotropaic, and seals, especially in Cyprus, were amulets first and seals second. But it is the specific meaning of the figures to which Egyptian examples may show the way. Thus the cylinder here discussed appears as a typical product of Cy-

<sup>27</sup> See Georg Steindorff, “The Magical Knives of Ancient Egypt,” *Walters Art Gallery Journal* IX (1946), pp. 41-51 and 106ff.

<sup>28</sup> See especially the sphinx on a plaquette in the collection of Khalil Rabenou reproduced by Sauneron, *ibid.*, pl. XIII, A.

<sup>29</sup> Vassos Karageorghis, *Excavation at Kition I. The Tombs*, Department of Antiquities Cyprus, 1974, pl. B, upper left, pl. XCL, upper left.

prus with its elements drawn from all the cultural areas with which the island was in contact in the Late Bronze Age: Western Asia from where the cylinder seal form and some of the iconography and composition were derived, Minoan Crete which provided certain other elements and Egypt where we may seek the explanation for the principal action of the design.

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## Remarks on the Tôd Treasure in Egypt

In recent years, I.M. Diakonoff has concerned himself with relations between ancient languages of Asia and Africa. It may therefore interest him that relations between the continents, indicated by some of the seals in the Tôd treasure of Egypt, point not only to origins of objects in the treasure in Mesopotamia and Syria, a fact already known to the excavators, but also to Iran and possibly Afghanistan or Turkmenistan. Because of limited time, this article was based on photographs of the seals reproduced by F. Bisson de la Roque<sup>1</sup> and B. Landsberger<sup>2</sup> and on impressions of those in the Louvre, generously furnished by Pierre Amiet. An examination of the original seal stones in the Cairo Museum and at the Louvre is a project for the future.

W.C. Hayes and G. Posener summarize the general view of the Tôd treasure in the following two paragraphs excerpted from the *Cambridge Ancient History*.<sup>3</sup>

Hayes writes: "In the foundations of the temple of Mont at Tôd in Upper Egypt were found four bronze caskets, inscribed with the name of Amenemes II and containing a treasure of small objects sent either as a gift or as tribute to the king of Egypt by the ruler of some important Syrian principality.<sup>4</sup> Besides ingots of gold and silver there were vessels of silver, one, at least, of

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<sup>1</sup> F. Bisson de la Roque, *Trésor de Tôd* (Cairo Museum, Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire, nos. 70501-754 [Cairo 1950]); id., G. Contenau, F. Chapouthier, *Le trésor de Tôd* [Cairo 1953].

<sup>2</sup> B. Landsberger, "Assyrische Königsliste und 'Dunkles Zeitalter'", in JCS 8 [1954] 118-9.

<sup>3</sup> *The Cambridge Ancient History* I/2, *The Early History of the Middle East* [Cambridge 1971] 503 and 543-4. Both chapters XX and XXI, which contain Hayes' and Posener's references to the Tôd treasure, were written half a decade before the publication of Vol. I/2.

<sup>4</sup> Hayes' note 7, in which he gave references to *Trésor*, J. Vandier's article about the treasure in *Syria* 18 [1937] 174-82. and H. Seyrig's article in *Syria* 31 [1954] 218-24.

characteristic Aegean type,<sup>5</sup> Babylonian cylinder-seals and amulets of lapis lazuli which must have come originally from Mesopotamia.”

Posener’s paragraph reads: “This treasure includes gold, silver and lapis lazuli; each of these materials is present in its crude state (ten ingots of gold and thirteen of silver, pieces of lapis) and as objects which have been worked (for instance, more than 150 metal cups and twenty-five metal chains, amulets, beads and more than fifty stone cylinders). Most of the cups have been bent and flattened by hammering; the majority of the cylinders are broken. It is possible that the broken items, and perhaps those which are intact as well, were there only for the weight of the material from which they were made. The cylinders, some of which bear cuneiform inscriptions, are clearly oriental in origin<sup>6</sup> the cups and a silver pendant are of Cretan provenance, or else Asiatic imitations of Cretan models.<sup>7</sup> This treasure gives an idea of the material which the pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty received from Syria, the hub of a vast system of exchanges which had developed in those days throughout the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean.”

Hayes calls the cylinder seals “Babylonian”, Posener, “Oriental”. Neither term suggests the diversity of style among these cylinders which indicates considerable variety in the region and period of origin. Both writers point to Syria as the likely source for the treasure. This view was mainly based on historical considerations and on the classification by G. Contenau of some of the early cylinder seals as Syrian, without indication of any parallels that would confirm his statements.

An accurate appraisal of the differences in time among the cylinders of Mesopotamian style contained in the treasure and of the diversity of the small objects of Mesopotamian Early Dynastic type was given by H. J. Kantor in “The Relative Chronology of Egypt and its Foreign Relations” in *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*.<sup>8</sup> She states: “If this motley stock of jewelers’ ma-

<sup>5</sup> Hayes’ note 8, in which he referred to H. J. Kantor, *The Aegean and the Orient* (AJA LI [1947]) 19-20, 32.

<sup>6</sup> Posener’s note 1 on p. 544, in which he referred to Contenau’s statements concerning the cylinders of Mesopotamian type, and to Landsberger’s statements cited in note 2 above. Posener also cited other western Asiatic cylinders found in Egypt contemporary with the Middle Kingdom: S. Smith, “Babylonian Cylinder Seals from Egypt”, in JEA 8 [1922] 207-10, p. 23; W. F. Albright, “Palestine in the Earliest Historical Period”, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 15 [1935] 217-8; and S. Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology* [London 1940] 13-14.

<sup>7</sup> Posener’s note 2 with reference to *Trésor* and H. J. Kantor, op.cit. in note 5 above. At the end of his paragraph, Posener referred in note 3 to W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (The Pelican History of Art [Harmondsworth 1958]) 113-19.

<sup>8</sup> *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, ed. R. W. Ehrich [Chicago 1965] 20.

ter[286]ials was put together in one place, the Syro-Palestinian littoral seems the most likely spot..." The *If* beginning the sentence implies that she had doubts concerning the assemblage of the materials in one place outside of Egypt. This is one assumption made by earlier writers which I also doubt and which I will try to disprove on the basis of a few seals and other objects, whose style is so distinctive that it can easily be recognized, even in poor photographs. My explanatory sketches are merely intended as an aid to memory for the reader; they make no claim to precision.

### "Syrian" Cylinders

The cylinder (**Fig. 1**) said by Contenau to belong to Syrian glyptic art (*Trésor de Tôd*, p. 16, s.v. pl. XL, 15226 bis), actually has its closest parallel in a cylinder found by K. Kenyon at Jericho in tomb A 1279 (**Fig. a**),<sup>9</sup> dated by A. Ben-Tor in the beginning of the Early Bronze II period, probably contemporary with the second half of the First Egyptian Dynasty. Ben-Tor included the seal in a group that he cited as related to the Jamdat Nasr type seals of the Diyala region.<sup>10</sup> K. Kenyon published the cylinder as a bead, which may be correct in view of its purely ornamental character.

Two other cylinders (**Fig. 2**), assigned by Contenau to Syria, (*Trésor de Tôd*, p. 16 s.v. pl. XLI, 15225 and 15225 bis) are also slender seals, engraved with ornamental designs that resemble festoons accompanied by delicate hatchings. They belong to a group discussed by Georgina Herrmann in her work on lapis lazuli<sup>11</sup> because cylinders of this group are almost always made of that stone. There is no reason to assume that the group originated in Syria, because the largest number of such seals found at one site comes from the Royal Cemetery of Ur,<sup>12</sup> where six examples were discovered. Moreover, a cylinder in the Iraq Museum (**Fig. b**), published by Amiet,<sup>13</sup> shows a typical Early Dynastic banqueting scene above a row of festoons a motif thereby tied firmly to a characteristic Mesopotamian theme.

For one cylinder, however (**Fig. 3**) which Contenau called "Cappadocian" (*Trésor de Tôd*, p. 17, s.v. pl. XLI, 15215), a classification in the Syrianizing

<sup>9</sup> K. Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho I* [London [1960] 91, fig. 27:4.

<sup>10</sup> A. Ben-Tor, *Cylinder Seals of Third-Millennium Palestine* (BASOR, supplement series [Cambridge [1978] 4, s.v. 1A-2, p.14, Fig. 1:2; pp. 42, 49 and 66.

<sup>11</sup> G. Herrmann, "Lapis Lazuli: the Early Phases of its Trade", in *Iraq XXX* [1968] 33-4.

<sup>12</sup> C. L. Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery* (UE II/ London & Philadelphia [1934]) pl. 203: 129, U. 11488; 130, U.11973; pl. , 207: 202, U. 8339; 203, U. 8420; 204, U. 8681; 205, U. 9263.

<sup>13</sup> P. Amiet, *La glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque* [Paris 1961] p. 60 and pl. 80: 1055.

Colony style of Nimet Özgüç<sup>14</sup> is possible nor can one exclude an origin in Syria itself. The fragmentary cylinder shows a heroic personage holding aloft a fenestrated axe and a second weapon, perhaps a javelin. A cylinder with that figure carved in the Syrianizing Colony style, contemporary with Level II at Kültepe, dated c. 1920-1840 B.C., was found at Ras Shamra.<sup>15</sup> On that cylinder, however the hero's kilt is folded over in such a way as to terminate horizontally at the bottom, as does the kilt of a similar personage in a related cylinder of unknown provenance in the Walters Art Gallery (**Fig. c**).<sup>16</sup> The hero of the cylinder from the Tôd treasure, however, has a kilt which forms an oblique line at the bottom, comparable to those worn by dignitaries carved on a limestone basin from Tell Mardikh, ancient Ebla, in North Syria (**Fig. d**).<sup>17</sup> These dignitaries also have thick hair marked by parallel striations like the hero of the Tôd cylinder, who differs from the other representations of a heroic figure holding two weapons aloft in that he lacks their plumed helmet.<sup>18</sup>

Another feature which may point to an origin of the Tôd cylinder in North Syria is the shape of the small table with a single vertical support, ending at the bottom in two bull's feet. A table on an ivory plaque (**Fig. e**) from Tell Mardikh-Ebla, thought to belong to the time of the XIIIth Egyptian Dynasty,<sup>19</sup> is very similar, but the two bull's feet rise to form a double vertical support, firmly tied and perhaps doweled into a rounded element below the table top. Similar tables in seal impressions of the Assyrian Colony style 287 on tablets from Kültepe (**Fig. f**) and also on a basin from Ebla have a sensible pair of lateral vertical supports.<sup>20</sup> A single vertical support for the table top, on stands which lack the bull's feet, is only found in Syrian cylinders of a somewhat later example than the one from Tôd, which doubtless belongs chronologically to the Syrianizing Colony group. The fact that tables with a single support existed in Syria, though at a later time,<sup>21</sup> makes it seem possible that the delicate little

<sup>14</sup> N. Özgüç in N. & T. Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe, 1949* (TTKY V, No. 12 [Ankara [1949]] 234ff.

<sup>15</sup> R. Dussaud, "La Lydie et ses voisins aux hautes époques", in *Babyloniaca* XI [1930] pl. III:1.

<sup>16</sup> E. Porada, "The Warrior with Plumed Helmet..." in *Berytus* VII [1942] pl. VIII:1.

<sup>17</sup> *Ebla*, fig. 88.

<sup>18</sup> See the reproductions in my article cited in note 16 above, *Berytus* VII [1942] pl. VIII.

<sup>19</sup> P. Matthiae, "Two Princely Tombs at Tell Mardikh-Ebla", in *Archaeology* 33/2 [1980] 14.

<sup>20</sup> See T. & N. Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe, 1949* (TTKY V, No. 12) pl. LXII: 695, 700-702, and Matthiae, *Ebla*, fig. 82.

<sup>21</sup> Examples are H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of E.T. Newell* (OIP 22 [Chicago 1934]) No. 308; L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux... Bibliothèque Nationale* [Paris 1910] No. 451; C.H. Gordon, "Western Asiatic Cylinder Seals in the Walters Art Gallery", in *Iraq* VI [1939] no. 42.



table of the Tôd cylinder is from an area which at all times excelled in elegant decorative woodworking, perhaps more so than regions further north. Lastly, the use of lapis lazuli for this cylinder differs from the hematite almost universally employed for cylinders of the different styles used in the Assyrian colonies of Anatolia. Again, this indicates that a Syrian origin of the cylinder is possible, though by no means certain.

Another cylinder of great interest for which a Syrian origin is tentatively suggested (**Fig. 4**) shows the statue of a single large animal on a platform, its body covered by a fleece with the tufts of hair arranged in several registers. The animal's head is covered by what now seems like a flat cap with upturned brim but which was probably originally a horned miter, as convincingly suggested by Contenau (*Trésor de Tôd*, p. 18, s. v , pl. XLII, 15227). The large size of the animal and the careful, naturalistic engraving reminds one of the style of the Akkad period, the iconography of which includes a monster with heavy fleece and horned miter, carrying three females on its back (**Fig. g**). The females are shown once fully dressed in the flounced robes of deities, and twice nude.<sup>22</sup> In one of the latter representations the body of the creature which supports them is formed of stars<sup>23</sup> (**Fig. h**), from which image one may conclude that the creature represented a configuration of stars. It is all the more interesting to find the creature surviving in the carvings on a basin from Ebla<sup>24</sup> (**Fig. i**). There the stars of the body are indicated by small circles, the creature is winged and has a leonine head that spews water or venom, and the hind feet are shaped like the legs and talons of a bird and the forefeet like those of a lion, resembling the lion griffin of the weather god.<sup>25</sup> The monster's head in the basin from Ebla can serve as the reconstruction of the creature's head in the cylinder from Tôd, since the upper jaw and the ruff of the neck are similar in both. Yet the style of the creature suggests an inverse relation between the two representations, the cylinder being the prototype for the monster on the basin from Ebla. One may assume that partial abrasion of the Akkadian cylinder seal was intended to remove the figures surrounding the monster and create a field in

<sup>22</sup> They are fully dressed in a cylinder in the Buffalo Museum of Science but nude in E. Porada, *Corpus* No. 234 and Iraq Museum 3528.

<sup>23</sup> The cylinder in the Iraq Museum, published by P. Amiet, "Notes d'archéologie mésopotamienne à propos de quelques cylindres inédits du Musée de Baghdad", in *Sumer* XI [1955] 60, fig. 12.

<sup>24</sup> P. Matthiae, *Missione archaeologica in Siria, campagna di scavi*, 1965 [Rome 1966] pl. XLVII.

<sup>25</sup> For a good representation of the lion griffin on a cylinder of the Akkad period, see *Corpus* No. 220.

<sup>25a</sup> Madeline Noveck reminded me of the fragments from Ebla (Matthiae, *Ebla*, Fig. 35) as resembling the representation of the monster in the cylinder from Tôd.

which a procession of figures engraved in a contemporary style would appear on the valuable lapis lazuli stone. However, the abrasion was obviously performed incompetently by one who must have been a non-Mesopotamian seal cutter; part of the upper seal broke off and the piece became scrap lapis lazuli. On present evidence, one would like to locate this process at Ebla, especially in view of the fragments in limestone and lapis lazuli of a scene of a procession showing the garments of the figures with rows of tufts of a precision reminiscent of those of the monster in the Tòd cylinder.<sup>25a</sup>

Despite the stylistic relations established with Ebla for two of the cylinders of the Tòd treasure, the evidence is not sufficient to suggest that these seals actually came from Ebla. So far there are no cylinder seals of related style found at that site. While North Syria seems the most likely region for the origin of at least one of the two cylinders, their precise source remains undiscovered. It is possible that several more cylinders of the Tòd treasure, carved in a crude version of Babylonian style, also originated in that area, but this cannot be ascertained at present.

#### 288 *Mesopotamian Cylinder Seals*

The fragment of what must have been a beautifully carved Early Dynastic cylinder (**Fig. 5**) retains the figure of a human-headed bull that has carefully undulated strands of hair forming the beard and turning up in little curls on the side. Small curls on top of the head are indicated by little round dots. The small figure of a gazelle-like animal beside the full-sized figure indicates a late date in the Early Dynastic III period. The closest parallel I could find for the figure of the human-headed bull is the impression of the cylinder of Ama-bara(g).si(g) from Ur.<sup>26</sup> But as far as the impressions permit judgment, the correspondence is not close enough to suggest the same engraver's hand, and it is entirely possible that the cylinder was engraved elsewhere.

The second cylinder of Mesopotamian style chosen for discussion (**Fig. 6**), now badly abraded, must have been a magnificent seal of the Ur III Dynasty. An introducing goddess leads a lady toward an enthroned king while a second goddess behind the lady raises her hands in prayer. The size and execution of the cylinder suggests that it was intended for a royal personage. In view of the

<sup>26</sup> For a drawing and some photographs of the impression see L. Legrain, *Archaic Seal-Impressions* (UE III [London & Philadelphia 1936] No. 517. For the name of the seal owner, see E. Sollberger, "Notes on the Early Inscriptions from Ur and El-'Obēd", *Iraq* XXII [1960] 83, s.v. 49-52.

extreme rarity of the representation of women as worshippers conducted into the king's presence, in cylinders of the Third Dynasty of Ur it may be suggested that the cylinder originally belonged to a princess, perhaps one of the fifty children of King Shulgi (2094-2057 B.C.). The reasons for which the cylinder was abraded and available as scrap lazuli in a foreign country, a little more than a century after Shulgi's death, remain a matter for speculation in view of the fact that, in general, the seal owners took their seals with them to their graves.<sup>27</sup>

It seems likely that both of the fine cylinders just discussed were carved in Mesopotamia proper, but it is not impossible that they were made at Mari, where accomplished artists were at work producing some of the finest Near Eastern sculptures and paintings. With few exceptions, the cylinders published in the excavations reports are not of the same high quality as the major arts, but this may have been due to the valuable stones used which were plundered in the destruction of the city, or discovered and removed in the course of the millennia in which the site has been exposed to treasure digging. The first hypothesis is based on the discovery of the cylinder of Ana-Sintaklāku, known from the impressions of this beautiful cylinder on tablets from Mari.<sup>28</sup> The original

<sup>27</sup> It must be mentioned, however, that this practice may have been limited to southern Mesopotamia because there is evidence from Nuzi for the passing of a cylinder from father to son, from Puḫi-šenni to Teḫiptilla who used his father's cylinder seal during his own lifetime, see P. M. Purves, "The Early Scribes of Nuzi", *AJSL* LVII [1940] 164. Similarly there are several cases of a son's use of the father's seal cited by D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh*. (AOAT 27 [Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975]), e.g. 169, Sealing 189, Niqmepa using the seal of his father Idrimi. Furthermore, there was the use of cylinders of earlier styles as dynastic seals. Thus the cylinder of Abban, son of Šaran, Sealing 11, carved in the Syrian style of about 1700 B.C. was used by Niqmepa in the middle of the 15th century B.C., see D. Collon, *op. cit.*, 169-70. The enigmatic sealings of "dynastic cylinders" from Ugarit, C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* III [Paris 1956] p. 68 fig. 92; pp. 70-1 figs. 93, 94; p. 72 fig. 95; p. 73 fig. 96; p. 74 fig. 97; p. 75 fig. 98; p. 76 fig. 99, must also be cited here. The style of one of the cylinders belongs to the Isin-Larsa period, c. 2000-1800 B.C., that of the other is thought to be a copy of the Kassite period. However, both seem to be inscribed with the same large signs with curvaceous wedges which characterize Syrian seal inscriptions of the 17th century B.C., but continue into the Mitannian style cylinders of the 15th century B.C. (Examples of the earlier type of inscription are D. Collon, *op. cit.*, pls. LXI:5 and LXVII:11; of the later type, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXV: 230 or the inscription on the sealing of Šaušatar, R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi* II [Cambridge, Mass. 1937] pl. 118:1). Both "dynastic cylinders" therefore seem to have been inscribed in Ugarit although the Isin-Larsa cylinder is of Mesopotamian style.

<sup>28</sup> For the seal impressions see A. Parrot, *Mission archéologique de Mari II: Le Palais* [Paris 1959], pl. XLVIII: 71a, 72, 73, 81b, pp. 169-85. For a reproduction of the photograph of the impression made with the original cylinder, see A. Parrot, *Syria* 43 [1966] 335; see also the enlarged photograph by E. Porada *Ancient Art in Seals* [Princeton 1980] fig. I:14.

cylinder was purchased in about 1965 on the antiquities market in Iran, where it had probably been shipped by modern Syrian dealers.

It was re-engraved in the Old Babylonian period with the inscription of a secondary owner, the delicate minute original signs of Ana-Sintaklaku's inscription still visible under the second, coarser inscription.

The statement about one of the most outstanding cylinders known to have come from Mari was made to substantiate the suggestion that Mari had seal cutters whose work matched that of its sculptors. The importance of Mari in relation to the Tòd Treasure becomes obvious when the amulets and other objects of lapis lazuli are compared. Amulets in the form of a lion-headed eagle (**Fig. j-1**) are paralleled in shell by examples from the Temple of Ishtar in Mari (**Fig. j-2**).<sup>29</sup> In the same panel of the Mari finds appear shells into which two holes have been bored, giving the effect of eyes, with one hole at the top for suspension (**Fig. k-1**). A shell of this form, imitated in lapis lazuli (**Fig. k-2**), is seen on a necklace of the Tòd Treasure. Amulets in the form of couchant bulls with small, tightly curved and slightly raised horns (**Fig. l-1**) are seen in the same form at Mari (**Fig. l-2**).<sup>30</sup> Most characteristic are the snail-shell curls of hair or beard from Tòd (**Fig. m-1**), corresponding to those found in the Temples called Ishtar and Ninni-Zaza (**Fig. m-2**).<sup>31</sup> Such curls, which were probably employed in inlays of representations of bearded figures in the Early Dynastic period, were also made of chlorite,<sup>32</sup> limestone and shell.<sup>33</sup>

A fragment of a relief or inlay in lapis lazuli (**Fig. n-1**), showing a male torso and the beginning of the lower body with a striking swayback outline of the back and obliquely descending lines for the indication of a double belt, surely represents a bull-man as shown on cylinder seals of the Second Early Dynastic period, c. 2750-2500 B.C. (**Fig. n-2**).<sup>34</sup> This relief would be earlier than most of the material discovered so far at Mari, except for cylinder seals.

Three large-faceted, date-shaped beads found in the Tòd treasure (*Trésor*, pl. XLVIII, 70726-70728) correspond to those found at Ur, said by Woolley to have been, together with the faceted double conoid beads, the favorite for the

<sup>29</sup> A. Parrot, *Mission archéologique de Mari I: Le Temple d'Ishtar* [Paris 1956] pl. LVIII: spread eagles of shell (210, 235, 236, 213, 211, 237, 246).

<sup>30</sup> A. Parrot, *Le Temple d'Ishtar*, pl. LVIII: 1018.

<sup>31</sup> A. Parrot, *Mission archéologique de Mari III: Les temples d'Ishtar et de Ninni-Zaza* [Paris 1961], pl. LXXVII.

<sup>32</sup> Curls of chlorite or steatite were found at Tarut, an island off the Saudi-Arabian coast in the Persian Gulf, *Artibus Asiae* XXXIII [1971] pl. VIII, no. 23.

<sup>33</sup> I owe the oral information about limestone and shell examples from Nippur to D. P. Hansen.

<sup>34</sup> See, e.g., H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* [London 1939] pl. XI b from Fara.

man's *brîm* head-dress of the early period.<sup>35</sup> The same type of bead was found engraved with a text containing the name of king Mes-ane-pada of Ur in the treasure of Mari.<sup>36</sup>

### *Iranian Seals*

Perhaps the most interesting cylinder seal in the Tôd treasure is one reproduced by Benno Landsberger (**Fig. 7**),<sup>37</sup> which shows in the lower part two female figures in tailor seat posture, their flounced garments covering their legs in such a way that they appear to be a solid longitudinal form with rounded corners. This type of representation is characteristic of female figures on seals from southeast Iran, and is also found in a stamp seal of the Kaftari period published in the excavation report of Tepe Malyan – ancient Anshan<sup>38</sup> – located in the center of Fars province in Iran (**Fig. o**). On the stamp, however, the figure sits on a low platform. This was pointed out to me by Holly Pittman, who will publish the glyptic material from Malyan and who has examined the original seal. Whether or not the figures in the Tôd treasure seal also sit on platforms cannot be determined from the reproduction available. The figures are robed in draped garments with many folds, perhaps indicating that they were meant to be goddesses. A spiky trefoil plant appears beside the figure at the left, and what may be a branch beside the figure at the right. The spiky plant resembles the ears of grain which rise from a seated deity on a cylinder from Shahdad in Kerman, southeast Iran (**Fig. p**),<sup>39</sup> and the draped robe recalls the garment of the seated grain deity on a cylinder from Tepe Yahya (**Fig. q**),<sup>40</sup> also situated in Kerman province. The cylinders from Shahdad and Tepe Yahya belong to the last third of the third millennium B.C., whereas the Kaftari period of Tall-i Malyan is dated approximately 2000-1700 B.C.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>35</sup> C. L. Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery* (UE II), pl. 134, U. 8693 (the two lateral beads) and text, p. 369 fig. 78.

<sup>36</sup> A. Parrot, *Mission archéologique de Mari IV: Le "trésor" d'Ur* [Paris 1968] pl. XXI. For a corrected reading of the inscription, see E. Sollberger, "La perle de Mari", *RA* LXIII [1969] 169-70.

<sup>37</sup> See note 2 above, *JCS* 8 [1954] 118, 70753.

<sup>38</sup> W. Sumner, "Excavations at Tall-i Malyān, 1971-1972", *Iran* XII [1974] 172, fig. 12:i.

<sup>39</sup> A. Hakimi, *Catalogue de l'exposition LUT, xabis (Shahdad)* [Premier symposium annuel de la recherche archéologique en Iran, 1972] No. 324.

<sup>40</sup> C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, "The Proto-Elamite Settlement at Tepe Yahya", *Iran* IX [1971] pl. VI, opposite p. 95, text p. 92, s.v. Fig. 2:A.

<sup>41</sup> Sumner in *Iran* XII, 173.

In the upper part of the cylinder from the Tôd treasure (**Fig. 7**) stand two identical pairs of figures. Such a repetition of one or two figures facing in the same direction is also found in the Proto-Elamite glyptic art of the early third millennium B.C.<sup>42</sup> This is a compositional device which differs fundamentally from Mesopotamian artistic conventions.

In both pairs the figure at the left seems to have the sections of its robe marked by two or more drillings, whereas the figure at the right has one large drilling in each section. These vertically sectioned garments may have indicated the tiered, flounced garments of Mesopotamian deities in the late third and early second millennium B.C. Streams of water flow down, perhaps from the figures' elbows. The figures all have one hand raised; in each pair the figure at the left seems to lay its hand over that of the right-hand figure.

[290] There is thus some difference indicated between the figures, but one cannot make any more precise statements about them, except that the seal design was meant to portray a group of deities of water and fertility for which there are parallels in other works of Iranian art.<sup>43</sup>

An earlier Iranian seal in the Tôd treasure is the fragmentary stamp with band handle showing a sheep with horizontally extended horns and characteristically rounded nose (**Fig. 8**). This seal closely parallels an unpublished white marble stamp seal from Shahdad and the figure of the reclining sheep in the cylinder (**Fig. p**).<sup>43a</sup>

Lastly, there is a cylindrical bead amulet with fantastic monsters engraved on the flat top and bottom (**Fig. 9**, photograph and two drawings) The distinctive shape of the amulet resembles that of a lapis lazuli one (**Fig. r**) published by P. Amiet and related by him to bead amulets of the Jukhar culture of India.<sup>44</sup> However, the amulet of the Tôd treasure and the Iranian one differ from the

<sup>42</sup> Examples of such repetitions are P. Amiet, *Glyptique susienne* (Mémoires de la délégation archéologique en Iran, t. XLIII [Paris 1912]), Nos. 933, 934, 1012, 1017(?) and probably many others which are only partly preserved.

<sup>43</sup> An example of goddesses with streams of water is provided by the stele of Untash-Napirisha, P. Amiet, *Elam* [Auvers sur Oise 1966] p. 374, fig. 282 and p. 377, fig. 285. The great bronze altar from Susa, which was supported by goddesses holding vases (Amiet, *Elam*, p. 383, fig. 291) doubtless had water flowing from these vases.

<sup>43a</sup> Joan Aruz drew my attention to a marble stamp seal found in levels of the Jukhar Culture of India at Mohendjo Daro, E.H.J. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohendjo daro II* [New Delhi 1937] pl. XCV:479, which is so closely related to the style of the Shadad seals that it must have been imported from that region.

<sup>44</sup> P. Amiet, "Antiquités du désert de Lut", RA LXVIII [1914] 102 fig. 6, and reference to the bead amulets from Chanhü Daro, *ibid.* 101 note 8.

Indian<sup>45</sup> in the elaboration and delicacy of their engraving. This relationship merely seems to indicate that India and Southeast Iran had received the shape from a source situated between them, perhaps located somewhere in Bactria, the source of lapis lazuli. It is to this region that the strange monsters with curled-up wing tips engraved on the Tôd treasure amulet must be assigned. Although there are as yet no precise parallels, the combination of animal forms to create extraordinary, fear-inspiring creatures flourished on the seals which are now known to have come from Bactria.<sup>46</sup>

### *Conclusions*

The aim of this article has been to define the different areas from which the lapis lazuli objects of the Tôd treasure may have come, in order to determine the nature of this assemblage. The vessels of precious metal, mainly silver, have not been included because their stylistic analysis is beyond my expertise. However, Ellen Davis has voiced the opinion that the Cretan relations, generally taken to determine the origin of the bowls, are tenuous and that an origin elsewhere, perhaps in Anatolia, should be considered.<sup>47</sup>

The hypothetical Syrian prince, thought to have paid tribute or sent gifts of silver and lapis lazuli to the Egyptian king, would therefore have been a potentate with sufficient wealth to purchase silver from a site north of his country and lapis lazuli objects of a type produced so far to the east that no Mesopotamian or Syrian site has ever yielded any examples. There is no historical evidence for an exchange of gifts on that scale between the rulers of Syria and Egypt in the early reigns of the Twelfth Dynasty, and the assumption that the entire treasure was sent by the person whose name appears on one of the silver bowls<sup>48</sup> is an unlikely one. Some ideas may therefore be voiced on the origin of the various groups of objects recognized within the treasure.

<sup>45</sup> E. Mackay, *Chanhu Daro Excavations 1935-1936* (AOS Vol. 20 [New Haven, Conn., 1943]) pl. L:1.

<sup>46</sup> See P. Amiet, "Antiquités de la Bactriane", *La revue au Louvre* XXVIII [1978] and references given in the notes, also V. I. Sarianidi, "New Finds in Bactria and Indo-Iranian Connections", *South-Asian Archaeology, 1977* (Papers from the Fourth International Conference of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe [Naples 1979] 655, fig.5:10, 11; also id., "Bactrian Centre of Ancient Art", *Mesopotamia* XII [1917] fig. 59: 14, 16, 11.

<sup>47</sup> E. N. Davis, *The Vapheio Cups and Aegean Gold and Silver Ware* [New York & London 1977] 69-79.

<sup>48</sup> J. Vandier, "A propos d'un dépôt de provenance asiatique trouvé à Tôd", *Syria* 18 [1937] 179 and note 2.

The site which provides a substantial number of parallels for the amulets and hair curls is Mari, a fact noted early by A. Parrot and J. Vandier.<sup>49</sup> It is not only the type of object which is important, however, but also their association and number. These are comparable to the groups of lapis lazuli objects from the temples of Ishtar and Ninni-Zaza.<sup>50</sup> Unfortunately, the indications concerning the discovery of these objects are insufficient to judge the extent to which they formed units.<sup>51</sup> In the report on the temple of Ishtar, however, the amulets in the shape of lion-headed eagles as well as most of the shells with three holes were discovered in the room called "*Chambre des prêtres*".<sup>52</sup> Despite the limited archaeological information available, there is little doubt that the lapis lazuli objects from the Tûd treasure belonged to similar assemblages, although the variety of the single items is 291 greater than in the units from Mari. Nevertheless, one may assume that the items belonged to one or more temples that would not have divested themselves of lapis lazuli items, however fragmentary, since they could always have been reused in the temple workshops; this indicates that they were forcefully removed by a conqueror.

In general, one thinks of the Akkadian rulers, Sargon (2334-2279 B.C.) and Naram Sin (2254-2218 B.C.), when questioning the destruction and subsequent pillaging of sites in North Syria. However, according to a text from Tell Mardikh-Ebla, a military commander led a victorious campaign against Mari and became king of that town.<sup>53</sup> I can only guess that this alien ruler of Mari might have removed lapis lazuli and other treasure from some of the temples and sent them to Ebla,<sup>54</sup> and further suggest that fear of divine retribution ren-

<sup>49</sup> Vandier, *op.cit.*, p. 180 note 3. The date given in that note, however, should be changed from the 28th to the 24th century B.C.

<sup>50</sup> Parrot, *Les temples d'Ishtar et de Ninni-Zaza*, pl. LXXVII.

<sup>51</sup> Unfortunately, the reports on the location of these lapis lazuli groups, said by Parrot, *op. cit.* pp. 265-7, to have come from Salle 13, Cour 12 of the temple of Ninni-Zaza and Salle 5 of the temple of Ishtar, which are found in Parrot, *op. cit.* pp. 23-31 and pp. 19-20, do not mention the emplacement of the small finds.

<sup>52</sup> *Le temple d'Ishtar*, pp. 159-9. [sic !]

<sup>53</sup> See G. Pettinato, "Relations entre les royaumes d'Ebla et de Mari au troisième millénaire d'après les archives royales de Tell Mardikh-Ebla", *Akkadica* 2 [mars-avril 1977] 20-28, especially p. 24.

<sup>54</sup> In *Akkadica* 2, p. 27, Pettinato stated that in the economic text No. 1953 the sum of the tribute paid by the city of Mari to the king of Ebla as a result of the military campaign (which ended with the defeat of Mari) was 2193 minas of silver and 134 minas and 26 shekels of gold. Of this 1100 minas of silver and 93 minas of gold are explicitly mentioned as property of the defeated king Iblul-II whereas the rest of the sum was to be paid by the Elders of Mari. In the same text the part of the tribute which was to go to the military commander, Enna-Dagan, was given as 15% of the total tribute. There is no mention of lapis lazuli objects. But



dered the temple loot an undesirable addition to the royal treasure. Objects of such a treasure might have been used as material for an exchange with Egypt; continuing relations seem to be indicated by the presence at Ebla of two fragments of Egyptian diorite vessels with hieroglyphic inscriptions of Chephren of Dynasty IV, and of the alabaster lid of a jar with the inscription of Pepi I of Dynasty VI.<sup>55</sup> Of course, the items may also have gone to Egypt at some later date, perhaps together with the abraded cylinder showing a monster (Fig. 4) and the Syrianizing cylinder (Fig. 3).

The cylinder seals of Mesopotamian styles from the Akkad to the Isin-Larsa periods are so varied that they may have been collected over many decades by agents charged with obtaining lapis lazuli for the king of Egypt.<sup>56</sup>

The third group, consisting of seals from east Iran and possibly Afghanistan, is unique in two respects: there is no other evidence of raw lapis lazuli in excavations of Western Asia of which I am aware [but see addendum]; nor are there seals of East Iranian type found in Mesopotamia and Syria, as mentioned before. Hence I suggest that this material travelled to Egypt not overland, as the other materials might have come, but over the age-old sea routes by which early influences from Sumer and Iran had reached Egypt in the Predynastic period.<sup>57</sup>

[In Edith Porada's offprint, this paragraph is missing] Perhaps an indication of trade goods from the ports of the Persian Gulf or the Indian Ocean to Egypt is provided by the extraordinary seal impression on jar coverings found by M. Bietak in Nubia (Fig. s)<sup>58</sup> and kindly communicated to me by two photographs. The following account is taken from M. Bietak's letter concerning these seal-

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if these lapis lazuli items were temple property, as I assume, the action of removal may have been unofficial.

<sup>55</sup> See P. Matthiae, "Tell Mardikh: Ancient Ebla", *AJA* 82 [1978] 542.

<sup>56</sup> For the action of agents attempting to collect lapis lazuli for the Hittite king and for one of the Assyrian kings, see A. L. Oppenheim, *Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia* [Corning, N. Y., 1970] pp. 11-12, notes 20-21.

<sup>57</sup> For the likelihood of early direct Mesopotamian-Egyptian sea trade, see R. J. Kantor, in *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, p. 13. For evidence concerning extensive sea routes from Mesopotamia to the east in the third and early second millennium B.C., see A. L. Oppenheim, "The Seafaring Merchants of Ur", *JAOS* 74 [1954] 6-17. For a statement about extensive Harappan sea trade, see G.F. Dales, "A Search for Ancient Seaports", *Expedition* 4 [1962] 44.

<sup>58</sup> [In Edith Porada's offprint, the footnotes 58-60 are crossed out]

M. Bietak, *Ausgrabungen in Sayala-Nubien, 1961-1965: Denkmäler der C-Gruppe und der Pan-Gräber-Kultur* (Österr. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, Denkschriften, phil.-hist. Kl. Bd. 92 [Wien 1966]) pp. 31-2; pl. 18:11, 12, photographic reproduction, pl. 15:2.

ings. They were discovered in Sayala, a settlement of the C-group belonging to one of the earliest in the Nile Delta. The sealings, found on a field plateau on the western bank of the Nile, probably derive from the first settlers of the C-group, people who lived in lower Nubia about 2200 B.C. (during the period of the IVth Dynasty of Egypt). Citing the extensive expeditions of the nomarch of Elephantine *Hrw-hwjf*,<sup>59</sup> Bietak suggests that the inhabitants of the settlement could have obtained such a seal jar only through contact with Egyptians who had undertaken trade expeditions to the Sudan. However, as Bietak states correctly, the main problem is the manner in which the Egyptians came into possession of a jar with a seal of foreign derivation. On the basis of recent finds in East Iran, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan and Pakistan,<sup>60</sup> the type of compartmental seal on the jar covering could only have come from that general region. Nothing known from Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria or Anatolia corresponds closely to the type of impressions found by Bietak, and to the related examples of Bactrian stamp seals shown in figure t.

The different route suggested here for the seals and raw lapis lazuli from the “east” contained in the Tôd assemblage, shows that at least that part of the treasure came from a different quarter and surely by trade. This supports <sup>292</sup> W. Helck’s suggestion that the treasure was a *Handelssendung*<sup>61</sup> although he

<sup>59</sup> [Crossed out by Edith Porada in the offprint]  
E. Edel, *Inschriften des Alten Reichs VI: Die Reiseberichte des Hrw-hwjf (Herchuf)* (Veröff. d. Deutschen Akad. d. Wissenschaften, Inst. f. Orientforschung 29 [Berlin 1955]) 51-75. I owe this reference to O. Goelet.

<sup>60</sup> [Crossed out by Edith Porada in the offprint]  
Good examples of compartmental seals with geometric patterns from East Iran, comparable to those of the sealings found in Nubia are reproduced by C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky and M. Tosi, “Shahr-i Sokhta and Tepe Yahya: Tracks on the Earliest History of the Iranian Plateau”, *East and West*, New Series 23 [1973], Figs. 32-49 from periods II and III at Shahr-i Sokhta; Fig. 99:L, a button-back steatite stamp seal from Tepe Yahya, Level IVB.  
From Turkmenistan and Afghanistan, ancient Bactria, seals of this type were published by V. M. Masson and V. I. Sarianidi, *Central Asia* [Southampton 1972], p. 143, middle left; also V. I. Sarianidi, *Drevnie zemledel'tsi Afganistana* [Moscow 1977], pl. I:1, 6 (the latter seal, of copper, seems to have been identical with the second impression from Nubia), 9; pl. III:1-6(*passim*); p. 85, Fig. 44:14-19; p. 87, Fig. 45, *passim*; p. 94, Fig. 48:2,3,4,7; p. 95, Fig. 49; p. 50, Fig. 50:3.

For a less closely related design of the same type of compartmental stamp seal, from Pakistani Baluchistan, see W. A. Fairervis, Jr., *The Roots of Ancient India*, 2nd ed. [Chicago 1975] 142:7. Perhaps the faience seal Mackay, *Chanhu Daro Excavations* pl. LXXXVII:23 should also be cited among the related objects.

<sup>61</sup> W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* [Wiesbaden 1971], 2nd ed., p. 73.

assumes a north Syrian harbor town as the only point of departure whereas the evidence shown here indicates more diverse sources of the materials and routes of access to Egypt than have been assumed until now. Moreover, the Egyptian bureaucracy is most likely to have used the words “tribute” and “gift” for the Tôd treasure since all large scale trade was undertaken on behalf of the king.<sup>62</sup>

The fact that the treasure was not a foundation deposit, as is quite clear from the excavator’s report<sup>63</sup> and as M. Eaton Krause discusses at length in an as yet unpublished paper, adds some indication concerning the purpose of the materials in the caskets. H. J. Kantor’s term “motley stock of jewelers’ materials”<sup>64</sup> accurately describes the assemblage. In the case of the temple of Montu where Sesostri I, the father of Ammenemes II, had dedicated piers and lintels, it is likely that Ammenemes, the son, had had plans for the dedication of precious objects of silver, gold and lapis lazuli, for which the contents of the caskets were to be used. Obviously, these plans were not carried out; the caskets appear to have become part of the temple inventory that remained untouched, judging by the Isin-Larsa date of the latest cylinders in the treasure and the absence of cylinders whose style would indicate a date after 1800 B.C. For example, there are no Assyrian or Babylonian cylinders of the time of Šamši Adad of Assyria (1813-1781 B.C.), nor contemporary cylinders of Syrianizing style comparable to those of Level Ib of Kültepe.<sup>65</sup>

The caskets must have been buried to protect them in an emergency that proved so severe that their guardians never raised them.

It is likely that further work on the material from East Iran and ancient Bactria (Afghanistan and Turkmenistan) as well as a comprehensive analysis of the Egyptian objects in the Tôd treasure, which have not been carefully examined in recent times, will provide results of greater precision than those which could be obtained from this brief and selective survey presented to honor I.M. Diakonoff.

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<sup>62</sup> E. Edel in “Reiseberichte des Hrw-hwjf”, p. 54 (cf. note 59 above) stated that the nomarchs of Elephantine carried out their expeditions only on order of the king. He added that trade in these areas was obviously a royal monopoly. In view of the size of the undertakings, which comprised as many as 300 donkeys (Edel, op. cit., p. 72 s.v. (1)), this seems a likely assumption not only for the trade in Nubia but also for international exchanges.

<sup>63</sup> Bisson de la Roque, *Trésor de Tôd*, p. 8.

<sup>64</sup> Kantor, *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, p. 20.

<sup>65</sup> For examples of such Syrianizing cylinder impressions, see N. Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib from Karum Kanish* (TTKY V, No. 25 [Ankara 1968]), pl. XI:C, XIII:B, C, XV:D.

- Corpus* = E. Porada in collaboration with B. Buchanan, *Corpus of Ancient: Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections* (Bollingen Series 14 [Washington 1948]).
- Ebla* = P. Matthiae, *Ebla, un impero ritrovato* [Turin 1977].
- Trésor* = F. Bisson de la Roque, G. Contenau, F. Chapouthier, *Le trésor de Tôd* (Documents de fouilles de l'Institut Français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 11 [Cairo 1953]).

207 *Addendum*

In the Royal Palace G of Ebla, of the third quarter of the third millennium B.C. (Mardikh IIB1: ca. 2400-2300/2250 B.C.), a large amount of raw lapis lazuli was found. There are several pieces whose weights range from a few grams to nearly 600 grams, with a total of nearly 16 kg. The largest amount is of pieces yet to be worked, and in one case a regular groove with a square section has been noted, most probably caused by a working tool. Evidence of the working of lapis lazuli at Ebla is offered by the actual finding of small objects, and also microliths that could be used as borers or scrapers. The raw lapis lazuli was found all over the building, but most came from the inner court (L. 2913 of the Administrative Quarter, where it probably fell from the upper storey, and in the southern hall with columns (L. 2866). These pieces and all fragments or parts of objects made of lapis lazuli are now being studied; as regards its provenance, Neutron Activation Analysis is planned for the pieces from Ebla and for pieces collected in Badakhshan kindly offered by Mrs G. Herrman. For an earlier period see also G. van Driel, *Akkadica* 12 [March-April 1979] 19-20 mentioning the discovery of unworked lapis lazuli at Jebel Aruda.

Jeanny Vorys Canby, Edith Porada, Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, and Tamara Stech (eds.), *Ancient Anatolia: Aspects of Change and Cultural Development, Essays in Honor of Machteld J. Mellink* (Wisconsin Studies in Classics), London: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1986, 84-92. © 1986 by the Regents of the University of Wisconsin System. Reprinted by permission of The University of Wisconsin Press.\*

## A Subject for Continuing Conversation

The main subject of this essay is a cylinder seal of Middle Assyrian style exhibiting what appear to be Hittite elements in its design. A full understanding of the seal and its likely historical background requires the encyclopedic knowledge and insights of Machteld Mellink. Conversations led by her about the problems involved, conversations that belong to the joys of this writer's life, however, will continue. Here only details of style and ramifications of the subject matter are discussed.

Before we proceed to the analysis of the cylinder, let us first briefly review the historical relationship between the Assyrians and Anatolia. The fullest textual evidence comes from the tablets of the Old Assyrian merchant colonies. Texts were found in the last two of four levels excavated at the site of Kültepe in the plain of Kayseri. Assyrian merchants resident at Kültepe called the area of the site in which they lived Karum Kaneš. The older of the two levels – Karum II – lasted from approximately 1920 to 1840 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> when the area was destroyed. A second Karum – phase I b – was established on the same site about fifty years later, in the time of the great Šamši-Adad I of Assyria, who dominated northern Mesopotamia, including Mari on the border of Syria, for thirty-three years after about 1813 B.C.<sup>2</sup> K. R. Veenhof describes the partial integration of the merchants with the local population through occasional marriages with Anatolians.<sup>3</sup> No material evidence remains, however, of these contacts between Assyri-

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\* We have kept the illustrations (ill.) in the text of this reprint, whereas the figures (fig.) have been transferred to the plates at the end of this book.

<sup>1</sup> This article was written during my tenure as a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation. For the dates of the Karum Kaneš, see M. Trolle Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State and Its Colonies* (Mesopotamia 4, Copenhagen 1976) 366.

<sup>2</sup> For the dates of Šamši-Adad I, see D. O. Edzard, *Die zweite Zwischenzeit Babyloniens* (Wiesbaden 1957) 164.

<sup>3</sup> K. R. Veenhof, "The Old Assyrian Merchants and Their Relations with the Native Population of Anatolia," in H.-J. Nissen and J. Renger eds., *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn* (Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient I, 1982) 147-60.

ans and Anatolians except for the styles of cylinder seals. Of the various styles used on the tablets from Kültepe, only the sharply gouged Early and Late Old Assyrian styles<sup>4</sup> were also used on those of some Babylonian towns.<sup>5</sup> A Late Old Assyrian cylinder was found at Ga.sur,<sup>6</sup> an Old Assyrian town later called Nuzi. But only Assur has also yielded some seals of other styles used in the Karum Kaneš: the Old Syrian<sup>7</sup> and the Anatolian.<sup>8</sup> Curiously, only a single typically Late Old Assyrian cylinder<sup>9</sup> was excavated at Assur.

The Karum Kaneš was part of the town of Nesa, the seat of princes who appear in Hittite historical sources at the inception of the Old Hittite kingdom.<sup>10</sup> The Hittites had probably immigrated to Anatolia in the middle of

<sup>4</sup> For a characterization of the Old Assyrian style, see N. Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib from Karum Kanish* (TTKY ser, V, 25, Ankara 1968) 47-49. For the terms "Early" and "Late" Old Assyrian style, see my article "Kaniš, kārum. C. Die Glyptik," *RLA* 5 (1980) 384-85. Most of the seals that I called "provincial Babylonian" in *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections* (Bollingen Series 14, Washington 1948; hereafter cited as *Corpus I*) 109-12, belong to the Late Old Assyrian style.

<sup>5</sup> An Early Old Assyrian cylinder was used on a tablet from Larsa, dated to the 25th year of Rīm-Sin, reproduced in L. Delaporte, *Musée National du Louvre, Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental 2. Acquisitions* (Paris 1923; hereafter cited as *Louvre 2*) pl. 113.3 (A. 509). The animals recognizable in the lower part of that seal resemble those on typical Early Old Assyrian cylinders: *Corpus I*, 852, 854. Examples of Late Old Assyrian cylinders were used on tablets from Sippar (some of them found in excavations by V. Scheil) published by F. Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie babylonienne* (Textes cuneiformes, Musée du Louvre 2, Paris 1910) no. 74; *Louvre 2*, pl. 113.5a (A. 517, F, G) and no. 76, *Louvre 2*, pl. 114.2a (A.520, B). None of the other seal impressions is as clearly recognizable as Late Old Assyrian.

Lamia Al-Gailani Werr has published drawings of dated cylinders and seal impressions of the Old Babylonian period which include those of officials of King Šamši-Adad of Assyria, in "Chronological Table of Old Babylonian Seal Impressions," *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology*, London 17 (1980) 50-51, no. 32a-d. Of these only one, no. 32a, is carved in characteristic Old Assyrian style. The others are engraved in fine Old Babylonian style, as was the cylinder used by Šamši-Adad I himself on the bullae found at Acemhöyük in Anatolia: see N. Özgüç, "Seal Impressions from the Palaces at Acemhöyük," in E. Porada ed., *Ancient Art in Seals* (Princeton 1980) fig. III:1.

Old Assyrian impressions on tablets from Tell Harmal and Tell Diba'i have been assembled by Al-Gailani Werr, *Studies in the Chronology and Regional Style of Old Babylonian Cylinder Seals* (forthcoming).

<sup>6</sup> R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937) pl. 62.B. The seal was found between the levels in which Nuzi was known as Ga.sur and the later ones but was correctly assigned to the earlier period (p. 381).

<sup>7</sup> A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst* (Staatliche Museen, Berlin 1940) pl. 61.513.

<sup>8</sup> Moortgat (supra n. 7) pl. 61.505.

<sup>9</sup> Moortgat (supra n. 7) pl. 61.516.

<sup>10</sup> For the identification of Neša with Kaneš, see the initial study by H. G. Güterbock, "Kaneš und Neša," *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958) 46-50; also S. Alp, *Belleten* 27 (1963) 107, 377-86, and H. Lewy, *JCS* 17 (1963) 103-104,

the third millennium B.C. In 1956 Machteld Mellink explored the possibility of associating the first intrusion of the Hittites with the princely graves of Alaca Höyük.<sup>11</sup> She pointed out some of the features supporting such a contention – for example, the distinctive subterranean chamber tombs, which differ from early burial types common in Anatolia, but could be compared to graves in the Kuban region of the northern Caucasus area, as well as later ones at Mycenae and, in the first millennium, those of the Phrygians and Scythians. But she left open the problem of the association of the Alaca Höyük tombs with the Hittites, although elsewhere<sup>12</sup> she drew attention to the continuation in later Hittite art of the depiction of the red deer stags and bulls earlier seen in the magnificent standard finials from the Alaca Höyük tombs.

The history of the Old Hittite kingdom can be partly reconstructed from cuneiform records found in the later Hittite capital of Hattuša (modern Boğazköy)<sup>13</sup> and other sites. This phase of Hittite rule culminated under Hattušili I, who seems to have unified the country and who incorporated areas of northern Syria such as Alalakh (modern Atchana in the Aleppo region) into his kingdom about 1650 B.C. He brought rich treasures from the temples and palaces of the conquered towns to 85 the temples of the Hittite deities. The expansive phase of the Old Hittite kingdom terminated with Muršili I, adoptive son of Hattušili, who continued his predecessor's military successes in Syria and proceeded to Babylon, which he destroyed in a conflagration in 1595 B.C. Muršili was murdered shortly thereafter, an event that initiated a period of internecine feuds in the Hittite royal family and ultimately weakened the country. This situation was reversed by Telepinu (ca. 1515-1500 B.C.), who created a rule of succession for the throne that was retained until the end of the Hittite empire. The beginning of the empire is generally placed about 1400 B.C., but the actual founder of the Hittite realm as a major power was Šuppiluliuma I (ca. 1380-1340 B.C.), who made the Hittite country the most powerful state of the age: he extended its frontiers to northern Syria and its influence to northern Mesopotamia at the expense of the Mitannian empire. After the fall of Babylon in 1595, Kassites had taken over the rule of Babylonia, and Mitannians dominated northern Mesopotamia and parts of Syria. Assyria was completely surrounded by the Mitannian empire, but, as is known from later Assyrian king lists, it maintained its autochthonous kings. These kings were proba-

<sup>11</sup> M. J. Mellink, "The Royal Tombs at Alaca Höyük and the Aegean World," in S. S. Weinberg ed., *The Aegean and the Near East. Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman* (Locust Valley 1956) esp. her remarks on the Indo-European question, pp. 54-57.

<sup>12</sup> M. J. Mellink, "The Art of Anatolia Until c. 1200 B.C.," in *Art Treasures of Turkey* (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1966) 10.

<sup>13</sup> This brief survey is based on H. Otten, "Hethiter, Hurriter und Mitanni," in E. Cassin, J. Bottéro, and J. Vercourter eds. *Die altorientalischen Reiche* (Fischer Weltgeschichte 2-4, Frankfurt-a-M. and Hamburg 1965) 102-76, and K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (Munich 1976) passim.

bly tributaries of the Mitannians, although the extent to which they were dependent on their overlords appears to have varied.<sup>14</sup>

Relations between Assyrians and Hittites in the following centuries were summarized by P. Machinist as follows<sup>15</sup>: in the period from Assuruballit to Shalmaneser I (1273-1244 B.C.), Assyria sought to gain hegemony over the area occupied by Mitanni-Hanigalbat and then, under Tukulti Ninurta I (1243-1207 B.C.), to extend its power farther into the upper Euphrates and Tigris regions. The Hittite response was both diplomatic and military. There was also an economic reaction, attested in the documents bearing on the period of Tukulti Ninurta I and in the sanctions that the Hittite king Tuthaliya IV established against the Assyrian king in an attempt to cut off the latter's access to Syrian and Mediterranean trade. According to Machinist, whether or not there was a cultural dimension to Assyrian-Hittite contact remains problematic, since little contact of any kind can be demonstrated.

The only object of Hittite art known to have been found in levels of the Middle Assyrian period is a small relief of lapis lazuli from the Ištar Temple at Assur, showing a Hittite god holding a hare and a bird.<sup>16</sup> It is therefore all the more interesting that Hittite elements appear in a cylinder seal of Middle Assyrian style acquired at Nineveh by F. J. Jones of the Indian Navy, who in 1846 and 1848 mapped the course of the Tigris and the contours of the terrain covering the ruins of Nineveh (**fig. 8-1; ill. 8-1**). The cylinder was acquired by the British Museum in 1854.<sup>17</sup> The seal, made of carnelian, is 2.1 cm high and has a diameter of 1.0 cm.

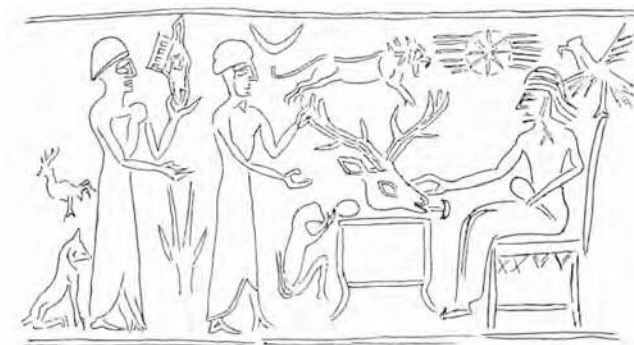
<sup>14</sup> E. Cassin, "Assyrien," in *Die altorientalischen Reiche* (supra n. 13) 71.

<sup>15</sup> P. Machinist, "Assyrians and Hittites in the Late Bronze Age," in *Mesopotamien* (supra n. 3) 265-67. More recently, however, G. Beckman has stressed contacts between Assyrians and Hittites, especially scribes and ambassadors: "Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian Learning at Hattuša," *JCS* 35:1-2 (1983), esp. p. 108, fig. 4.11.

<sup>16</sup> W. Andrae, *Die jüngeren Ishtar-Tempel in Assur* (WVDOG 58, Berlin 1935) 50, and W. Orthmann, *Der alte Orient* (PK 14, Berlin 1975) 435, fig. 371c. The figure called "Schutzgott" by Orthmann, however, lacks the characteristic mount – a stag – and a bow, as noted by H. G. Güterbock, "Hethitische Götterdarstellungen und Götternamen," *Belleten* 7 (1943) 314-315, who suggested there that several deities had the function of protector. He recently reiterated this suggestion in connection with the stag rhyton in the Schimmel collection: "Hethitische Götterbilder und Kultobjekte," *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasien. Festschrift für Kurt Bittel* (Mainz am Rhein 1983) 207.

<sup>17</sup> It is registered as no. 89806. I owe the references concerning this cylinder to Dominique Collon, who also drew my attention to Seton Lloyd's remarks about Captain Felix Jones in *Foundations in the Dust* (London 1947) 157-60. A drawing of the cylinder was published by W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, D.C., 1910) no. 733. F. Hancar assumed that the seated figure was the goddess Ištar and therefore advanced an unlikely interpretation of the seal design: *AfO* 13 (1939-1941) 295, fig. 11.



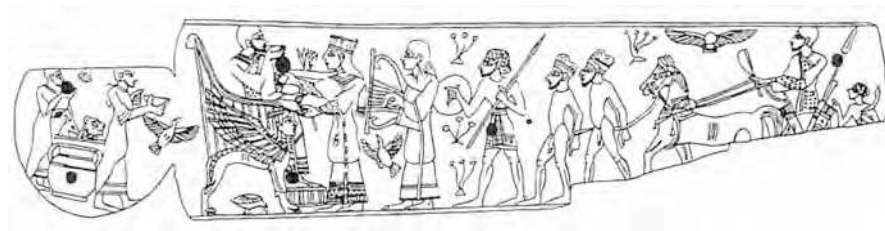


Ill. 8-1. Nineveh, Middle Assyrian cylinder seal, British Museum 89806: drawing of the impression. (Published here with the kind permission of Terence Mitchell, acting keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities, the British Museum).

The scene engraved on the cylinder shows an important personage – probably a ruler, since he lacks a divine headdress – enthroned on a high-backed chair. In front of him is a table on which an attendant deposits the head of a stag, out of whose mouth protrudes the crescent-shaped handle of a dagger. This object resembles Hittite daggers more than Assyrian ones.<sup>18</sup> The cake or roll on the table beside the stag head may indicate that the head is part of a meal set out before the ruler. Furthermore, the cylinder shows the head of a second animal, which I take to be a horse, brought by a second attendant. This head is probably a vessel. It looks manmade (note especially the pattern on the neck) and may represent a decorated cup, joined to the head in the manner of the stag head vessel of the Norbert Schimmel Collection (**figs. 8-2 and 8-3**). Moreover, the vessel is supported by the attendant's cupped hand. This is how cups are shown being raised on ivories from Megiddo (**ills. 8-2 and 8-3**). It is different, however, from the manner in which a Hittite offering bearer carries an animal head in the

<sup>18</sup> The sword of the Assyrian king Adad Nirari I (1305-1274 B.C.) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Acc. no. 11.166.1) corresponds to the Egyptian sickle sword of the Late Bronze Age (Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* [New York, Toronto, London 1963] 207) in the one-sided curve of the handle, whereas the dagger of the god on the so-called Royal Gate at Boğazköy-Hattuša shows a clearly defined crescentic handle: Bittel (supra n. 13) fig. 268, opp. p. 233. The later development of Assyrian daggers shows a tendency toward an only slightly everted top. It has to be admitted, however, that several of the daggers inscribed with the names of Babylonian rulers of the Second Dynasty of Isin in the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. have handles ending in a crescentic shape: W. Nagel, "Die Königsdolche der Zweiten Dynastie von Isin," *AfO* 19 (1959-1960) 97 and 99, figs. 3, 4, 6, 7-9. One cannot be sure, therefore, whether some earlier Assyrian daggers had a similar shape.

fragment of a Hittite relief vase of bronze from Boğazköy-Hattuša (ill. 8-4). As is more obvious in a photograph of this fragment, the head looks like that of a sheep, which is still considered a great delicacy in the Near East. It is not impossible, then, that the different gestures indicate different types of objects.<sup>19</sup>



Ill. 8-2. Incised ivory plaque, probably from a footstool, from Megiddo. (Reproduced from G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* [OIP 52, Chicago 1939], pl. 4, fig. 2).

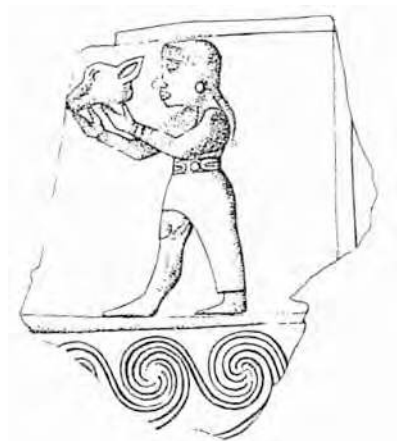


Ill. 8-3. Detail of ivory plaque with relief carving from Megiddo. (Reproduced from G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* [OIP 52, Chicago 1939], pl. 32, fig. 160b).

One of the Megiddo ivories (ill. 8-2) also shows that drinking vessels in the shape of animal heads were used in Syria-Palestine in what seems to

<sup>19</sup> H. G. Güterbock read the first draft of this article and, among other important suggestions, made reference to this fragment, which is well known by now, I reproduce the drawing, although a photograph (cf. e.g. Bittel [supra n. 13] 164, fig. 177) would provide better support for my view that the head is meant as real, not as a vessel. A comparable head is seen on the table placed in front of Ahiram on his sarcophagus: Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte* (Paris 1929) pl. 131.

have been a royal banquet. They were carried above the large jar that presumably held the liquid to be consumed at the feast.



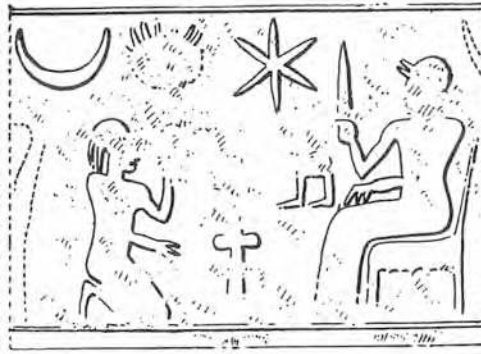
Ill. 8-4. Fragment of a Hittite bronze vessel with representations in repousse from Hattuša-Boğazköy. (Reproduced from R. M. Boehmer, *Die Reliefkeramik von Boğazköy* [Boğazköy- Hattuša 13, 1983], p. 43, fig. 35).

In the cylinder from Nineveh, a monkey sits beside the table with its hand raised toward the bread roll or cake on the table. A dog sits behind the second attendant, and a cock appears in the field above. A bird of prey with spread wings extends its foot toward the top of the ruler's chair. The bird forms a visual counterweight to a lion leaping through the upper field above the stag's head on the other side of a winged disc with an inscribed eight-pointed star. A moon crescent also appears in the sky. A highly schematized frontal gazelle head between the two attendants may be a later addition. The size and distribution of the figures find their closest affinities in impressions of cylinder seals on tablets from Assur, dated to the thirteenth century B.C.<sup>20</sup> Several features point to that date. The high-backed chair is characteristic of the Middle Assyrian period; see, for example, a sealing of the thirteenth century from Assur, the drawing of which (Ill. 8-5) shows only partly the pendant fringe bound in small tassels below the bottom of the seat. A clearer indication of such a fringe occurs on another thirteenth century sealing (Ill. 8-6), which resembles the Nineveh cylinder in that it depicts two attendants, one carrying a vessel.

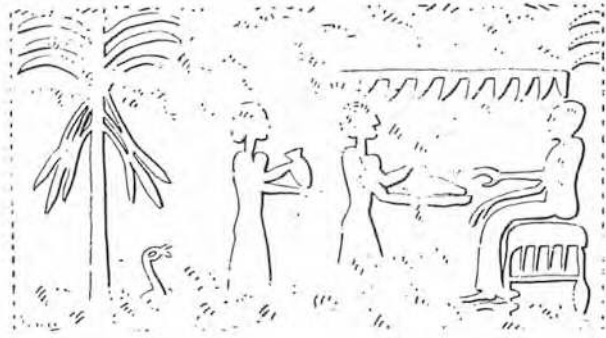
Another characteristic piece of furniture is the table, the legs of which curve in before splaying out at the bottom in imitation of lions' legs. A more detailed representation of this type of table is seen on a sealing from

<sup>20</sup> A. Moortgat, "Assyrische Glyptik des 13. Jahrhunderts," *ZAssyr* n.s. 13 (47) (1942) 50-88,

Assur (ill. 8-7), dated on stylistic grounds to the thirteenth century B.C.<sup>21</sup> Both the chair and the table recur on the 88 White Obelisk, the reliefs of which belong to the Middle Assyrian period.<sup>22</sup>



Ill. 8-5. Middle Assyrian sealing from Assur. (Reproduced from A. Moortgat, "Assyrische Glyptik des 13. Jahrhunderts," *ZAssyr* n.s. 13 [47] [1941] 83, fig. 70).



Ill. 8-6. Middle Assyrian sealing from Assur. (Reproduced from A. Moortgat, "Assyrische Glyptik des 13. Jahrhunderts," *ZAssyr* n.s. 13 [47] [1941] 83, fig. 73).

<sup>21</sup> U. Moortgat-Correns, "Beiträge zur mittellassyrischen Glyptik," in K. Bittel et al. eds., *Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Studie und Aufsätze Anton Moortgat zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* (Berlin 1964) 167, fig. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Some of the reasons for dating the reliefs on the White Obelisk to the Middle Assyrian period were discussed by J. E. Reade, "Ashurnasirpal I and the White Obelisk," *Iraq* 37 (1975) 129-50.

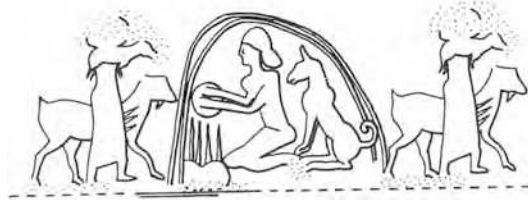


Ill. 8-7. Middle Assyrian sealing from Assur. (Reproduced from U. Moortgat Coorens, "Beiträge zur mittelassyrischen Glyptik," in K. Bittel et al., eds., *Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Studie[n] und Aufsätze Anton Moortgat zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* [Berlin 1964] 167, fig. 2).

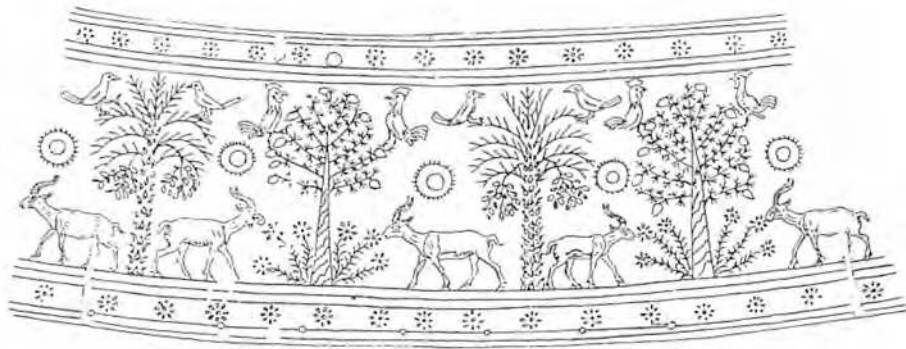
The representation of animals in the Nineveh cylinder is equally characteristic of Middle Assyrian style. Most distinctive is the alert posture of the dog, which differs from the Old Babylonian columnar representation of what may have been the same breed of mastiff.<sup>23</sup> An Old Babylonian clay plaque showing a seated dog (**fig. 8-4**) can be compared with a Middle Assyrian sealing from Tell al-Rimah, also with a seated dog (**ill. 8-8**), to illustrate the difference between the styles. The upright ear of the Middle Assyrian dog gives him a tense expression, which is enhanced by the outline of his back, creating the impression of a natural pose. Moreover, both hindlegs are shown, imparting a slight sense of three-dimensionality. This effect is not unique in Middle Assyrian glyptic<sup>24</sup> and is typical of the limited naturalism of this art, which sets it off from that of the preceding and following periods.

<sup>23</sup> See the remarks by U. Seidl on the two principal breeds of dogs depicted in the ancient Near East: *RLA* 4 (1975) 497, s.v. *Hund*. The dog with a cane of the Old Babylonian period and the dog shown on our cylinder belong to the heavy "Molesser" type.

<sup>24</sup> The same slightly three-dimensional effect was obtained by showing the tip of the farther horn of a bull or goat in such a way as to suggest a three-quarter view of the animal's horns; see, e.g. *Corpus* I, 595, and two cylinders from Thebes as well as one in the Bibliothèque Nationale: *Afo* 28 (1981) 57-59 and figs. on those pages. Perhaps this quasi-three-quarter view and the concomitant three-dimensional effect were due to Aegean influence on Kassite and Middle Assyrian art, to which Machteld Mellink first drew attention in her review of *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* in *BibO* 12 (1955) 122.



Ill. 8-8. Middle Assyrian seal impression from Tell al-Rimah. (Reproduced from B. Parker Mallowan, "A Middle Assyrian Seal Impression," *Iraq* 36 (1974) 185, fig. 1).



Ill. 8-9. Engraved ivory pyxis from a Middle Assyrian tomb at Assur. (Reproduced from A. Haller, *Die Gräber und Gräfte von Assur* [WVDOG 65, Berlin 1954] 135, fig. 161).

Another Middle Assyrian element is the cock. It is seen on one of the rare objects preserved from this period, an engraved ivory pyxis (ill. 8-9), which shows little cocks perched on branches in the crowns of trees. Such cocks must have been Indian fowl, much smaller than modern chickens, which could fly high into trees. Chickens were imported also into Egypt in the middle of the second millennium,<sup>25</sup> and it is assumed that they came from Mesopotamia, although they seem to have become common there only in the Neo-Babylonian period during the sixth century B.C., probably having been brought earlier from Iran and ultimately from India, their original

<sup>25</sup> They seem to have been imported from Mesopotamia, according to D. Opitz in *RLA* I (1928) .49, who cites a text in which Tuthmosis III refers to the chicken as the bird that gives birth daily. See also W. Heimpel and P. Calmeyer, s.v. *Huhn*, in *RLA* 4 (1975) 487-88.

homeland. The occurrence of the cock in Middle Assyrian designs therefore had some special significance, probably religious or magical.

The bird of prey with spread wings behind the king is shown as if alighting on the back of the chair, still fluttering before coming to rest. Birds of this type frequently appear on Middle Assyrian seals in the sky of scenes in which animals are the principal figures.<sup>26</sup> The scene under analysis here, however, seems to indicate a specific relation between the bird of prey and the enthroned figure. The same may be true of the leaping lion, a figure paralleled nowhere else in the upper field of a cylinder except for a hunting scene on a cylinder seal from Thebes. Both animals seem to flank the winged disc, which was connected with kingship in Hittite Anatolia but not, as far as is known, in contemporary Assyria.<sup>27</sup>

So far I have stressed the features that link the design of the cylinder from Nineveh to other Middle Assyrian seals or sealings. I shall now point out the features that set off the Nineveh cylinder from those so far known, beginning with the human figures. The first attendant – reading from left to right – seems to wear a plain cap, [89] set off from the head by a thin line that curves down toward the back, thus differing from the stiff line that indicates the brim of a cap in other Middle Assyrian representations: for example, a cylinder in the Pierpont Morgan Library (**fig. 8-5**). The cap of the second attendant may have a different shape, since a slight indentation in the back suggests perhaps the edge of a broad, upturned brim, not seen elsewhere in this period. Neither attendant has single strands of hair, as does the enthroned figure, whose hairstyle resembles that of the worshiper on a carved pedestal usually associated with King Tukulti Ninurta I.<sup>28</sup> But there is a striking difference: the enthroned figure on the Nineveh cylinder is beardless, unless a line on the cheek slightly projecting from the chin was meant to indicate a short beard of the type worn by the human figures on the ivory from Megiddo (ill. 8-2). The ruler seems to wear a necklace of crossed strings ending in tassels that hang down from the neck opening of the garment, comparable to the device worn by the heroic figure on the Morgan cylinder (see fig. 8-5). All garments are otherwise unadorned except for the broad belt worn by the second attendant and indicated by lightly engraved lines. The garments of both attendants leave one leg uncovered below the knee, the other covered to the ankle. H. G. Güterbock has suggested that the closest parallels are Hittite garments (see, e.g., ill. 8-4).

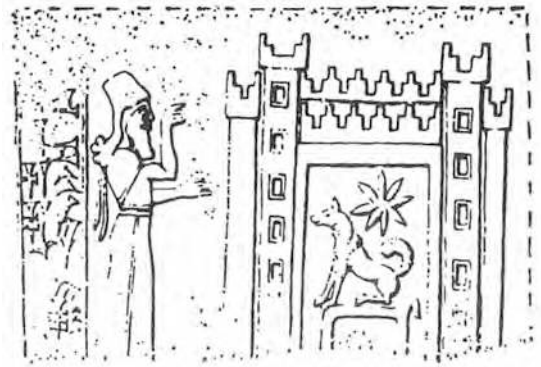
<sup>26</sup> Moortgat (supra n. 20) 71, figs. 38, 41, 43.

<sup>27</sup> "The Cylinder Seals Found at Thebes in Boeotia," *AfO* 28 (1981/1982) 65-66, no. 37, a cylinder of uncertain origin. On the question of the association of the winged disc with the Hittite king, see D. Beyer, "Le sceau-cylindre de Shahurunuwa, roi de Karkemish," in *La Syrie au Bronze Récent* (XXVII<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris 1980) 71-72 and relevant references in n. 14.

<sup>28</sup> Andrae (supra n. 16) pls. 30, 31a; also H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Baltimore 1955) pl. 73B.



Very striking are the number and variety of animals represented on the Nineveh cylinder. The dog so closely resembles in posture the one shown on a pedestal within a temple as symbol of the goddess Gula (ill. 8-10) that its meaning in our scene may be similar; perhaps it stands for an inscribed dedication to that goddess. The cock above the dog, unconnected with any figure of the scene, may also be considered a divine symbol, although the identity of the deity it represents has not been established.



Ill. 8-10. Middle Assyrian sealing from Assur. (Reproduced from A. Moortgat, "Assyrische Glyptik des 12. Jahrhunderts," *ZAssyr* n.s. 14 [48] [1942], fig. 46).

The next pair of animals consists of the roaring, leaping lion, surely a symbol of military aggression, and a bird of prey in flight, which recalls the eagles or other raptors flying above the army of the later King Assurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.).<sup>29</sup> Thus, the bird of prey complements the lion compositionally and iconographically, both animals symbolizing the ruler's military might.


The pairing of the animals so far discussed is unique, but, except for the cock, the single animals could find parallels in appearance and posture on other Middle Assyrian cylinders. Not so the monkey as a figure active in what appears to be a ritual scene. Machteld Mellink has drawn attention to the role of the "monkey-with-pitcher" as a magic attendant of rituals in Anatolian representations.<sup>30</sup> She associates the appearance of the monkey in sealings from Kaneš and in ivories from the palaces of Acemhöyük with the international trade that flowed through Carchemish, Alalakh, Aleppo,

<sup>29</sup> R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs* (London n.d.) pl. 15.

<sup>30</sup> M. J. Mellink, "Anatolian Libation Pourers and the Minoan Genius," in E. Porada ed. *Monsters and Demons, Death and Life in the Ancient and Medieval World* (forthcoming).



and Byblos and ultimately to Egypt. In fact, the Egyptians, especially on scarabs, show the monkey with its hand raised to its mouth as if eating (although it does not hold any food).<sup>31</sup> Such representations approximate the action of the monkey on the Nineveh cylinder but not its participation in the ritual scene, for which only Anatolian examples can be cited. Moreover, association with the stag head, which is preeminently Hittite in origin, confirms the Anatolian connection of the monkey on our seal.

From the time of the royal cemetery at Alaca Höyük to the end of the Hittite empire, the majestic red deer  stag appeared in the art of Anatolia, nowhere with greater dignity and beauty than in the silver “stag rhyton” of the Schimmel collection (see figs. 8-2 and 8-3), which is considered one of the greatest works of ancient Near Eastern art known today. It was a vessel from which the king drank to the great sun goddess of Arinna and the other gods.<sup>32</sup>

A close association existed between the drinking vessel in the form of a stag head and the stag as a game animal, as shown by the relief representation on the Schimmel vessel. There a stag lies with its limbs folded, a posture that probably means that the animal is dead, surrounded by two spears, a quiver, and what S. Alp convincingly interprets as the sacred fleece.<sup>33</sup> Presumably the stag was killed in the course of a divine or royal hunt. The same combination of hunting symbols appears with the head of a stag in the outer band of a Hittite stamp seal in the British Museum (figs. 8-6 and 8-7), to which H. Güterbock drew my attention and which S. Alp also associates with the Schimmel silver stag head.<sup>34</sup>

For our representation the most important fact is that the stag head, a standard Hittite design, appears to have been known in Assyria, probably because of its association with major Hittite gods and also with the king. That it appears on the only Middle Assyrian cylinder for which an origin at Nineveh may be assumed – a cylinder showing several differences from the style prevalent at Assur – demonstrates the variety that may have existed in Middle Assyrian glyptic, a variety that is perhaps attributable to various foreign influences.

<sup>31</sup> E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Baseler Sammlungen* (Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz 1, 1976) 107.

<sup>32</sup> S. Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels* (Turk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1983) 125 (no. 21) lines 8-9.

<sup>33</sup> Alp (supra n. 32.) 99.

<sup>34</sup> Alp (supra n. 32) 99 and fig. 12a, R. L. Alexander, “The Tyskiewicz Group of Stamp-Cylinders,” *Anatolica* 5 (1973-1976) 208 n. 102, remarks on the seals in Dresden and in the Louvre (Alp [supra n. 32] figs. 11, 13), which are so closely related to the one in the British Museum that their authenticity should be carefully considered.

The challenge now is to find why a Hittite stag head – for no such representation is known in Middle Assyrian art<sup>35</sup> – appears on a table before an Assyrian ruler, and why a monkey participates in the ritual, another figure for which one must look to Anatolia for comparisons.

The explanation can only be undertaken with the great knowledge, the disciplined imagination, and the wisdom of Machteld Mellink.

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<sup>35</sup> By Middle Assyrian art I mean the subtly modeled style to which the Nineveh cylinder belongs, Cylinders in Mitannian style do show stag heads; see, e.g. T. Beran, "Assyrische Glyptik des 14. Jahrhunderts," *ZAssyr* n.s. 18 (52) (1957) 195, fig. 9.

Reprinted from: Vassos Karageorghis [and] Republic of Cyprus (eds.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident'*, Nicosia 8-14 September 1985, Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1986, 289-299, Plates XVII-XX.

## Late Cypriote Cylinder Seals Between East and West

The most obvious relation between Cyprus and the east is the use of cylinder seals, common in Western Asia from the end of the fourth millennium on.<sup>1</sup> In the west, – that is, on the Greek islands, Crete, and the Greek mainland, – cylinders were rare.<sup>2</sup> Instead, seals were carved in one of the numerous varieties of stamps in which the engraved surfaces used for sealing were usually quite small.

Not only does the shape of the Cypriote cylinders resemble those of the Syrian mainland, but the relatively soft dark stone, generally a variety of serpentine, and the engraving by sharp lines and gouged - out forms used in some groups of Cypriote seals seem to derive from earlier Syrian prototypes).<sup>3</sup>

An example from Ayia Irini, perhaps one of the earliest Cypriote cylinders, **Pl. XVII: 1**,<sup>4</sup> shows the deeply gouged carving that is comparable to the technique used in Syria. The overall distribution of the forms – a bull, a fish, perhaps an octopus, a snake, a man upside down below a bird in flight, and a disk and upright crescent – and the bucranium and drillings in the upper field create an overall pattern that gives no indication of the meaning of the single forms on the basis of their relation to one another. This specifically Cypriote trait is also seen in some of the middle Cypriote pottery de-

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<sup>1</sup> For reference to the stratigraphic evidence concerning the earliest Mesopotamian cylinder seals, see my remarks in the section on the Uruk period in the forthcoming *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*.

<sup>2</sup> H.-G. Buchholz, "The Cylinder Seal" in G. F. Bass, *Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck in Transactions, American Philosophical Society*, vol. 57, (1967), 148-59 cited thirteen cylinder seals found on the Greek islands, thirty-three on Crete and twenty-one on various sites of the Greek mainland, to which must be added thirty-nine found at Thebes (Buchholz only had thirty-eight).

<sup>3</sup> For example, D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, (1920), pl. I, nos 20-23.

<sup>4</sup> P. E. Pecorella, *Le Tombe dell'Eta del Bronzo Tardo della Necropoli a Mare di Ayia Irini "Paleokastro"*, (1977), 63, dates Tomb 10 in which the cylinder was found on the basis of the pottery in two periods of use: Late Cypriote IA:2 and Late Cypriote IB:2 or later. There were also very fragmentary remains of Iron Age use, but these are not relevant for the cylinder seal.

signs, whereas Syrian seal designs, beginning with those of the third millennium B.C. make it far easier to grasp the relationship of the animal and human figures to each other and thus of the single figures themselves.

The engraving of the cylinder from Ayia Irini, Pl. XVII: 1, may be a trial piece by a seal cutter who used wellknown and probably symbolic forms of the Middle Cypriote period, like the bull and the snake, in a pattern of forms meant to be beneficial for the seal owner.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>290</sup> Other cylinders of the site, dating from about the same period as Pl. XVII: 1, show rows of animals, **Pl. XVII: 2, 3**, which include a lion attacking a horned animal. This basically dramatic motif is deprived of its drama by the alignment of the figures in an orderly row. Obviously, the drama of the motif was not meant to be stressed in these cylinders. Instead, there was to be an ordered composition of what was probably a motif which would assure some protective or beneficial effect for the seal owner.

Finally, there is a cylinder from Ayia Irini in which a double-headed bird of prey soars above two animals in an almost heraldic scheme, **Pl. XVI: 4**, which is mitigated only by a monstrous creature in the upper field. Again the compositions of this design and that in another cylinder from the site with the central figure of a bird<sup>6</sup> seem well suited for a combination of animal forms that would serve as protection for the wearer of the cylinder. If these cylinders are indeed the earliest Late Cypriote examples, it is interesting to observe that their purpose was beneficial and apotropaic, not primarily practical, as can be deduced from the fact that so few sealings are known from Cypriote excavations.<sup>7</sup>

Another group of Cypriote cylinders, in which the technique of engraving and some of the stylistic criteria may be derived from Syrian cylinders of the third millennium, presents a contrast with the cylinders from Ayia Irini by showing scenes with human figures in a ritual and perhaps even mythological context, **Pls. XVII: 5-7, XVIII, XIX: 1, 2**. The criteria for ascribing a cylinder to this group are the simple, sharply gouged forms of men and animals with a predominance of vertical and horizontal lines and – in the human figures – a distinctive stylization of the hair, which looks like a cap and becomes slightly bulbous toward the back. The face is indicated by an irregular square formed by an oblique line for the nose, the hairline,

<sup>5</sup> Robert S. Merrillees drew my attention to the relation between Middle Cypriote designs in other media and the design of this cylinder from Ayia Irini. The discussion of seals from Ayia Irini is an outcome of the stimulus provided by Merrillees.

Bull, bucranium, serpent, and birds were mentioned by V. Karageorghis as religious symbols in lectures at the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, which were summarized in the *Annuaire, résumé des conférences et travaux*, vol. XCII (1983-1984), 228. These are the principal animals seen on the cylinder seals from Ayia Irini.

<sup>6</sup> Pecorella, *op. cit.*, 182, 471.

<sup>7</sup> See the Late Old Babylonian seal impression on a potsherd the impression from Kourion, J. F. Daniel, *AJA* 42 (1938), 266, fig. 5 and the impression on a clay lump, P. Dikaios, *Enkomi II*, (1969), pl. 182 A: 1905/9, pl. 322, figs a-1, and a-2 and pl. 324.

the line that rises from the neck to the hair, and a short line that runs from the tip of the nose to the line for the neck. The style of the group is so consistent that it must represent the work of a single seal cutter. The only indication for a date is provided by a cylinder of the group found by V. Karageorghis at Akhera, **Pl. XVIII: 5**, in Tomb III, assigned by him to the early thirteenth century B.C.<sup>8</sup>

Several cylinders of the group show two figures with raised hand symmetrically placed on either side of an hourglass shaped censer or offering stand, **Pl. XVII: 5, 6**. A long-horned goat and a bustard-like bird with raised wing and prominent [291] tail are on the groundline and a dog is placed in the field above. Behind the dog is a triple design, composed of wedge-like forms, perhaps comparable to one of J. P. Daniel's signs of the Cypro-Minoan script found on cylinder seals.<sup>9</sup> The occurrence on our cylinder below the belly of the goat of a cross-shaped design, a well known Cypro-Minoan sign<sup>10</sup> makes the interpretation of the triple design as another Cypro-Minoan sign more likely. A triangular form between the man at the right and the dog, is shown as an angle on both cylinders, **Pl. XVII: 5, 6**. Such an open angle does occur among the Cypro-Minoan signs collected by Daniel in his Group I.<sup>11</sup> The censer or offering stand imparts a ritual character to the design as seen in the cylinder **Pl. XIX: 3**, where two, such objects flank a deity characterized as such by a horned headgear. In **Pl. XVII: 5, 6** the posture of the two figures with one hand raised and the other held in readiness for action may be indicative of a fight for which the censer or offering stand may show a ritual context.<sup>12</sup>

The cylinder reproduced in **Pl. XVII: 6**, has two verticals lines on either side of the censer or offering stand. These lines are understood only if one sees a similar seal on which there are two short spears or javelins on either side of the censer.<sup>13</sup> In 1886 the seal was in the collection of R. S. Williams

<sup>8</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Nouveaux documents pour l'étude du Bronze Récent à Chypre: études chypriotes*, vol. II (1965), 137f.

<sup>9</sup> This sign may be related to one reproduced by J. F. Daniel in "Prolegomena to the Cypro-Minoan Script," *AJA* Ser. II, 45 (1941), 282 Class VI (consisting of signs found on cylinder seals): 17. The cylinder cited by Daniel, *Iraq* VI (1939), pl. VIII:67, a cast in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, has no parallels among the known cylinders from Cyprus, but several Cypriote cylinders are the only examples of their style. On the basis of the signs, however, Daniel doubted the origin of the cylinder in Cyprus.

<sup>10</sup> For the cross-shaped sign, see Daniel, *op. cit.*, 279, Class I (signs which occur on objects of Cypriote manufacture): 1a.

<sup>11</sup> The angle might be related to Daniel *op. cit.*, 280, Class I: 47.

<sup>12</sup> I am grateful to E.B. Harrison, for reminding me of the boxing children on a wall painting from Thera where one of them holds its arm bent in readiness for action (reproduced in Sp. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera*, vol. IV, (1971), colour plates D, E, and F.

<sup>13</sup> J. Menant in *AJA* 2 (1886), 259, referring to pl. VI: 10. The impression of which a photograph was published by Menant reproduced by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter in *Kypros*, (1893), pl. XVIII:21, cuts the scene in half, but in *Kypros*, pl. LXXIX:2, Ohnefalsch-Richter published a drawing in which the scene was cut correctly.

of Utica, which was begun by his brother, the Rev. Dr Williams “who was for many years missionary in Syria, and who assisted at Layard’s excavations”. The quote is from an article on the collection by J. Menant,<sup>13a</sup> who recognized the cylinder as recalling certain of the cylinders found at Kourion, which he knew from Cesnola’s Cyprus. Therefore he posed the question “Can it be the product of Kypriote art?” Many later scholars did not have Menant’s subtle feeling for style and failed to classify cylinders of this group correctly as Cypriote.

The javelins or spears on the Williams cylinder confirm the suggestion that some sort of ritual fight is represented in these three remarkably similar seals, of which Pl. XVII: 6 is the least carefully worked, hence the javelins have become mere lines.

The relation of the male figures to the game animals and the dog seen in the rest of the field, is difficult to interpret. However, hunting game animals seems to [292] have been an integral motif of these cylinders. In a scene on a cylinder in the de Clercq collection, **Pl. XVII: 7**, a person raises a large goat by a hindleg, probably in a gesture of triumph. At the same time he grasps a tree composed of volutes, presumably a sacred tree. Above the head of the goat is what appears to be the head and neck of a creature with pointed ears perhaps a carnivore. Perhaps the carnivore, which had threatened the goat was killed by the huntsman, whose protective gesture toward the tree may mean that he shields it from the goat, whose voracious eating of leaves of certain trees was certainly known in antiquity.

The connection of the male figure with a sacred tree and a goat as well as other animals is seen on a cylinder of the group in the Louvre.<sup>14</sup> There a man grasps two trees of different type while a goat and, above it, a small lion are placed on the right. Although the connection of the male figure with the animals is not intelligible, the fact that the figures of these scenes are associated also with the hunt and killing of game animals makes it seem likely that the goat and the lion of the Louvre cylinder belong to these.

Outright hunting scenes are shown in **Pl. XVIII: 1, 2**, in which a stag with magnificent antlers is the main target of the charioteer. Like the other figures of this group, the charioteer is not distinguished by his garments or bodily features as superhuman or divine, although the fact that he is represented on a cylinder, may have served to characterize him as a hero or god since there is no indication that any of the figures on Cypriote cylinders are mere human beings. The gigantic serpent behind the charioteer in Pl. XVIII: 2, which would have terrified a human huntsman, adds to the heroic aspect of the figure.

The same stag and bird as those in the chariot hunt are depicted on a cylinder said to have come from Kourion **Pl. XVIII: 3**. Chariot and hunts-

<sup>13a</sup> See note 13.

<sup>14</sup> L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux ... Musée du Louvre* (1923), pl. 106:15 (A. 1188).

man are omitted and the stag is attacked by a dog and a lion characterized by prominent jaws and a large tail raised above its back. The gigantic serpent of the cylinder, Pl. XVIII: 2, is also seen here. Yet the stag seems unconcerned and dominant among these dangerous creatures to which may also belong the lizard over the back of the stag. To this extent the pictorial language tells us something about the meaning of the scene although we cannot go any further. A badly worn cylinder discovered at Enkomi, **Pl. XVIII: 4**, and dated in the end of the thirteenth century B.C. by P. Dikaios,<sup>15</sup> shows a scene with related figures killing a goat. Perhaps some sort of hunting exploit with a symbolic meaning, derived from what seems to have been an earlier group of scenes, continued to be represented in later decades.

The cylinder from Akhera, **Pl. XVIII: 5**, mentioned above as the one for which a stratigraphic date can be suggested, shows two figures seated opposite each other on either side of a tall table. The figure at the left has a bow and arrow, the one at the right an ax. Perhaps the small animal placed at the edge of the table was meant 293 to be the target of the persons. This interpretation is based on the related representation of **Pl. XVIII: 6**, where a lion appears as the intended victim of the two seated persons holding axes in readiness for action. In a cylinder said by Cesnola to have come from Salamis,<sup>16</sup> however, there is a bird on the table between the two seated figures with weapons held in readiness. Since a bird is part of the "animals of the chase", it is conceivable that it is such a bird which appears on the table.

Distinctive of these seals is the detail provided in the drawing of the chairs and the tables. The chairs have four feet, instead of the two seen in Syrian and other Western Asiatic designs and the tables seem to have a double structure with a horizontal strut, also seen on the chairs. Most often this complicated structure rests on two crossed feet. The chair of the figure on the right in Pl. XVIII: 6 has a tall, horizontally striated back on top of which sits the large bustard-like bird. The chairs of the two persons are so close to each other that they seem to share the one back. It is impossible to determine whether this was the engraver's intent or whether he wanted to distinguish the figure with the chairback from the one who does not have such a throne-like seat.

The person with the bow and arrow in Pl. XVIII: 5 does not actually hold the weapons, whereas the one with the ax holds it upright by grasping it by the end of the handle with the cutting edge turned away from him. He

<sup>15</sup> P. Dikaios provided the stratigraphic information for all the seals catalogued by me in Appendix I "Seals" published in Dikaios' *Enkomi, Excavations 1948-1958*, vol. II, (1971), hence also for the one reproduced here, pl. XVIII:4, catalogued, *op. cit.*, 795, s.v. no. 11.

<sup>16</sup> The cylinder was reproduced from Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, pl. XXVIII:25 in *AJA* 52 (1948), pl. X:42.

raises a cup in his other hand. This scene suggests that two different people were depicted rather than that one figure was duplicated for reasons of symmetry. In Pl. XVIII: 6, however, one could assume such a duplication of one figure, since both persons are seen in the same posture, each holding an ax with the cutting edge turned toward the lion probably menacing the creature between them on the table, as suggested above. In the other hand they raise a cup, perhaps celebrating in advance a victory, which is taken for granted.

Above the lion are three wedges, which resemble the sign of the Cypro-Minoan script seen on two seals of the same style group, Pl. XVII: 5, 6, placed behind the dog in the upper field.

Next to the table on the right in Pl. XVIII:6 is a censer or offering stand. To the left less space was available between the table and the seated figure. Therefore the offering stand was made much thinner, but a flower seems to project from it toward the seated figure.

In one example, Pl. XIX:1, seen in 1971 in the Hadjiprodromou Collection, of Famagusta, only one seated figure is shown. A lion appears in a cage, above which crawls a serpent on its undulating body. Between the seated figure and the lion's cage is a tall table on crossed legs. On its surface a bird stands on one leg, one might think that a stork is represented.

The personage on the lion throne of Pl. XIX: 2, holding two emblems, may add some descriptive elements to the figure generally associated with the lion, although these are difficult to recognize. One of the two emblems is a two-pronged [294] object; the other, a branch or a mace. Behind the enthroned personage stands a very small, perhaps female, human figure above a large bird with raised wing. On the table before the enthroned personage are a short-necked bird and, possibly confronting it, a very long-necked one. Above them are a sign of the Cypro-Minoan script<sup>17</sup> and perhaps a pointed-eared animal with its head bent backward. A very longnecked animal is placed at the right of the table. Below it is a censer or offering stand. Rarely has this writer encountered an equally incomprehensible group of forms.

Yet, the assential elements of these scenes, Pls XVIII: 5, 6; XIX: 1, 2, are clear. They are the seated person with a weapon and the lion. The lion may be minute, as in **Pl. XIX: 6**; still larger and in a cage, as in Pl. XIX:1; and enclosed in the panel of a throne, as in Pl. XIX: 2.

By association with the lion the person with the weapon is likely to have become a lion killer. A scene like the one of Pl. XVIII: 6, in which the lion is placed on a table may give rise to a variety of interpretations none of which can be proved. Beyond a careful description of the forms associated with the lion killer, or killers, no attempt can be made to "break the code" of this group of cylinder seals, in which the frequent appearance of signs of

<sup>17</sup> Perhaps the sign renders the one of Daniel, *op. cit.*, 280, no. 37 (of Class I).



the Cypro-Minoan script increases the impression that well-known rituals and mythological concepts underlie these simple representations. Only the fact that the lion seems to have stood for elements that were to be controlled, combated, and destroyed seems clear from these scenes.

A few remarks about stylistic characteristics may be added here since they will be juxtaposed to those of cylinders showing strong Aegean influence that will be discussed below.

A distinctive feature is the manner in which one foot is placed higher than the other in the seated figures, Pl. XVIII: 5, 6. Probably the longer one is meant to be the one closest to the viewer. This is a curiously perspective device, which also occurs occasionally in other Cypriote styles. Another feature that characterizes the present group is the manner in which the animal bodies are carved, which is best observed in Pl. XVIII: 3. As in Western Asiatic seals, the outline of the body is horizontal with a foreleg and a hindleg drawn at the front and the rear of the line indicating the animal's back. The other foreleg and hindleg were inserted secondarily, parallel with the first leg drawn. In Minoan and Mycenaean gems, on the contrary, the hindleg closest to the viewer curves down from the back with which it is often one coherent form. The farther leg was added secondarily, usually *behind* the nearer leg. In each case the composition expresses the character of the art. The Near Eastern manner was meant to maintain a lasting stage; the Aegean, to show life in motion.

Examples of the Aegean type of stylization are seen in a cylinder found by the Columbia expedition at *Melissa* near Phlamoudhi.<sup>18</sup> The cylinder was found in the topmost layer of a pit. Most of the few sherds from the vicinity of the findspot [295] are dated early in Late Cypriot II. However, there are one bucchero sherd and one Base-Ring II sherd.<sup>19</sup> This implies a Late Cypriote IIB date which agrees well with the style of the cylinder. Both ends of the sealstone are slightly chipped, suggesting that they were roughed to receive the glue for the gold caps which probably covered the top and the bottom of the cylinder to the lines framing the engraving above and below. The surface of the seal is of the glossy, silvery sheen typical of many Cypriote cylinders. It may be the result of an especially fine polishing agent, such as a very fine pumice.

The design has a winged disk and a crescent moon floating above animals, monsters and small fillers. The principal group consists of a lion pawing at a bull that gores its attacker. Conceivably, sundisk and moon-crescent, the lion and the bull were placed first on the seal design because the heavenly bodies appear precisely above the animals. One is therefore tempted to see some iconographical relation although it is obscured by the filling of the space between the major forms. Above the lion and the bull is

<sup>18</sup> The publication of the *Melissa* site of the expedition is in preparation.

<sup>19</sup> I owe this report on the pottery of the locus in which the cylinder was found, to Daphne Achilles.

an antelope leaping with extended hindlegs, perhaps it is in flight from the griffin, which walks behind it with a human hand placed between its legs, while its tail rises behind the neck of the antelope to reappear above that animal's head. The composition is intricate. The major horizontal accents – sundisk, lion, griffin, and bull – are linked by the two complementary curving forms of a scorpion and a bird. A multi-rayed star is inserted below the abdomen of the bull – an unusual place for a heavenly body unless all the forms were meant to be in the sky – which is not impossible.

The seal was produced by a professional seal cutter. The figures were carved with a drill and cutting wheel handled with remarkable assurance. The forms were hollowed out of the stone at varying depths to suggest thicker and thinner parts of body and muscles. The main contours are limned with a double line, and there is an almost playful overlapping of forms such as the tail of the griffin, which reappears over the head of the antelope, pointed out above, or the antelope's hoof reappearing from behind the griffin's hindleg. The bodies of griffin and lion are each represented with a trunk that is broad in front, becomes slender toward the back, and curves elegantly into the hindleg. The second hindleg is added as an angle-shaped form to the thigh of the first hindleg.

We have to turn to Aegean examples such as a gem from Tomb III of Grave Circle A at Mycenae, dated in the sixteenth century B.C. (Late Helladic I) (**Fig. 1**), in order to find a similar manner of indicating the hindleg of an animal. Moreover, the stylization of the lion's head with the doglike muzzle and the matted mane indicated by oval forms also shows the derivation from Aegean prototypes.

For the playful overlapping of minor features, we may cite a gem from Menidi dated in Late Helladic IIIB (c. 1300-1200 B.C.) on which the end of the tail with its tassel appears almost imperceptibly behind the wing (**Fig. 2**). The style of the cylinder is thus unquestionably Aegean, whereas the principal motif, the contest of lion and bull, was taken over here and in other Aegean representations from a very ancient <sup>[296]</sup> Near Eastern prototype. In each area and each period its meaning was probably different.

Several Cypriote cylinders have the same smooth bodied animal forms with sharp cuts indicating the details. One in the British Museum (**Pl. XX: 2**) is very monotonous, showing two spread eagles over two recumbent goats. Somewhat more variety is introduced in the upper register of another cylinder of the same group (**Pl. XX: 3**) in the Cyprus Museum. An example in the Erlenmeyer Collection (**Pl. XX: 4**) has the lion bending over the bull in a very realistic rendering of a posture also portrayed on an Agate lentoid from Argos<sup>20</sup> found with two vessels of Late Helladic IIIA. Closest to the cylinder from Melissa in style and accomplishment is one in the Louvre (**Pl. XX: 5**), which was discussed by Furumark, J. F. Daniel, and Olivier

<sup>20</sup> A. Sakellariou, *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel*, vol. I, (1964), no. 204.

Masson because of the signs of the Cypro-Minoan script.<sup>21</sup> The seal was acquired in 1913 in the vicinity of Salamis. Consequently, Masson concluded that the seal probably came from Enkomi. While Enkomi is on the



Fig. 1. Plattened cylinder of gold from Mycenae, Grave-Circle, A. Sakellariou, *Corpus d. minoischen und mykenischen Siegel I*, 1964, p. 21.



Fig. 2. Barrel-shaped gem, Menidi. Drawing reproduced from H. Kantor, *Archeology* 13 (1960), 19, fig. 9c. [Here taken from Sakellariou, *Corpus*, p. 399]

south shore and Melissa on the north shore of Cyprus, the distance between the sites is less than twenty miles. Since Melissa was a very small site and Enkomi a large one, it seems likely that Enkomi was the place where the seal cutter of our group was located. His early works may have been the monotonous ones but he shows increasing freedom in his composition and his later artistic accomplishment might have come as a result of contacts with some Aegean material.

The finest works of Cypriote seal engraving have this combination of Aegean and Near Eastern style and iconography. The example here reproduced in a photograph (Pl. XIX: 3) was known before only by a drawing. It served to illustrate several of the points made throughout this essay. One is the use of animals arranged in symmetrical motifs as protective symbols, especially a bird of prey with horned animals as seen on the early cylinder from Ayia Irini (Pl. XVII: 4). Secondly this seal contains a ritual scene in which a deity is flanked by two censers or altars, <sup>297</sup> which help to confirm the ritual significance of the simply cut scenes of Pl. XVII: 5, 6. Finally, the stylization of the lions' bodies with the back curving into the hindleg, which appears to be closer to the viewer than the other hindleg (added as an angular line on the outside), shows the western influence in the best Cypriote cylinders, while the motif of carnivores attacking a victim ultimately goes back to motifs developed in the East.

However the derivation from east and west of certain stylistic and iconographic features in Late Cypriote cylinders seals is of interest merely for the reconstruction of the genesis of some of the numerous groups of Cypri-

<sup>21</sup> O. Masson, "Cylindres et cachets chypriotes portant des caractères chyprominoens", *BCH LXXXI* (1957), 14.

ote cylinder seals which were made by engravers of remarkable talent and originality.

### Discussion

*(Professor F.-G. Maier in chair)*

*Karageorghis:* One would need a life-time to discuss the motifs, the iconography of seals but I am very much interested in the first seal from the Hadjiprodromou Collection with the seated figures, and I saw at the top of the backrest of the chairs there is a bird. We have a very close parallel on a Mycenaean vase which is now in the Louvre, the well known Homeric scene crater, where a divinity is seated on a chair which has such a bird at the top of the backrest. But I used this remark as a pretext in order to thank you for the wonderful exhibition of Cypriote seals and impressions of seals which you and Sidney Babcock arranged in the Cyprus Museum.

*Peltenburg:* A point concerning the history of the seal in Cyprus. You mentioned that there were no stamp seals prior to the development of which you spoke. One has been published from the excavations at Lemba and belongs to a context of the mid-3rd millennium. It is a limestone stamp seal with concentric circles interrupted by three tangential lines. There is another one, unpublished, from *Kissonerga-Mosphilia* from a survey and a third one found this year, obviously still unpublished, it has only just been found, which has a cross-hatched design on its base. So I think now we can perhaps say that in the mid-3rd millennium, at the latest, we have got stamp seals in Cyprus.

*Porada:* Thankyou very much. I did not know the one that you mentioned, and I can only answer with the retort – you did not send me an offprint!

*Masson:* Je voudrais formuler juste une remarque au sujet des inscriptions sur les cylindres. Les deux pièces qui portent une inscription plus longue se terminent toujours par la flèche, c'est à dire le suffixe d'appartenance dont j'ai parlé hier qui est le seul élément grammatical actuellement dégagé dans l'écriture chypro-minoen 1. Je profite de cette occasion pour préciser <sup>298</sup> que les inscriptions sur les cylindres sont intéressantes à ce titre car elle suggèrent fortement la présence des noms de propriétaire sous une forme qui indique l'appartenance. Ceci d'autant

plus que certaines de ces séquences se retrouvent ailleurs mais dépourvu de ce suffixe.

Si je puis me permettre de répondre au nom de mon mari que vous venez de mentionner, il pense que ces pièces proviennent d'Enkomi. Son hypothèse était due probablement au fait qu'à l'époque ce site représentait quasiment l'unique source de découvertes épigraphiques. A présent, nous savons que l'écriture a été pratiquée partout sur l'île aussi son opinion est-elle sans doute plus nuancée.

*Porada:* Merci.

*Flourentzos:* At the beginning of the Late Bronze Age we have a group of cylinders which have figures engraved with considerable abstraction. Do you think that this work is local Cypriote or that it shows influence from abroad?

*Porada:* This is an interesting question. However, if the engraver was a novice without previous experience in sealcutting, I doubt that the sight of such Syrian seals alone would have been sufficient to start a style of seal engraving in Cyprus. Instead, I assume that the making of the engravers' tools and their use had to be learned by personal contact. From a Neo Babylonian text we learn that the apprenticeship of a seal cutter of that period lasted several years. Even the simple linear style seals of our Cypriote group manifest a certain proficiency which must have been acquired before such products could be turned out. We may assume then that this group was preceded by one in which a Cypriote craftsman had learned from a Syrian how to carve linear style seals. But the transition from the Syrian linear style to a Cypriote group cannot be documented as yet. Such cylinders have either not been found or have not been recognized. Obviously, one should watch out in the future for transitional cylinders.



Reprinted from: *Iranica Antiqua* XXIII, 1988, 139-143, Plates I-IV.

## Discussion of a Cylinder Seal, Probably from Southeast Iran

To honor Pierre Amiet, with whom I am linked by years of friendship and a common interest in seals, I discuss a cylinder seal (Pl. I-II) which was brought to me in Austria by Jonathan Rosen who had been told that it was a forgery when he saw it on the market in London. It was published by Kojiro Ishiguro in 1976<sup>1</sup>. How long before this publication and where he had acquired the cylinder is not known. The impression was not cut to reveal what I believe to be the intended composition and the scene was scarcely recognizable. Nevertheless, Jonathan Rosen spotted a rare, beautiful and entirely genuine seal.

The cylinder is of shell and is in remarkably good condition. It measures 4.0 cm. in height and 1.97 cm. in diameter. The diameter of the stringhole is 0.4 cm.

The principal design (**Pl. I**) shows two kneeling male figures, both with outstretched and raised arms. They flank a radial design in which a figure sits on the calves of its legs and on its upturned feet, holding with one raised hand what may be a serpent. Below the radial design is a mountain from which grow two trees with pointed crowns. Each male figure kneels above a horned, lion-headed, winged dragon<sup>2</sup>. To the right of this motif sits a figure wearing a divine horned headgear, wrapped in a garment covered with an oblique crisscross pattern that forms lozenges. The figure's seat consists of the convoluted tail of the lion dragon, which makes a loop, rises, forms an angle for the seat, follows the figure's body, and curls up slightly above the middle of the figure's back<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *Mr. and Mrs. Ishiguro Collection of Ancient Art I*, 1976, p. 31, No. 27.

<sup>2</sup> For the representation of a related lion dragon and a discussion of that figure see the article by M.-H. Pottier, "Un cachet en argent de Bactriane", *Iranica Antiqua* XV (1980), pp. 167-174.

<sup>3</sup> Holly Pittman, who prepares a major work on Proto-Elamite glyptic and with whom I have discussed this cylinder at great length, suggested that the female figure, doubtless a deity, forms a second compositional center together with the two lion dragons. She points out that this is a triangular composition, a heritage from a favored Proto-Elamite scheme.

[140] To the left of the radial design kneels a figure (**Pl. IIa**) which will be referred to as a man although he is certainly a superhuman being and may be a god. Rising from the crown of this man's head are a bull's neck and head. Around the man's own head is slung a ribbon or fillet from which two ends hang. A slight curvature below the hairline and at the back of the neck may indicate hair gathered in a bun. The man has a strong nose that juts out, a strongly marked eyebrow, thicker in front, and an eye outlined as a pointed oval without indication of the eyeball. He has a clearly marked moustache over full lips and may have a short, pointed beard. The man's clavicles and breast muscles are stressed by the modeling of his body and powerful muscles are indicated by modeling on upper and lower arms. The hands are seen from the back with all five fingers indicated. Two serpents seem to emerge from the man's armpits<sup>4</sup>. He wears a belt encircling the waist and a kilt with fringe reaching to below the knees. In the space between the man's raised arms and the bull's head are two blossoms of different design.

Rising from the head of the man to the right of the radial design (**Pl. IIb**) is a leonine head, but here the impression is created of a helmet with the fillet projecting above the man's forehead. The ends of the fillet form an angle, and the lower end may have a line that could be meant as decoration. This man's hair is definitely gathered in a chignon or bun. His face resembles that of the figure opposite, but the short, pointed beard is very clearly indicated. The figure has a bow slung over one arm and carries on his back a quiver with an animal tail hanging down from its bottom while two arrows project from the top. Otherwise the figure is identical with the one opposite. Above the figure's right arm is a blossom of yet another design than the first two.

The central design (**Pl. IIIa**) consists of a double circle from which radiate eleven points, also with double lines. Within the design sits a figure whose pose has been described. Like that of the other two men, the [141] figure's thorax is very muscular, but in contrast with them its hair hangs loose. Around the head may be a double fillet the ends of which appear on both front and back. A curious design begins in a clamplike form at the neck of the figure and curves down as a double line over the figure's arm, forming three ends or points below the elbow.

In contrast with the three male figures the one seated on the tail of a lion-dragon (**Pl. IIIb**) is beardless and female. In her raised hand she holds a

<sup>4</sup> One is reminded here of a stamp seal of the fourth millennium B.C., which I published in *The Art of Ancient Iran*, New York, 1965, pl. 5, above, left (opposite p. 30), which shows a moufflon-headed demon who has two serpents with their heads under his armpits.



branch, or perhaps an ear of grain. A reversed s-shape appears prominently above that figure's head<sup>5</sup>.

Placed in the field without obvious connection with their surroundings are a few forms: a pointed oval, perhaps a grain of some cereal, placed between mountain, tree and radial design; a short, double curved line which somewhat resembles the lion-dragon's horn to which it almost forms a parallel though separated from it by the lower body of the man kneeling to the left of the radial design; and a short stroke in front of the lower jaw of the second lion dragon.

Aside from the modeled style of the figures, especially their musculature and faces, which point to a date of the cylinder in the Akkad period, a criterion of a date in that period is provided by the shape of the quiver with an animal tail hanging from its bottom. It corresponds to the quiver carried by a mountain guide on the British Museum cylinder of a servant of an official of Ubil-Eštar "brother of the king"<sup>6</sup> probably king Naram Sin of Akkad (2254-2218 B.C.) as implied by D. Collon<sup>7</sup>.

It is interesting to note that the guide in the Akkad cylinder, also has his hair tied up in a bun (or two) and has a short beard resembling that of our kneeling male figures. The fine workmanship by which small details are carefully executed in the engraving of this cylinder, as well as the close relation of the seal owner to the royal court, makes it seem likely that the British Museum cylinder came from a royal workshop. This might explain the faithful representation of a foreigner on this seal.

Several features indicate that the cylinder here discussed was probably made in southeastern Iran. Most characteristic is the design of the eyes which are pointed ovals within which the surface remains flat as in cylinders from Tepe Yahya in the Kerman range<sup>8</sup>. In another cylinder [142] from the same site<sup>9</sup> there is a horizontal line within the pointed oval indicating the eye but none show a hollow and/or a small drilling indicating the human eye as in Akkad period cylinders of Mesopotamia<sup>10</sup>. Another internal criterion is the shape of the horns of the seated female figure. They correspond to those of the deities shown on cylinder seals from Tepe Yahya and related examples assembled by Pierre Amiet in his book *L'âge des échanges inter-iraniens 3500-1700 avant J.-C.*, Paris, 1986, pp. 299 and 300.

<sup>5</sup> Holly Pittman informs me that this reverse s-shape occurs on Proto-Elamite seal designs but not as a sign of writing on tablets.

<sup>6</sup> D. Collon, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Cylinder Seals II. Akkadian – Post Akkadian Ur III – Periods*. London, 1982, No. 141.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>8</sup> The best example is my photograph of a cylinder found by C. C. Lamberg Karlovsky at Tepe Yahya, reproduced in *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 14, 1975, Pl. 283c.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 283d.

<sup>10</sup> A good example of the indication of human eyes in contemporary Mesopotamian seals is seen on the British Museum cylinder 141 cited in note 6.

With the date and assumed origin of the cylinder more or less established, attention may be drawn to the relations which exist with a cylinder (Pl. IV) formerly in the Foroughi Collection, which I published in 1964 and which I interpreted as representing a version of the preamble to the Etana story in which the serpent played a dominant role<sup>11</sup>.

In both cylinders a bull's head<sup>12</sup> is placed upon the human head of a figure, but it does not seem to be the same figure that "wears" the bull's head. In the Foroughi cylinder it is the enthroned, central figure to which another seems to be subservient; in the Rosen cylinder it is one of the two kneeling male figures which raise their arms in a gesture that might signify praying or imploring, apparently directed toward the small figure in the center of the radial design. That small, central figure seems to be distinguished, like the central figure of the Foroughi cylinder by an enigmatic pendant band indicated by two lines and ending in a triple point.

Iconographic differences between the Foroughi and Rosen cylinder are the serpents which have feline heads on the first cylinder and serpent heads on the second. Furthermore, the central figure on the first cylinder sits on a chair, in the manner of Mesopotamian and westiranian figures of importance, whereas sitting on one's legs seems to have been the usual [143] posture in the east (although a deity sitting on a chair can be seen on one cylinder found at Yahya<sup>13</sup>).

In our conversation about the Rosen cylinder, Holly Pittman stated that she sees this scene as reflecting an evolution from the Proto-Elamite concept of the world in which animals, particularly the bull and the lion, represented the major powers of nature, to a concept of anthropomorphic deities who are associated with these animals.

From another viewpoint it may be said that there was a more intimate contact between man and the surrounding animal world in Iran than elsewhere in the Near East. Divisions between the world of man and that of animals appear fluid in an iconography which places animal heads on what seem to be heroic or divine male figures and probably invests them with supernatural power.

I hope that Pierre Amiet will link this "new" cylinder to those he assembled in *l'âge des échanges* (pp. 299-300) and provide new insights into that strange world of the art of southeastern Iran for the revelation of which he has done so much.

<sup>11</sup> *Compte rendu de l'onzième rencontre assyriologique internationale organisée à Leiden ... 1962*, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1964, pp. 88-93.

<sup>12</sup> Holly Pittman pointed out that the drilling seen on the bullhead's neck in the Rosen cylinder, and placed beside that head on the Foroughi cylinder, indicates that a humped bull was meant to be shown.

<sup>13</sup> See Pierre Amiet, *L'âge des échanges*, p. 299: 9. Amiet's drawing must have been made from a photograph because it is better than the unacceptable drawing first published, *Revue d'Assyriologie* LXXV/2 (1981), p. 137, Fig. 2.

Reprinted from: Paul Åström (ed.), *Acta Cypria: Acts of the International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology held in Göteborg on 22–24 August, 1991, Part 3* (Studies in Mediterranean archaeology and literature. Pocket-book 120), Jönköping: P. Åströms Förlag, 1992, 360–376.

## Remarks on Cypriote Cylinders

When I planned my communication on Cypriote cylinders for the Congress on Cypriote Archaeology in Göteborg in August 22–24, 1991, I was going to introduce major changes in the terminology of the cylinders which I published in 1948.<sup>1</sup> Not only would I have changed some of the groups, joining several into one group like II and III, but I would have added those unknown in 1948. In the course of the current academic year, however, I realized that the old terminology has been in such general use that a change would cause confusion. Hence I will limit myself to adding new groups with specific names of sites where the best examples were found. Some effort will be made to achieve an understanding of the nature of Cypriote cylinder seals beyond the classification in stylistic groups. Many illustrations will be taken from the Cypriote cylinders in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the British Museum.<sup>2</sup>

The shape of the Cypriote cylinders indicates at once that their origin lies on the western Asian mainland, but the reason for their adoption in Cyprus is enigmatic because cylinders were not used to seal tablets and clay lumps that secured property in bags, baskets, boxes, and storerooms in countries of the Asian mainland. None of these practices can be documented in Cyprus. I know only one clay seal impression made with a cylinder of Cypriote style.<sup>3</sup> Cylinders must have been made for display or as amulets, or both. The same purposes also existed in western Asia. However, in the countries from Anatolia to Iran the carving of cylinders was closely related in style and iconography with the monumental sculpture of the region. No sustained effort has been made so far to prove a relation with other aspects of Cypriote art for cylinder seals. There-

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<sup>1</sup> "The Cylinder Seals of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age," *American Journal of Archaeology*, LII (1948), pp. 178–198.

<sup>2</sup> The permission of the department, headed by Dr. John E. Curtis is gratefully acknowledged.

<sup>3</sup> E. Porada, "Appendix I: Seals" in P. Dikaios, *Enkomi-Excavations 1948–1958*, vol. II (Mainz, 1969), pl. 322, Fig. a-1.

fore, some attempt will be made here to link certain representations with those in other works of Cypriote art.

In Mesopotamia literary texts have provided a basis for some interpretation of the pictorial material. No such basis exists for Late Bronze Age Cyprus. We will have to look analytically at some cylinders to see if any general motives emerge that suggest a distinctive Cypriote iconography.

[361] Display and ostentation, on which the adoption of cylinders in Cyprus was presumably based, caused the choice of visibly precious materials. Hence we find lapis lazuli, the most desirable stone in the ancient world, used for Cypriote cylinders. Unfortunately, only few lapis lazuli cylinders were found in Cyprus, and the lapis in these is of poor quality.<sup>4</sup> Very fine cylinders of Cypriote styles, however, were found in the lapis lazuli treasure of Thebes, the cylinders of which I published in 1981.<sup>5</sup> Hematite was used for the extraordinary variety of fine Cypriote styles that are found on the island. This is another enigma of Cypriote glyptic art. Why are there so many styles that are not found together in one place but are widely dispersed? Rarely are two cylinders of the same group found in one place before the end of the Late Bronze Age. Only then did certain groups become widely distributed, like an Egyptianizing one, many examples of which were found at Enkomi.<sup>6</sup>

We will now investigate what are probably early examples of seal engraving in Cyprus. If we are right in assuming that the cylinders excavated by Paulo Pecorella at Ayia Irini are among the earliest made in Cyprus,<sup>7</sup> their designs present us with single forms that are placed together without coherence (**Fig. 1**): a man upside down is below a bird in flight. Left of these two figures is a rearing serpent toward which a goat leaps over a large fish. A bucranium, a large disk enclosed by a vertical moon crescent, several globes (four large and four small), and a creature that Pecorella calls a crab but that could also be an octopus or a spider fill the rest of the field. Probably each of the designs had a meaning, but their combination is not intelligible to a viewer and does not suggest a coherent action. Another cylinder at Ayia Irini (**Fig. 2**), has a double-headed bird extending its claws over the backs of two animals, one of them a

<sup>4</sup> The cylinder seal, Tomb II, 107 in Emily T. Vermeule and Florence C. Wolsky, *Tomba tou Skourou*, Harvard University Press, 1990, p. 140; E. Porada, "Appendix I: Seals" in P. Dikaios, *Enkomi-Excavations. 1948-1958*, vol. II, p. 785: No.1; H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems ... in the British Museum* (London, 1926), pl. III:123 (from Enkomi).

<sup>5</sup> "The Cylinder Seals Found at Thebes in Boeotia," *Archiv für Orientforschung* XXVIII (1981), pp. 1-78, henceforth cited as *Thebes*.

<sup>6</sup> J.-C. Courtois and Jennifer M. Webb, *Les cylindres sceaux d'Enkomi* (Mission archéologique française d'Alasia) (Nicosia, 1987), pp. 74-84.

<sup>7</sup> P. E. Pecorella, *Le Tombe dell'Età del Bronzo Tardo della Necropoli a Mare di Ayia Irini "Paleokastro"* (Rome, 1977).

mountain goat. The second animal does not have horns, perhaps because of lack of space. The eagle with horned animals is an old motif in Mesopotamia going back to the Early Dynastic period,<sup>8</sup> and it was doubtless propitious. The motif was favored in Anatolia in the time of the Assyrian merchant colonies.<sup>9</sup> Probably Cyprus got the motif from some Anatolian sources.

[362] In the field of the cylinder from Ayia Irini (Fig.2), there is still another animal with a fish above its back. These designs do not seem to have any connection with the self-sufficient motif of the eagle and goats. We thus find the same quality of non coherence in the design that we have found in the first cylinder except for the fact that an entire motif is being treated as a single item.

In three cylinders (Figs. 3-5), within the group called Cypro-Aegean by Pini<sup>10</sup> we find the same principle of a filling of the space with noncoherent motifs. The central motif of the cylinder, **Fig. 3** is a stag attacked by two lions. Above this group soars a bird with spread wings and extended claws, which does not seem to be connected with the motif below or with the motifs on its sides: on the right, a goat suckling its young and on the left, two crossed animals with an octopus between their legs. Another unconnected motif is a lioness suckling its young. A fish, signs of writing, and groups of minute drillings fill the field. A grouping of unconnected motifs, several of them similar to those of Fig. 3 are found on **Fig. 4**.<sup>11</sup> One engraver could well be responsible for both seals. Probably **Fig. 5** from the Thebes treasure was also made by this engraver. Characteristic are the delicacy and grace of the animal figures that twist and turn in a manner that transcends natural postures. While there are certain recurring figures, such as the catlike griffin and the graceful stag with its magnificent antlers, the human figures seen in Figs. 4 and 5 are shown in very varied contexts. Pini has pointed to a gem engraved with a griffin and a stag that he suggests were carved by the engraver of the cylinders whose unfamiliarity with the spacing of stamp seal design resulted in an empty area that had to be filled by a table.<sup>12</sup> It certainly is a clever explanation of this distinctive design.

Pini thereby illustrates the relation of these cylinders and Aegean stamp

<sup>8</sup> Pierre Amiet, *Glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque* (Edition CNRS), (Paris, 1980), pp. 114-115.

<sup>9</sup> Nimet Özgüç, *Seals and Seals impressions from Level Ib from Karum Kanish* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından V. Seri.Sa 25) (Ankara, 1968). Pls. XXXII, XXXIII show eagles and griffins with or without horned animals that appear to be their victims.

<sup>10</sup> "Kypro-ägäische Rollsiegel..." *Jahrbuch d. Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 95 (1980), pp. 77-108.

<sup>11</sup> For a description of the seal design see V. E. G. Kenna, "An unpublished Cypriote Cylinder," *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* XCI (1967), pp. 251-253.

<sup>12</sup> I. Pini, "Ein Siegelabdruck im archäologischen Museum in Iraklion." *Anatypon ek tou A tomou pepragmenon tou Thieonous Kretologike Syneadrou*, (Athens, 1973), pl. 55: c.

seals. My comparison with an Aegean gem (**Fig. 5a**) from Bari shows the typical manner of designing the animal body. The hind leg near the viewer is placed forward, and the shape of the animal's body, which is broad in front diminishes toward the back, where it curves elegantly into the 363 hind leg. Noticeable in this stamp seal is the filler of a linear spiral, which is also encountered in some of the cylinders of this group.

The use of such characteristic Aegean designs indicates the extent to which they were favored by some of the Cypriote seal owners. In the three seals of this group the small details, like the claws of the lions, are produced with a minute drill. On each cylinder the available space is filled by small forms that are different from those of the other two cylinders: rosettes and quatrefoils on Fig. 3, a spiral created by two circles joined by a line as on the gem from Bari on Fig. 4, and center-dot circles on the cylinder from the Thebes hoard on Fig. 5. This indicates that the seal cutter was careful to use different motifs even in these minor fillers. It should not be surprising, therefore, that the principal motifs differ on all three cylinders. The example shows that the outstanding glyptic artist of these cylinders varied his motifs. The extent to which this example can be extended to fine glyptic artists in general remains to be proved by seals from other regions.

On the cylinder from Thebes is a blossom on a graceful stem, which also occurs on two Cypriote cylinders for which no parallels could be found so far. One, from Kalavassos (**Fig. 6**), shows a curious combination of various motifs such as the fighting bulls reminiscent of those on one of Denson's impressed storage jar sherds.<sup>13</sup> In writing about this cylinder,<sup>14</sup> I pointed out that the engraver did not adhere to any of the known Cypriote styles but chose different motifs from various sources, including western Asian ones. Does this tell us that variety was sought, that the future seal owner turned toward an engraver who was not all established Cypriote seal cutter because he wanted something special for his seal design? The accumulation of different motifs, probably each with a specific meaning, again presents us with something that, at best, should be read like a rebus. The same non-coherent character of the designs in the field is found on the second cylinder with the graceful Aegean blossom (**Fig. 7**). The human figure with the gesture of abandon is as unparalleled as the representation of the lion whose paws fail to have the typical Cypriote shape of the claws drawn as a curved line above the ball of the foot.

364 With another group we find a relation to a different kind of Aegean

<sup>13</sup> J. L. Denson, "Aegean and Near Eastern Seal Impressions from Cyprus," in *The Aegean and the Near East. Studies ... Hetty Goldman* (Locust Valley, 1956), pl. VII, Fig. 2: B 1436.

<sup>14</sup> Alison South et al., *Vasilikos Valley Project 3: Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios II* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXXI: 3 Göteborg, 1989), pp. 33-34.

gems, an example of which is from Crete (**Fig. 8**). The attraction of the design consists in the contrast created by the smooth plain surface of the body and the pattern of sharp lines with which details are indicated. This effect is seen especially in a cylinder excavated by the Columbia University expedition to Phlamoudhi in Cyprus (**Fig. 9**).<sup>15</sup> The principal group consists of a lion pawing at a bull that gores its attacker. Floating precisely above these animals are a winged disk and a crescentmoon. These may have been engraved first, indicating some iconographical relation between the animals and the heavenly bodies.

A cylinder belonging to the same group in the British Museum (**Fig. 10**) shows a far less interesting design than the cylinder from Phlamoudhi, indicating perhaps that it was an earlier product of the same seal cutter. More intriguing is one acquired in the vicinity of Salamis, probably from Enkomi, now in the Louvre.<sup>16</sup> Enkomi is the closest major Late Cypriote site in the vicinity of Phlamoudhi, and it is possible that the seal cutter was located there.

A cylinder seal from Pylos (Rutsi) (**Fig. 11**) belongs to the same style. Here a plant design is created by a stem that supports a flat form on which the foliage is carved by two opposed groups of parallel oblique lines. Again the attraction consists in the contrast between smooth surfaces and sharp parallel lines. A cylinder in the British Museum (**Fig. 12**) shows the same tree design.

The groups so far discussed show different stylistic relations with Aegean prototypes, but they share the noncoherence of their motifs and single designs. We now turn to representations in which figures are combined in coherent scenes.

The largest group of cylinders showing what seem to be coherent scenes is found with certain prevailing features. The vertical axis is stressed by the standing figures, and these are all on one line even if it is not actually drawn. The figures have ample space and do not press against one another. Their 365 arrangement is therefore close to Near Eastern examples. However, the execution is distinct. Faces are shown by simple forms such as a small drilling for the eye that appears in a hollow space; noses, lips, and chins are indicated by small drillings or short lines. An example is a cylinder in the British Museum (**Fig. 13**) showing a deity recognizable as such by the slender horns that flank the center of her headgear. The horns as a criterion of divinity, as in Mesopotamia, are also seen on a major work of Cypriote art, the bronze "Horned God" from Enkomi (**Fig. 14**) dated early in the twelfth century D.C. The goddess of the cylinder of Fig. 14 wears an upper garment that looks like a bordered blouse

<sup>15</sup> For a discussion of the cylinder and the group to which it belongs see E. Porada, "Late Cypriote Cylinder Seals Between East and West," *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident ..."* (Nicosia, 1986), pp. 294-296.

<sup>16</sup> See Porada, "Late Cypriote Cylinders between East and West," pl. XX: 5.

though it may have been wrapped rather than tailored. Her slender waist is accentuated by a belt that holds a long patterned skirt that reaches to the ankles. The figure's loose hair forms a wide curl above the shoulder. Before her stands a bull-headed demon, whose horns are seen from a three-quarter view as are those of ivories from Cyprus, (**Fig. 15**), and pottery designs (**Fig. 16**). He wears a short kilt that merely covers the thighs. It seems likely that such a garment was used for male figures. The terminal design of Fig. 13 is a palmette tree "with clusters of volutes at intervals along the stem," a description used for tree designs on late-fourteenth to early-thirteenth century cylinders of Assyria.<sup>17</sup> By citing the Assyrian example, I suggest that there were international connections that might have brought the motif to Cyprus at the time when it was used in Assyria. While this cannot be proved it is not impossible.

The Cypriote cylinder Fig. 13 provides some guidance for the iconography of this group. It shows the enthroned goddess holding an ax with the blade pointing outward for action. In front of her the bull-headed demon holds a lion by the head and the tail, obviously delivering the beast for judgment to the goddess. One may assume that the lion represents a criminal element that is about to be punished.

The same interpretation must be made of a cylinder in a different simpler style in which two enthroned figures threaten a lion with their axes **Fig. 17**.<sup>18</sup> The characterization of the lions as evil creatures that have to be opposed may be derived from Mycenaean concepts, [366] for the lion appears on Mycenaean gems as the opponent that is fought with a weapon, usually a sword **Fig. 18**,<sup>19</sup> whereas horned animals are wrestled with bare hands. Furthermore, lions as killers are seen in the niello work on the figured daggers from the shaft graves.<sup>20</sup> Egyptian art treated lions with friendly respect in view of their association with the king. A similar attitude seems to have prevailed in Syrian glyptic iconography.

A cylinder of this group, **Fig. 19**, published by John Boardman, shows a bull-headed demon in a garment that covers only one leg and may again be used for male rather than for female figures. The bull-demon and a goddess in a long patterned skirt both hold a lion, the demon by the hind legs, the goddess

<sup>17</sup> This good description was given by D. Matthews, *Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic of the Later Second Millennium B.C.* (Freiburg-Göttingen, 1990), p. 91, for a tree on Middle Assyrian cylinders dated in the time of Adad-nirari I (1305-1279 B.C.). The example used by Matthews is *ibid.* No. 286, but others are cited in his note 31.

<sup>18</sup> I published this cylinder in "Late Cypriote Cylinder Seals Between East and West," pl. XVIII: 6.

<sup>19</sup> Ready examples are CMS I: 112, 165, 290, 331.

<sup>20</sup> Spyridon Marinatos, *Crete and Mycenae* (New York, 1960), pl. XXXVI.



by the tail. Obviously, the lion again represents a criminal element which will be executed.

The only Near Eastern element in the Boardman cylinder is the disembodied frontal head which is certainly taken over from Mitannian seals, on which such a demonic head (inherited from Old Babylonian glyptic) are seen in several examples.<sup>21</sup>

I. Pini suggested<sup>22</sup> that the cylinder was made by the same seal cutter who produced a cylinder in Boston published by Frankfort.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, the posture of the bull-headed demon and the gesture with which he holds the lion are identical. However, the manner of engraving differs in the use of slightly larger small drillings that are employed more generally. For example, the head of the bull-demon is partly formed with two drillings instead of lines created with a graver, as in the Boardman seal. This increased use of drillings can be observed throughout the designs of the Boston cylinder. Was the Boston cylinder the result of a change in the Boardman artist's technique, or did the different seal cutter of the Boston cylinder partly copy the relevant figures from the Boardman cylinder? If it was done by the same artist, the stimulus for a differentiation in style may have been the desire for variation that appears in the numerous seal styles of the island.

The abbreviated headgear of the goddess in the cylinder reproduced by Boardman shows that the style was long in use. The same may be said about the exaggerated slenderness and tall size of the two major figures in both cylinders.

**[367]** Their style differs from that of a lapis lazuli cylinder from the Thebes treasure (**Fig. 20**) in which the figures have more natural proportions and are executed with great refinement and detail. I suggested a date at the end of the fifteenth century B.C. for the cylinder from Thebes<sup>24</sup> and considered it an early example of the style featuring deities, demons, and animals with which we are now dealing.

The subject of the Theban cylinder showing two confronted goddesses holding up a lion and a dog with a griffin between them was repeated with slight variations on a seal (**Fig. 21**) in the Rosen Collection, which I consider to have been later because of the simplification of the forms. Unlike the goddesses on

<sup>21</sup> A good example is seen on the impressions of the cylinder of the Mitannian king Saushtatar reproduced by Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), pl. XLII: a; an old Babylonian example is seen *ibid.*, on pl. XXIX: h.

<sup>22</sup> "Kypro-agäische Rollsiegel..." , pp. 104-105.

<sup>23</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XLV: g.

<sup>24</sup> E. Porada, "A Theban Cylinder Seal in Cypriote Style with Minoan Elements" pp. 111- 120 (Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000-500 B.C." (Nicosia, 1979).

the Theban seal, each figure on the Rosen cylinder holds a long dagger or knife.

The motif of two goddesses holding daggers or knives also occurs on a cylinder in the British Museum (**Fig. 22**). This cylinder shows both goddesses armed with daggers, probably to threaten the animal that they hold up. We will deal later with the three animal-headed demons who also hold daggers or knives in readiness.

Another row of figures (**Fig. 23**), again in the British Museum, lacks the characteristic goddess with horned miter. Instead it has a female figure that is the only one in the row holding a weapon in the same hand with which she holds up an animal by its hind leg. In this row the animals being raised are a goat, a dog and a lion. Should we think of a hunt in which the dog helps overpower the lion, which aims to kill the goat? Or are all these animals considered noxious?

In another British Museum cylinder (**Fig. 24**) the two female figures are placed one behind the other instead of opposite each other as a pair. Are they the two identical goddesses that we have encountered on several cylinders of this group? One figure holds what may be the leg of a large animal; the other holds up a dog. One of the figures grasps the leg of a lion which both females face. Perhaps the cylinder could be used to illustrate the idea that the leg of the animal is what remains of the lion's kill, that the dog is used to 368 bring the lion down, and that the gesture of the female who grasps the lion's foreleg demonstrates her power over the creature for the benefit of the seal owner. Of course, other interpretations are also possible.

Is there a pair of goddesses in Cypriote or Greek religion that we could find on our cylinders? Pairs of figures seem to be characteristic of the Egyptian concepts involving the demons in question.

We return now to the animal-headed demons of Fig. 22. They all hold knives, presumably to kill the noxious creatures which they hold prisoner. The fact that they are a group and are holding knives that are easily brought into action relates them to a group of knife-bearing Egyptian figures identified by Sauneron<sup>25</sup> as emissaries of the fearful goddesses, the lion-headed Sekhmet, the cat-headed Bastet, the vulture-headed Nekhbet, and Neith, the goddess of war. The leader of the frightening Egyptian group is Toutou (Greek Tithoes) which is on a relief acquired by the Brooklyn Museum (**Figs. 25, 26**) that started Sauneron's research for the article in which he illustrated photographs of a plaque in the Collection of Khalil Rabenou (**Figs. 27, 28**). The figure in the

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<sup>25</sup> Serge Sauneron, "Le Nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum," *JNES* XIX (1960), pp. 269-287.

plaque has one head turned to the front, and two other monstrous heads are in the back. Demons with two heads also appear in examples of our Cypriote group. Sauneron insisted that the figure of Toutou was limited to the Hellenistic-Roman period. However, the plaque contains features known in representations of earlier periods. The fact that the sphinx walks on a serpent is paralleled in several eighteenth to seventeenth century Syrian cylinders. Even more telling are the knives that rise from the sphinx's paws. On the Late Bronze Age faience rhyton from Kition in Cyprus a hero has knives on the tips of his feet (**Fig. 29**). This is unique in the realm of western Asia and the Aegean. It seems likely therefore that certain features of Toutou existed earlier. They were probably carried by other figures of Egyptian mythology, which is likely to have influenced the demonic lore of Cyprus. The function of Toutou and his host was not to harm the people who asked for his protection.

<sup>369</sup> The lion-headed demon of the Theban cylinder raises the question of the significance of the figure. V. Karageorghis writing about a lion mask in the British Museum<sup>26</sup> seemingly assumes that such representations as well as the extant masks themselves indicate that human beings appeared with lion masks. Behind that, however, must stand the concept of the superhuman being that is being represented by the masked figure.

The equivocal role of the goddess Sekhmet, whose fearful destructive power could be turned to protection (shown by the fact that her priests formed one of the most ancient associations of medical doctors and veterinaries), could well have been reflected in the figure of the lion-demon on Cypriote cylinders, where she appears as a killer of lions and also stands quietly raising a double ax, as a symbol of power without engaging in any deadly action.

Egypt may not have been the only country to which Cypriotes turned for help against supernatural powers. If I interpret the Mycenaean ring (**Fig. 30**) correctly, the goddess restrains the female griffin that she holds by a leash, though she may also demonstrate her relation to her powerful adjunct.

One of the most common subjects in one of the cruder simpler styles is that of a deity or other superior being and a monster, griffin, or sphinx. An example is a cylinder in the Pierpont Morgan Library (**Fig. 31**) that shows a goddess and a griffin. While the Cypriote goddess extends her hand toward the griffin in a gesture that may indicate her domination over the monster, the representation is surely derived from one like that of the Mycenaean gold ring. The Cypriote who was influenced by this representation, however, certainly thought of the griffin as a monster to be feared and dominated. Its great size in relation to the

<sup>26</sup> V. Karageorghis, "Notes on Some Terracotta Masks from Amathus Now in the British Museum," *Rivista di Studi Fenici* XVIII (1990), pp. 3-15.

goddess is a sure sign of Aegean, not Near Eastern, origin. In Near Eastern art monsters and dangerous animals are smaller than their superhuman or divine opponents, whose size expresses superior power.

Whatever the interpretation, it seems likely that in those scenes in which we see a coherent action, the meaning was propitious for the seal owner. The same was true of the 370 non-coherent representations in which single designs, often of unknown meaning, were placed together on the cylinder, without visual contact. The only explanation would be that they are beneficial symbols that were to exert their power for the seal owner singly or in combination. For the latter I have suggested something like a rebus.

In addition to the propitious meaning suggested for the Cypriote cylinders, there is the great diversity of styles. Rather than assume that this was due to the division of the island into small units, I suggest that the great variety in which different relations to foreign styles are obvious, was due to the desire of the seal owners to have special, distinctive, and occasionally exotic seal designs.

Much remains to be learned about Cypriote glyptic style and iconography. These remarks are merely intended as a beginning of an investigation beyond the classification of various stylistic groups.

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## A Cylinder with a Storm God and Problems

Just at the time at which I received the invitation for the meeting in honor of Maurits van Loon on the theme of “Natural Phenomena”, Jonathan P. Rosen showed me a cylinder in his collection that portrays two gods, one of whom holds lightning symbols, which are taken to identify him as a storm god (**Fig[s]. 1 [and 1a]**).

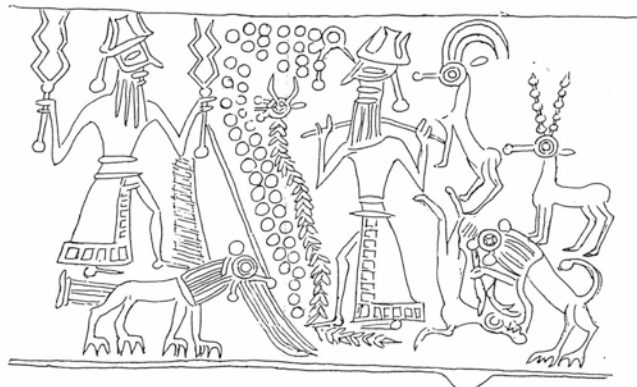


Fig 1a: Drawing of the impression of Fig. 1, by E. Porada.

The cylinder closely resembles a seal impression on a tablet from Nuzi (**Figs. 2 and 3**), which provides a framework for the Rosen cylinder within the Mitannian style of the fifteenth to fourteenth century BC. This was an apparently unproblematic and very welcome subject for the theme of the meeting.

The cylinder is said to have been found in a rich tomb in an unidentified location. In the impression the storm god is on the left and holds up two lightning symbols while standing on a lion that has the tail of a bird and water flowing from his mouth. Globules seem to rise from the liquid, forming a column that reaches to the upper field, leaving a space, above which a further group of globules creates a form like a cloud which terminates in

the head of a bird with a prominent beak. Facing the god with the lighting symbols is another god, identically robed in a bordered garment. With both hands that god holds a stick on his neck and shoulders and stands on the hindmost part of a gigantic rearing bull-horned serpent with open leonine mouth and a projecting pointed tongue, that may extend to one of the globules.

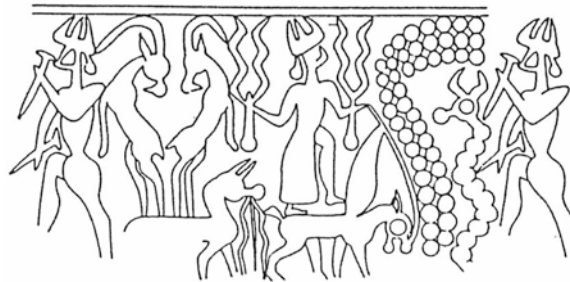


Fig. 3: Drawing of the seal impression, fig. 2, by Diana L. Stein, "Mythologische Inhalte der Nuzi Glyptik" in V. Haas, *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, (Konstanzer Altorientalische Symposien, Bd. 2, 1987) No. 11.

There is some damage to the surface of the cylinder at that point. The bends in the body of the serpent were carefully adjusted by the engraver to the figure of the god, with the slight changes in direction occurring at the elbow of the god, at his knee and at his foot. Visually, this results in stressing the association of the god with the monstrous serpent. Beside this god are a leaping mountain goat, a standing goat with twisted horns, that are indicated by drillings along the straight upward pointing shafts (perhaps meant to 228 represent those of a markhor, the largest type of goat);<sup>1</sup> and a fallen stag, who is being attacked by a lion. A damage in the seal which created a line between the neck and one of the hind legs of the stag, appears to have been used by the engraver to place one of the lion's paws upon it,<sup>2</sup> while the other paw rests on the nose of the stag.

The first god has a symmetrical posture that makes him appear more like an icon than an active deity. The lightning symbols, which contribute to this effect, have a bulbous form where the prongs of the symbol meet and another at the end of the handle. They do not look like the more natu-

<sup>1</sup> That the animal, *Capra falconieri*, is called *markhor*, which is Persian for "snake eater", indicates the esteem in which it is held by the population of the mountainous regions of its habitat in eastern Iran and Afghanistan. Comment on the *markhor* is found in Richard Ettinghausen, "The 'Snake-Eating Stag' in the East", in Kurt Weizmann (ed.) *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Matthias Friend, Jr.* (Princeton 1955), pp. 272- 285.

<sup>2</sup> Otherwise the lion's gesture which does not touch the fallen animal, cannot be explained.

realistic Old Babylonian representations of lightning, from which they are derived,<sup>3</sup> but rather like objects carefully turned on a lathe by an expert craftsman.

The representation of gods, as in this seal, and in the impression Fig. 2, is not frequent in this style. This is due to the change in the iconography of most of the seal designs in the Mitannian period from the Old Babylonian subject of gods with or without worshippers to worshippers alone, often with a sacred tree or with a sacred tree flanked only by animals or composite creatures. The elaborate designs found in several of the seal impressions from Nuzi showing deities may indicate that the original cylinders were made at the special request of the seal owner or that they had been carved in some other center. We may assume a similar situation for Figs. 1 and 2, which are so far unique in the Mitannian repertory. Perhaps we should ascribe to the rarity of the demand for such representations the divergence from the usual representation of the storm god's mount, the lion dragon, which seems to lack the traditional bird claws on the hind feet, although these have only three digits while one of the forefeet has four digits. Even though this difference may have been intended to indicate the nature of the hind feet, it does not conform to the common stylization of bird claws seen in seal designs from the Akkade to the Old Babylonian period.<sup>4</sup> I was unable to determine from extant publications whether or not the lion dragon of the storm god in other Mitannian seals had bird claws on the hind feet.

The bubbles, which I assume are what the globules rising from the liquid spewed out by the lion dragon are intended to be, are reminiscent of the bubbles rising from the streams spewed out by [229] the bull pulling the chief god's chariot on the Hasanlu bowl.<sup>5</sup> Instead of bubbles, however, the drillings could also indicate hailstones, as Pierre Amiet suggests for the Hasanlu bowl and the vase from an Iranian site.<sup>6</sup> The bird, whose head terminates in what looks like a cloud of globules, is most likely associated with an element in the sky, such as a rainstorm or hailstorm. Is the bird associated in some way with the god whose head he almost seems to touch? This problem must remain unanswered.

The fact that the second god is represented similarly to the first makes one wonder about the relationship of the two gods. Are they closely connected in some mythological context, as yet unknown? That they do not

<sup>3</sup> Dominique Collon, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Cylinder Seals III: Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian Periods*. (London 1986, British Museum Publications), nos. 436-452, 455.

<sup>4</sup> R.M. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit* (Berlin 1965), pl. XXXI: nos. 367-373, and Ali Abou Assaf, "Die Ikonographie des altbabylonischen Wettergottes", *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 14 (1983) pl. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Drawing by Maude de Schauensee, in E. Porada, *The Art of Ancient Iran* (New York 1965), p. 99, fig. 64, and p. 95, pl. 23.

<sup>6</sup> "Un vase rituel iranien", *Syria XLII* (1965) pp. 235-51.

represent one and the same deity seems certain because of the slight differences in their attire that can be noted in the related seal impression from Nuzi (Figs. 2 and 3) discussed below.

The posture of the god holding a stick on his neck and shoulders is encountered occasionally in cylinder seals of Syrian style. In connection with such a representation on a cylinder, Dominique Collon suggested that the stick – or bar, as she calls it – was meant to be a yoke. She gave several examples where the object does indeed appear to have had such a function.<sup>7</sup> However, it seems to me that the stick, strongly bent like a cane in Fig. 1,<sup>8</sup> had some other meaning, perhaps that of a symbol of authority. The way in which it is being held, however, suggests to me a posture of relaxation.

There is also a question about the three horned animals and the lion. Usually Mitannian seals show such animals in a symmetrical secondary motif of unknown significance. However, here the goat jumping up close behind the god seems to indicate an intimate relationship, as if there were a connection between the god and the animals beside him.

Relatively little help for the interpretation of the god is provided by the seal impression from Nuzi, Figs. 2 and 3.<sup>9</sup> The storm god with his two lightning symbols stands on a winged lion or lion dragon; its feet are not preserved. Unlike the lion dragon of the cylinder, it is not this monster that spews a liquid, but a second one from whose mouth seems to hang a down turned lightning fork with a point in the center, which might be the monster's 230 tongue. Though there are some lines descending from the lowest globule, of what I originally took to be the body of the serpent, it seems unlikely that there could have been a connection between that feature and the lines descending from the second monster's mouth. Perhaps the column of globules was independent of the serpent as in the cylinder and ended on top in a bird's head, which I believe I see in the impression above the heroic god's raised dagger, which he is about to thrust into the neck of the serpent as drawn by Diana Stein. For her drawing she had three additional, though fragmentary impressions of the same cylinder.<sup>10</sup> The present enlargement, Fig. 2, shows two additional features which should be added to the drawing and which were not seen in the poor reproduction in my publication, the suggested bird's head in the upper left corner and the three cords of the belt hanging between the legs of the heroic god.

<sup>7</sup> *The Alalakh Cylinder Seals* (Oxford 1982, BAR International Series 132), no. 18, pp. 52-53.

<sup>8</sup> This observation was made by Robert Merrill in the discussion with him of the photograph of Fig. 1. He used the term cane to describe his impression of the object.

<sup>9</sup> Fig. 2: E. Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi* (Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 24, 1947), no. 738, impression of Puḫišenni son of Maitta (time of Tarmilla). Fig. 3: Diana L. Stein, "Mythologische Inhalte der Nuzi-Glyptik", in Volkert Haas (ed.), *Hurriter und Hurritisch* (Konstanzer altorientalische Symposien, Bd. II (1987), Abb. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Diana L. Stein, *op.cit.*, p.186 note 23.



Regardless of these minor points, Diana Stein convincingly interprets the scene of Figs. 2 and 3 as an illustration of the Hedammu story,<sup>11</sup> which is closely related to the Ullikummi story assumed by me to be underlying the principal scene of the Gold Bowl of Hasanlu (Figs. 4 and 5).<sup>12</sup> Both stories relate the creation of monsters, with the help of which the old god Kumarbi attempted to regain power over the young weather god Teshshup.

In both types of scenes, in the Gold Bowl and in the seal designs, occurs the same column of globules, probably to be associated with the weather god's elements: rain, hail and clouds. Both types of representations (Figs. 2, 3 and 5) also share a serpent monster which is attacked by a heroic personage. In the seal impression and the bowl the battle is shown being waged, not being won, thereby retaining the interest of the viewer. In the cylinder, Fig. 1, the stance of the god on the tail of the serpent, however, may mean that he was the victor in a battle which is in the past. His relaxed posture would fit such a situation very well.

While the cylinder, Fig. 1, if correctly interpreted, portrays the victory over the serpent monster, the later Neo Assyrian artists of the ninth century BC followed the prototype of the seal impression, that is, the dramatic battle against the bull-horned serpent, for the subject of their representations. An example of [231] many such renderings is the frequently reproduced cylinder in the Pierpont Morgan Library, Fig. 9.

The identification of the heroic god of Figs. 1 to 3 is difficult because Teshshup, who features in the Hedammu and Ullikummi myths, is a storm god, whose role is filled by the god carrying two lightning symbols on Figs. 1 to 3. One should therefore look for some other heroic god, who may have been pictured in these two scenes. For example, F.A.M. Wiggermann, in an article dedicated to Maurits van Loon, "Tishpak, His Seal and the Dragon Mušhuššu"<sup>13</sup> points to the *Göttertypentext* published by F. Köcher,<sup>14</sup> in which the god Tishpak, the chief god of Eshnunna, is described as carrying a mace, and a bow and arrow and, most characteristic, as standing in a walking pose with both feet on a *bašmu*, a horned serpent according to the CAD.<sup>15</sup>

Since Wiggermann shows very clearly, however, Tishpak lost his importance after Hammurabi had defeated Eshnunna,<sup>16</sup> it is unlikely that the god represented on our cylinder is to be identified with that deity. Probably

<sup>11</sup> Stein, *op.cit.*, pp. 176f., with reference in note 20 to J. Siegelova, *Appu-Märchen und Hedammu-Mythus* (Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten 14, 1971).

<sup>12</sup> "The Hasanlu Bowl", *Expedition*, no. 3 (Spring, 1959), pp. 19-22.

<sup>13</sup> O.M.C. Haex et al. (eds.) *To the Euphrates and Beyond* (Rotterdam/Brookfield 1989), pp. 117-133.

<sup>14</sup> *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 1 (1957) p. 52ff.

<sup>15</sup> Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, vol. 2B, s.v. *bašmu* 1.a (mythological, p. 141). The monster is described as having been created in the sea, "his length is sixty 'double miles'" KAR 6 ii 21.

<sup>16</sup> Wiggermann, *op. cit.*, in note 13, p. 123.

the special stance of the god and his adjunct lived on in the imagery of the region of North Mesopotamia as the characteristics of other heroic gods. For example, one might think of Ninurta whose symbol, as brandished on the relief of the Ninurta temple of Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BC)<sup>17</sup> seems to be spewed by the riderless dragon of figs. 2 and 3. However, a popularity of that god in the fifteenth or fourteenth century BC, which would have caused his representation on our cylinder seals, would have to be proved.

As to the storm god in these scenes, if we identify him with the supreme god Teshshup, his function remains to be explained. He merely seems to have been an onlooker, perhaps he was meant to be a supporting presence, like the great gods in their chariots in the topmost register of the Hasanlu bowl (Fig. 4). This is the extent to which we can go in the interpretation of these scenes.

We may now attempt to explore the pictorial origin of the bullhorned serpent in our Figs. 1 to 3, for which there is no prototype known in the earlier art of Syria<sup>18</sup> or Mesopotamia. In Mesopotamia the dangerous monster is the lion dragon *ugallu* (translated by Wiggermann as "big weather beast").<sup>19</sup> I wonder to what extent this is due to the geographical situation of Mesopotamia. Natural [232] dangers are largely brought along by storms for which the howling, roaring leonine mouth and body and the great wings of eagles and vultures were a perfect pictorial embodiment from the Uruk period onward.

Serpents have not been the subject of extensive studies<sup>20</sup> but we may assume that those of which the population was aware were mostly small and poisonous vipers. Large non-poisonous serpents, however, exist in Iran along with small vipers. In early Iranian art the undulating bodies of ser-

<sup>17</sup> A.H. Layard, *A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh* (London 1853), pl. 5. See also the reproduction in the article by U. Moortgat-Correns, "Ein Kultbild Ninurta's aus neuassyrischer Zeit", *Archiv für Orientforschung* 35 (1990) p. 120, Abb. 3.

<sup>18</sup> In Syrian iconography of the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries BC a youthful heroic weather god battles victoriously with a serpent. See Elizabeth Williams-Forte, "The Snake and the Tree ...", in L. Gorelick and E. Williams-Forte (eds.), *Ancient Seals and the Bible* (Malibu 1983) pp. 18-43, and W.G. Lambert, "Trees, Snakes and Gods in Ancient Syria and Anatolia", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XLVIII-3 (1985) pp. 435-451. None of the serpents, however, have bull's horns; in fact only one, on the cover of the book by Williams-Forte, has clearly discernible horns, and they are those of a goat. The horns of a serpent on a cylinder from Cyprus in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (*American Journal of Archaeology* 52-1 (1948) pl. VIII:4 (74.51.4309)), cannot be identified.

<sup>19</sup> F.A.M. Wiggermann, *Babylonian Prophylactic Figures: The Ritual Texts* (Amsterdam 1986) p. 77 and the listing of the relevant pages in the index, p. 331.

<sup>20</sup> So far I am aware of the doctoral thesis by Diana Krumholz McDonald, *Serpent Imagery and Iconography* (Dissertation, Columbia University 1989), and K. Guy Stevens, "Eine ikonographische Untersuchung des Schlangens im vorgeschichtlichen Mesopotamien," in *Archaeologia iranica et orientalis miscellanea in honorem Louis Vanden Berghes*. Ed. L. de Meyer et E. Haerinck, Gent 1989, pp. 1-32.

pents can be recognized as having been identified with watercourses;<sup>21</sup> hence they were beneficial symbols as well as symbols of power because of the ability of the more poisonous types to cause death. Therefore serpents are more frequently associated with deities in the art of Iran than in other countries. In the Middle Elamite art of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries the serpent often has a single horn on its head,<sup>22</sup> but none shows the pair of bull's horns depicted on our Fig. 1. Only on the stamp seals of the Persian Gulf, dated from the twentieth to perhaps the seventeenth century BC, are two-horned serpents a regular feature of an iconography (Figs. 6 and 7). Four examples of bull-horned serpents could be identified.<sup>23</sup> Even more have the head of a goat. In an article published before his volume on the seals from Failaka, Kjaerum indicated the relative dates of the stamp seal styles.<sup>24</sup> The deeply engraved style I and the style continuing the same technique but producing somewhat more linear forms, IB, belonged to the earlier phase, for which Kjaerum gave dates of about 2025 to 1945 BC in a subsequent publication.<sup>25</sup> It is in these styles that the representations of horned serpents are found. Many have the bodies marked by a continuous series of short parallel lines that closely resemble the continuous chevrons on the body of the bull-headed serpent in Fig. 1. In the chronological survey given in his article Kjaerum says: "Most cylinder seals, however, belong to the final enterprising building period. These are Mitanni seals of brown and greenish faience, and Kassite and pseudo-Kassite seals, mostly of deep blue glass, of steatite and a single one of ivory: most of the latter are of Elamite origin, belonging to the Isin II period".<sup>26</sup>

What is important here is the building period in which Mitannian [233] seals were found. We may assume that like the Mitannian seals brought to Failaka some stamps from Failaka, even though from an older period, could

<sup>21</sup> See especially the relief carving on the chlorite vase in the British Museum: Eva Strommenger, *5000 Years of Art in Mesopotamia* (New York 1964) pl. 38. A drawing of the representations was published by Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Baltimore 1969. Pelican History of Art) p. 19 Fig. 9. On one side a deity holds two large undulating serpents, and on the other side, the same undulating outlines obviously signify watercourses.

<sup>22</sup> For example, Pierre Amiet, *Elam* (Auvers-sur-Oise 1966), p. 407 Fig. 307. See also P. de Miroschedji, "Le dieu élamite au serpent et aux eaux jaillissantes", *Iranica Antiqua* XVI (1981) p. 1-25 and pls. I-XI, *passim*.

<sup>23</sup> Poul Kjaerum, *Failaka/Dilmun: The Second Millennium Settlements*, vol 1:1 *The Stamp and Cylinder Seals* (Jutland Archaeological Society Publications XVII:1 1983) nos. 54, 86-88. The monstrous teeth of the serpents on no. 54 are not paralleled elsewhere in Failaka or on the Mitannian seals, Figs. 1-3.

<sup>24</sup> "Seals of 'Dilmun-Type' from Failaka, Kuwait", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 10 (1980) pp. 45-53.

<sup>25</sup> P. Kjaerum, "The Dilmun seals as evidence of long distance relations in the early second millennium B.C.", *Bahrain through the Ages* (eds. S.H. Ali al Khalifa and M. Rice), London 1986, p. 269.

<sup>26</sup> See Kjaerum, "Seals of Dilmun Type" cited in note 24, p. 45.

have come north at the same time. Therefore, the bull-horned serpent could have been brought to Mesopotamia on one of those seals.

The derivation of two-horned serpents from prototypes brought in by seals from the Gulf can be more convincingly demonstrated with another example of horned serpents on a Mitannian style cylinder belonging to Jonathan Rosen,<sup>27</sup> **Fig. 7**. On that cylinder two bull-horned serpents appear beside two worshippers who flank an object on a stand that looks more like a flaming altar than the usual tree. Such a flaming altar replacing the tree is unusual, as is probably the rest of the scene, with the smaller figures approaching from the right, one of them raising a hand in worship to one of the bull-serpents, while sphinx confronts the second bull-serpent on the other side. The only parallel which can be established is with the flaming altar.

A related object appears in the field of a sealing on a tablet from Nuzi, from the archive of Prince Shilwa-Teshshup, who can be roughly dated two generations after King Shaushtatar.<sup>28</sup> The latter's date was long thought to be about 1450 BC, based on a letter sealed with a cylinder inscribed with the name of Shaushtatar and found in the archive of Prince Shilwa-Teshshup. This date has been seriously questioned by Diana Stein-Wünscher, who suggests 1395-1370 BC for the time at which the letter could have been written.<sup>29</sup> This may indicate a date after the middle of the 14th century BC for the representation of a censer on a Mitannian style cylinder like **Fig. 8**.

The fact that the bull-headed serpents of the cylinder, **Fig. 8**, are related to that of a stamp seal from the Persian Gulf (**Fig. 7**) and that the scene is so unusual, indicates that this cylinder was not made within the range of Nuzi iconography, but rather at some other site, as was also suggested for **Figs. 1-3**. The location of the motif of the god with the *bašmu*, therefore, is still to be found.

Moreover, the transition to the scenes of the Neo Assyrian period in which the bull-horned serpent appears horizontally, displaying its impres-

<sup>27</sup> I gratefully acknowledge that this second Mitannian style cylinder with horned serpents was discovered for me by Sidney S. Babcock in the Rosen Collection. Subsequently, Jonathan P. Rosen kindly permitted its publication together with **Fig. 1** in the present article.

<sup>28</sup> I was able to compare the altar to the one on sealing no. 404 in the manuscript of the seal impressions of the Shilwa-Teshshup archive by Diana Stein-Wünscher, which is in press at Harrassowitz. The altar appears in the upper field of a sealing which has a storm god on his lion dragon in the left part of the impression.

Another altar with flames is represented on impression 16 in Diana Stein's article "Mythologische Inhalte der Nuzi Glyptik," cited in Note 9 above. It is again placed before the storm god on his mount. It is tempting to assume that the flaming altar in the center of the scene in **Fig. 8** represents the storm god in the absence of that deity's image, but at present the evidence is insufficient.

<sup>29</sup> Diana L. Stein, "A Reappraisal of the 'Shaushtatar letter' from Nuzi." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 79/1 (1989) pp. 36-60.

sive length and opposing the divine attacker 234 (Fig. 9), is not known. In fact, the actual meaning of that motif is still a subject of discussion.

Thus, many of the problems raised in connection with the scene on our cylinder remain as question marks and should invite Maurits van Loon, who has a wide knowledge of cylinders of Iran<sup>30</sup> and has also made some very interesting suggestions for the interpretation of the imagery of second millennium Anatolia,<sup>31</sup> to find the answers.

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<sup>30</sup> His publication on the seals from Surkh-i Dum in Luristan has recently appeared in E.F. Schmidt, M.N. van Loon and H.H. Curvers, *The Holmes Expeditions to Luristan* (The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications 108), Chicago, 1989, pp. 121-124, 209-211, and 413-451.

<sup>31</sup> Maurits van Loon, *Anatolia in the Second Millennium* (Iconography of Religions XV, 12, Leiden 1985).



Anchoring Intuition in Evidence:  
A continuing discussion of cylinder seals from  
southeastern Iran

Holly Pittman

Edith Porada had a brilliant eye for style and iconography of the arts of the ancient Near East. She used that gift to inform her tireless efforts to reconstruct and bring to life worlds that vanished millennia ago leaving only fragmentary and anonymous material remains. I remember vividly the long discussions we had in her apartment on 119<sup>th</sup> Street about the curve of the wing, the shape of the eye and the depth of the carving. While squarely grounded in the better known Mesopotamian tradition, her imagination was especially captured by the visual world of its eastern neighbors. As early as 1962, she published the monograph *Alt-Iran, die Kunst in vorislamischer Zeit*, which summarized her grasp of the early visual cultures of Iran at a time when there was little secure evidence for them beyond that produced by the early and deeply flawed excavations at Susa (Porada 1962b). Included in that book, and also presented as a separate article in 1964, is a cylinder seal (**Fig. 1a, b**), which at the time was of a previously unknown type that she identified as coming from the Iranian plateau (Porada 1964c).

Having no secure comparisons, this was essentially a guess based on its inclusion in the collection of an Iranian collector Mohsen Foroughi. But with that article, she put the world of southeastern Iran on the map and started the gradual accumulation of evidence for what we can now confidently identify as an independent, indigenous Bronze Age civilization in southeastern Iran centered in the province of Kerman and the valley of the Halil River. The 1960's and 70's excavations at Tepe Yahya and Shahdad brought to light a dozen or so seals that established with confidence the existence of an indigenous glyptic tradition in the region. In 1975 she described the close relationship of the Foroughi seal to those from Tepe Yahya and especially from Shahdad where seals made from the same white stone had been carved in an almost identical style (Porada 1975a).

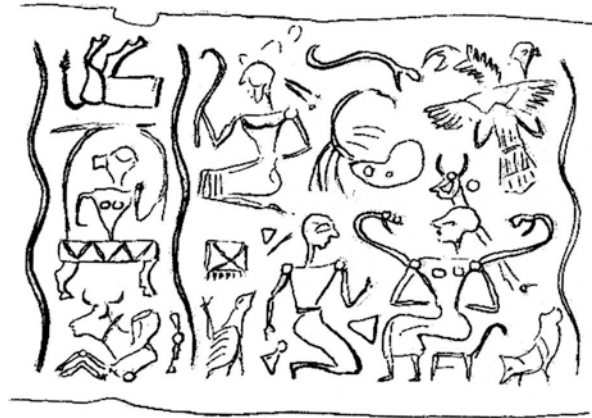


Fig. 1a: Drawing of modern impression of cylinder seal formerly in the Foroughi collection (3.87 cm height; 1.7 cm diameter; Archaeological Museum, Tehran; after Amiet 1997, p. 127, fig. 1).

Over the course of her long career, Porada engaged with two additional unprovenanced cylinder seals, both in the collection of Jonathan and Jeanette Rosen, which she recognized as deriving from the southeastern Iranian plateau and dating to sometime in the middle or later part of the third millennium BC. Although unprovenanced, she published these because she understood that each contributed important new iconographic and stylistic evidence for a past world that was still only dimly known through the dozen or so examples from Tepe Yahya and Shahdad (Porada 1988a, 1993a). As she observed, the scenes on the Foroughi and Rosen seals are related, showing human, divine, supernatural creatures engaged in adoration rituals. In the Foroughi seal, she identified iconographic hints suggesting references to the myth of Etana, one of the very few stories represented visually on glyptic of the Akkadian period in Mesopotamia. In Rosen 1 (**Fig. 2a, b**) and Rosen 2 (**Fig. 3a, b**) she observed that the focus of the ritual was a divine figure holding an undulating serpent-like staff and surrounded by an enclosure outlined with pointed rays. Additionally, she observed that both seals show figures with arms raised as well as a female deity wearing a distinctively shaped horned headdress and associated with a plant. Finally, both scenes show adorants kneeling and wearing a garment that exposes their bent calf and foot.



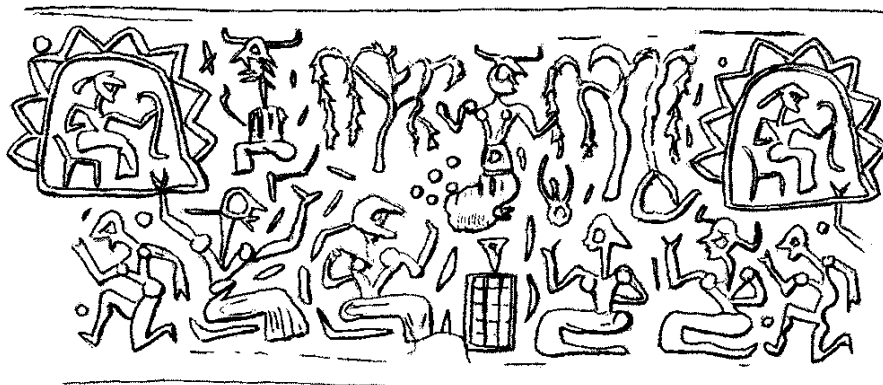


Fig. 2a: Drawing of modern impression of cylinder seal Rosen 1 (4.33 cm height; 2.5 cm diameter; private collection of Jonathan and Jeanette Rosen, New York; after Amiet 1997, p. 127, fig. 5).

All three of the unprovenanced seals published by Porada can be characterized as narrative, depicting some form of ritual activity. While always coded, we can be confident that these scenes all depict some version of an activity that took place at ritual centers. Although lost forever, surely stories of heroes and deities informed these important social events enlivening them with song, dance and oral recitations. There are two other seals that can be used to extend this narrative type. One was originally in the Bailey collection in New York and later purchased by the Louvre museum, when it was published by Amiet (1997) (**Fig. 4a, b**). The other was found in a grave at the site of Gonur in Turkmenistan (Sarianidi 2007) (**Fig. 5**). As I have discussed elsewhere, this seal is one of four that were certainly imported in the late third millennium BC to Central Asia from the region of Kerman and the Halil River Basin (Pittman *in press*). Finally, another cylinder seal from the Temple of the Sacrifices at Gonur, while not narrative in its subject, is relevant here (Sarianidi 2006) (**Fig. 6**) because like the Rosen 1 and 2 seals, it features a divine figure in a disk surrounded by rays.

While all of these seals are related iconographically, they are carved in a variety of distinct styles. The composition of the Foroughi white stone seal is dense, made up of small figures formed through the graver and the drill arranged in informal registers. The same general compositional features are shared in the Rosen 1 seal, the Bailey seal, and the two register seal from Gonur.

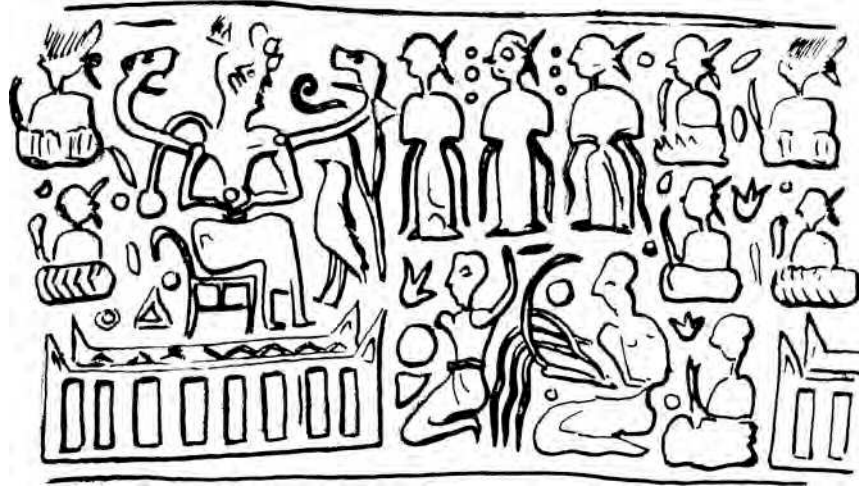


Fig. 4a: Drawing of modern impression of cylinder seal formerly in the Bailey collection now in the Louvre Museum (3.5 cm height; 1.7 cm diameter; Louvre Sb 6707; after Amiet 1986, p. 299, no. 12).

The closest stylistic parallels for these can be seen in the rounded forms rendered on the white stone seals from Shahdad (**Fig. 7a-c**). The other seal from Gonur (**Fig. 6**) shares iconography with those seals, but its style of carving is different, depending on gouged flat forms augmented by strategically placed drillings. The closest comparisons to this seal come from Tepe Yahya (**Fig. 8a-e**). This subtle distinction of style seems to depend at least in part on the substrate material of the seal. The harder white stone allows for the more rounded forms of the larger masses, while the softer talc-like chlorite allows for flatter large forms that are cut by a chisel. Often these larger flat forms are internally delineated by fine incised lines that are rarely seen on the white stone seals. Clearly these microstylistic variations reflect workshop practices.

In contrast to all of the seals discussed above is the style of carving of the figures on the other Rosen seal (**Fig. 3**). This seal carries much larger and more carefully modeled figures whose forms retain no evidence of either the graver or the drill. Until now, this seal has had no parallels for its style, which has led some scholars to question its authenticity. In her discussion of that seal, Porada deduced its origin as southeast Iran by drawing more generally on Iranian character of the kneeling posture, on the pointed oval form of the eye, and the shape of the horn of the female figure. She offered an Akkadian date for the seal based on its “modeled” style and even more specifically she noted the presence of the hunter with a quiver with an animal’s tail citing close comparison for this feature on the famous

Seal of Kalki scribe, in the British Museum (Collon 1982, No. 141 = BM 89137). This is indeed a compelling comparison that closely links the land of Iran and the theme of the hunter in the mountainous landscape, well documented in Akkadian seals (Boehmer 1965).

### *Konar Sandal South*

During the past decade, new excavations at the site of Konar Sandal South in the Halil River valley in the Kerman province of southeastern Iran produced a large and important corpus of glyptic imagery that allows us to expand upon the limited corpus of securely provenanced seals from Tepe Yahya and Shahdad to construct a more detailed picture of the visual language of the region during the third millennium Bronze Age. What I will present here is the evidence from those excavations that demonstrates beyond a shadow of a doubt that the unprovenanced seals presciently identified by Porada are indeed products of southeastern Iran, and more specifically that they are fine exemplars of the glyptic art of the Bronze Age civilization of the Halil River Basin. Furthermore, it is through those seals and others like them found at Tepe Yahya, Shahdad and more recently at Gonur that we can make sense of the fragments that come from well controlled and stratified archaeological context. I offer these fragmentary but crucial comparisons in her memory, in gratitude for her training, inspiration, and friendship. It is through her early work that the new finds can be more fully interpreted as windows on the fascinating world of the Iranian plateau. This is one part of a larger work that will be devoted to elaborating the visual culture of the Bronze Age world of the Halil River civilization.

The glyptic evidence presented here was retrieved over six seasons of excavation at the site of Konar Sandal South. Excavations at the site were begun in 2001 in response to massive looting that took place after the flooding of the region. Preliminary reports by Youssef Madjidzadeh (2003a, b; 2008; 2011) give the background and an overview of the results. These include architectural remains of domestic structures and craft production areas in the lower town and substantial, perhaps public, structures on the citadel mound that can be dated through radiocarbon and through comparative dating to the middle centuries of the third millennium BC. Two contexts produced a large number of seal impressions. One (trench III) is an administrative complex that is sealed by the later construction of the citadel. On the floors and in the fill of this complex were retrieved several dozen fragmentary impressions of cylinder and stamp seals. The other context (trench V) is a trash deposit to the side of a huge platform. The platform seems to have been an open air craft production area where colorful and semi-precious stones were processed.

This trash deposit contained hundreds of fragmentary impressions of stamp and cylinder seals mixed together with bones and pottery. The two deposits share multiple impressions of a single stamp seal (Pittman 2008: fig. 28g) suggesting that they are close if not identical in date. Trench III is dated through radiocarbon to between 2450 and 2290 BCE. Trench V did not produce carbon but has a clear relative date of no later than Early Dynastic IIIB period in Mesopotamia, established through the presence of impressions made by seals that were imported from the west. I have presented a detailed discussion regarding their date elsewhere (Pittman 2012).

Unlike the actual cylinder seals from Tepe Yahya and Shahdad, the glyptic evidence from these two deposits at Konar Sandal South is known only through impressions on clay masses used to close small containers, bags and rarely doors. The corpus of imagery is extremely diverse, characterized by a broad variety of styles both stamps and cylinders. Familiar among these styles are the flat gouged images known through several seals found at Tepe Yahya IVB. Also found are examples of the more modeled images on the seals from Shahdad. Among these fragments are a number of examples of narrative scenes that, while partial, provide excavated evidence for the type of scene preserved on the Foroughi (Fig. 1), Rosen 1 (Fig. 2), Bailey (Fig. 4), and Gonur seals (Figs. 5-6) discussed above. Further there are other fragments that provide close parallels to the large figure modeled style of the Rosen 2 seal (Fig. 3).

Trench III produced three fragmentary impressions of a cylinder that clearly depicts ritual scenes. **Fig. 9 a, b** illustrates two fragmentary impressions that carry the image of a female figure with her hair bound up in a mass at the nape of her neck, kneeling facing and touching a vessel to the side of a platform surmounted by a human. Behind the female is a large jar beneath a scene of a forest of undulating trees. In the field floats the head of a horned animal.



Fig. 9a: Drawing of fragmentary cylinder seal impression on clay sealing (2.8 cm height; 4.3 cm length; Konar Sandal South trench III, excavation number 2005III102; drawing by author).

Although the impression is fragmentary, the style of the seal can be described as deeply carved, probably into a soft stone that held internal articulation of the branches of the trees and the skirt of the female. The posture of the female clearly reveals the calf and the curved arch of her foot. Also noteworthy is the drill hole of the eye of both the female and the caprid head. **Fig. 10a, b** illustrates a second fragmentary impression from trench III that also preserves part of a dense narrative scene showing the corner of a platform, this time supported on a footed frame. To the left of the platform is a human, perhaps with an animal head, who has bent knees and both hands raised. In front of him is a bent snake with an open mouth, a partially preserved animal, perhaps a feline resting on its haunches. Beneath the adoring figure are the head of a feline facing left, and two vessels. Beneath the platform are a partially preserved bird-like figure, two open ovals, and other indistinct forms.



Fig. 10a: Drawing of fragmentary cylinder seal impression on clay sealing (2.9 cm length; 2 cm height; Konar Sandal South trench III, excavation number KSBtrIII103006; drawing by author).

Another impression (**Fig. 11a, b**), even more fragmentary, preserves the image of a male human facing left with slightly bent legs and raised arms in the midst of objects and perhaps plants.



Fig. 11a: Drawing of fragmentary cylinder seal impression on clay sealing (2.5 cm length; 3.3 cm height; Konar Sandal South trench III, excavation number 155III306; drawing by author).

Finally from trench V, comes another fragment (**Fig. 12a, b**), showing two small human figures with raised arms, in the midst of what appear to be large images of a cervid and a female with large curls. Distinctive to this impression is the toothed border which is also preserved on a number of other impressions from Konar Sandal South and which finds multiple comparisons at Susa (eg. Amiet 1972: 1404, 1407, 1410).

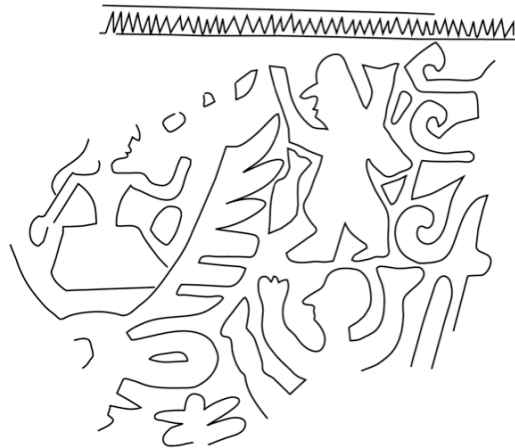


Fig. 12a: Drawing of fragmentary cylinder seal impression on clay sealing (2.6 cm length; 2.3 cm height; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number 154V402; drawing by author).

All of these images, although fragmentary, help to anchor the unprovenanced narrative scenes made up of dense small images arranged in multiple registers in the region of the Halil River Valley in the middle of the third millennium BC.

When we turn to Rosen 2 seal (Fig. 3), other fragments of seal imagery found at Konar Sandal South allow us to anchor that seal as well to the region. What is most characteristic of this seal is the modeled, almost sculptural character of the large figures. While the composition is dense, it is not structured in informal horizontal registers, but is rather organized into triangular zones. The modeled style is obvious in the bodies of the two male figures that raise their heavily muscled arms high in the air. But it is even more obvious in the features of their faces. Each has a heavy, short beard that is overlapped by a long mustache; each has a prominent nose with flaring nostrils; and each has an eye that, as observed by Porada, is defined by a horizontal line rather than a drilling. The body of the dragon is particularly highly modeled with masses of hair clearly differentiated from the knots of muscles in the shoulders and haunch. Because of the fragmentary nature of the comparative material from Konar Sandal South it is not possible to compare the distinctive compositional format of this seal. Rather we must seek out comparisons within the details of the figures and their form. Posture, details of headdresses and the rayed disk are the three features that are most strongly anchored in provenance comparisons.

There are two kneeling postures assumed by the actors on the Rosen 2 seal. An active one that is assumed by the two gesturing heroes as well as the female on an impression from trench III discussed above (Fig. 9). In this active posture, the posterior of the kneeling figure rests on the heel of the flexed foot. The other kneeling posture is passive and shows the foot as pressed against the ground line at rest. It is assumed by worshippers as well as by figures that are the object of their adoration including the small figure inside the rayed disk on the Rosen 2 seal. Both postures are attested in the fragmentary impressions from Konar Sandal South.



Fig. 13a: Drawing of fragmentary cylinder seal impression on clay sealing (1.8 cm height; 1.8 cm length; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number 2005V070; drawing by author).

**Fig. 13a, b** illustrates the closest and most compelling parallel to the Rosen 2 seal. There we see a male with long hair and wearing an identical skirt shown with both hands raised high in the air in a posture identical to that of both heroes on the Rosen seal. The modeling of the body and the hair of this large figure is as careful as that seen on the Rosen cylinder, although the musculature is not as well preserved on the ancient clay impression. Identical as well are the several curved fringes of his skirt that cover his knee but leaves his calf and foot free for action. It is interesting to note that this feature appears in other media as well, as can be seen on the posture of a heroic figure on a soft stone vessel now in the Tehran museum (**Fig. 14**). This finely carved vessel was among the looted material from the region of Jiroft that was confiscated in Heathrow airport and returned to Iran in 2005 (Hessari 2005). On it a long-haired and bearded hero masters snakes while kneeling on their addorsed heads. In this instance the garment is pleated up to the waist, but as on the seals, it only covers the knees allowing the calf and active foot to be free. Another vessel in the Kerman museum shows the same human hero mastering felines (Madjidzadeh 2003a: no. 15).

It is interesting to look back to the origin of this posture. It is entirely unrelated to the worker posture of the Uruk period in which one knee is raised while the other leg is flat to the ground (e.g. Amiet 1972: 640, 641, 646). This posture in which both knees rest on the ground, is exclusively an Iranian one, first seen in stamp seals of Susa 1 (Amiet 1972: 229, 230, 231). The active kneeling posture can be inferred on seals depicting animals acting as humans (**Fig. 15**). Although proto-Elamite works of art are not yet documented in the excavations at Konar Sandal South, we can expect them because of their presence at Tepe Yahya only 60 km west (Pittman 2001) and because proto-Elamite seals have been confiscated from looters in the region and are now held in the Kerman museum.





Fig. 16a: Drawing of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal (4.4 cm length; 1.8 cm height; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number 039V402; drawing by author).

The passive kneeling posture assumed by the small figure in the rayed circle is also found on a number of fragments of glyptic imagery from Konar Sandal South. Several show females kneeling on the ground with their arms bent at the elbows and raised in a gesture of respect or acknowledgement (**Fig. 16 a, b**). This posture also is assumed by figures rendered in relief on disks of lapis which derive from the Halil River Valley culture, as shown through the typical examples confiscated from looters and deposited in the Kerman museum (**Fig. 17a-d**).



Fig. 17a: Drawing of side a of lapis lazuli disk with copper/bronze pin (3.4 cm diameter; 7 cm length with pin; confiscated from looters, Kerman Museum; drawing after Madjidzadeh 2003a, pg. 171 upper).



Fig. 17b: Drawing of side b of lapis lazuli disk with copper/bronze pin (3.4 cm diameter; 7 cm length with pin; confiscated from looters, Kerman Museum; drawing after Madjidzadeh 2003a, pg. 171 lower).

In the Louvre museum is a lapis disk of this same type that shows a male and female in alternative seated and keeling postures (Amiet 1986: 296, fig. 128). While the female wears an enveloping garment that does not reveal her calf and foot, the male wears a knee length skirt that shows his bare calf and foot.

Other significant iconographic details of the Rosen 2 seal (Fig. 3) that can be closely compared with material from Konar Sandal South are the distinctive type of headdresses worn by each of the figures. The two adoring heroes wear helmets that have an animal head emerging from the top. The hero on the left wears a headgear topped by the head and hump of a bull, while the hero on the right wears a headgear from which the head of an animal with a narrow snout and a rounded ear emerges, perhaps a jackal or a dog. Further, the kneeling figure in the disk has a pair of crescent-shaped bull horns emerging from the front and back of his head. Down his back hangs a double pendant that ends in a short fringe. Finally, the goddess on the back of a dragon wears the horned crown of divinity familiar from the seals from Tepe Yahya and a sigmoidal curve rests at the center of her head. This shape is different from the undulating snake-like standard brandished by the figure in the disk and looks more like the sign-like form that appears on seals of the proto-Elamite period (Amiet 1972: 937, 978).

Fragments carrying impressions of cylinder seals from Konar Sandal South provide ample and closely comparable evidence for the use of animals or animal parts as headdresses. Birds as headdresses worn by divine or heroic figures are especially common, but bovid heads are also well represented. On an almost completely preserved seal that can be reconstructed from about twenty fragments, several animal headdresses are

worn by heroic figures involved in a confrontation or presentation scene (Fig. 18a, b, c, d, e).

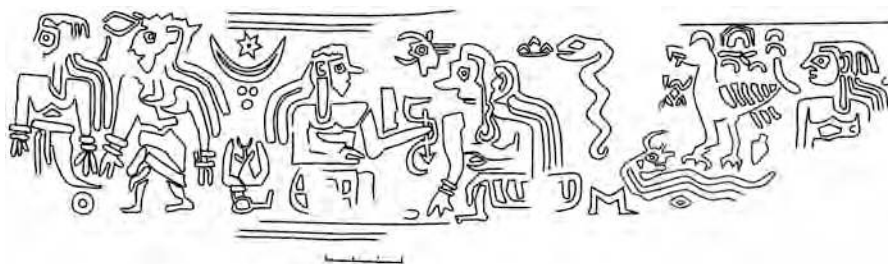


Fig. 18a: Composite drawing of image carried on cylinder seal depicting ruler and deities based on multiple fragmentary impressions on clay sealings (5.0 cm height; 20 cm length; Konar Sandal South trench V, various excavation numbers; drawing by author).

The highest ranking figure in this extraordinary seal is the seated one facing toward the left, receiving a bow and arrow from a facing seated human figure. This left facing figure is certainly divine to judge from his headgear which consists of the head and neck of a horned bull emerging from his forehead. This headgear is identical to that worn by the enthroned divine figure seen on the Foroughi seal. Surely this image denotes a paramount deity in the Halil River Pantheon. Another version of this headgear is represented as the pair of horns without the bull's head emerging from the forehead. On the same reconstructed seal from Konar Sandal South, one of the heroic figures standing to the side of the seated pair has a pair of horns similarly emerging from his forehead.



Fig. 19a: Drawing of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal (4 cm length; 3 cm height; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number 100V402; drawing by author).

This convention to denote divine status can also be seen on another fragmentary impression from Konar Sandal South that shows what might be a kneeling bull man in front of a star and a circle (**Fig. 19a, b**). It is also seen on lapis disks of the type known from among the looted material published by Madjidzadeh. An example published by Winkelmann (2008) shows a seated male with horns emerging from his forehead and flanked by standing and kneeling adorants in a mountainous landscape with a scorpion.

The other animal that frequently serves as a headdress on the fragments from Konar Sandal South is birds. One of the heroes on the reconstructed seal has a bird of prey on his head (Fig. 18d, e), while on another (**Fig. 20a, b**), both a winged divine figure and a smaller figure, perhaps a hero, have birds on their heads. Animal headdresses seem to be a marker of rank among both the divine pantheon and the heroic humans in the Halil River Basin. If we are correct to think that we are in the presence of a society organized along clan lines into some kind of confederate system, different animals could easily have served, perhaps even totemically, as group markers.



Fig. 20a: Drawing of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with a cylinder seal (2.5 cm length; 2.3 cm height; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number 127V402; drawing by author)

Finally it is useful to discuss briefly the use of the more Mesopotamian horned headdress of divinity in the glyptic of the Halil River Basin. The goddess on the back of the dragon figure on Rosen 2 has a curved horn emerging from each side of her head. This mode of denoting divinity appears on seals in Mesopotamia in the Early Dynastic period at the same time as it is used at Konar Sandal South, most frequently on female figures who are associated with fertility (e.g. Amiet 1980: 1356, 1357). Among the

Halil River Valley glyptic this convention is seen frequently and is assumed by both female and male deities. Female figures from both Tepe Yahya and Shahdad wear such horns of divinity. Alternatively they can have vegetation emerging from their shoulders or heads.



Fig. 21a: Drawing of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal (2.5 length; 1.5 cm height; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number 013aV402; drawing by author).

From trench V comes the fragmentary impression of a remarkably exquisitely carved seal having the image of a divine male figure wearing the crescent horns (**Fig. 21a, b**). This seal, a masterpiece of lapidary carving, shows a figure with a wavy beard, long flowing hair falling down his back, developed shoulders and pectorals against which rests a pendant in the shape of a bull's head. This seal, certainly because of its importance, was counter stamped with a metal square stamp seal having a four petaled design. The placement of the counter stamp between the horns directly in the middle of the deity's head indicates how carefully this image was treated in the administrative process.

The other part of the headgear of the goddess on the dragon is the S shaped curve. While this element emerging from the head is so far entirely unparallel except on seals of proto-Elamite date, elements emerging from the center of the heads of females are common in this later period.



Fig. 22a: Drawing of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal (1 cm length; 1 cm height; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number 117V402; drawing by author)

We see this trait on a fragment of a seal impression from Konar Sandal South which preserves the head of a female with a plant emerging from the top of her head. (**Fig. 22a, b**). On one of the seals from Tepe Yahya (Fig. 8b) a standing, certainly divine, female also has a plant emerging from the center of her head and similar elements emerging from the shoulders. While at Konar Sandal South both male and female deities are shown wearing a single crescent pair of horns, females are never shown wearing animal headdresses of any kind. Is it possible that this closer association to the essential animal nature suggests a more chthonic or totemic aspect to the divine or heroic male figures? Females are associated with grain and plants. Even on the Rosen 2 seal the enthroned female holds a heavily leafed branch.

A further feature of the Rosen 2 seal that can be compared to the impressions found at Konar Sandal South is the posture of the female goddess on the back of an animal. **Fig. 23a, b** illustrate a fragmentary image of a figure wearing a long garment seated on the back of a feline.

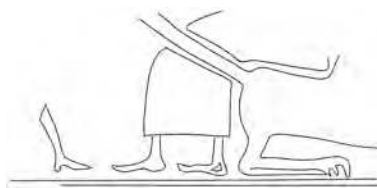


Fig. 23a: Drawing of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal (1.4 cm height; 2.6 cm length; Konar Sandal South trench V excavation number KSBtrVf202#008; drawing by author).

As is too often the case, the fragmentary remains from Konar Sandal South do not allow us to identify whether the female is divine and whether she sits on the back of a natural feline with its tail raised or on some kind of supernatural figure as seen on the Rosen 2 seal. The close association of

females/goddesses and felines is one that is well established in Bronze Age Iran. Of the same date and probably closely associated with the glyptic from southeastern Iran is the so-called jewelers seal on which there are three images of goddesses kneeling on the backs of felines (Amiet 1986: 270, fig. 71). Further, the statue of Narundi in the Louvre museum, found at Susa and inscribed in Linear Elamite, also associates the goddess with felines who flank her seat (Harper [et. al.] 1992: 90, fig. 55).

Finally, I comment here on the figure surrounded by the rayed disk that is so prominent in the iconography of the Rosen 2 seal. While we have not yet found this precise image among the fragments of Konar Sandal South, its appearance would not be a surprise. As Porada pointed out in her 1993 article, different versions of this figure are seen in each of the Rosen seals. On Rosen 1 the figure is in a rayed arch, while in Rosen 2 he kneels inside a rayed circle. Porada identified the figure in Rosen 1 as a goddess while the figure on Rosen 2 is certainly male. That both genders can be associated with the circle is confirmed by the goddess in a rayed circle carved on the seal from Gonur found in the Temple of the Sacrifices (Fig. 6). What differentiates the sexes is their garments, females wear a long narrow skirt while the males wear a short kilt and have a bare torso.

Edith Porada devoted her intellectual energies to understanding and interpreting the ancient civilizations of the Near East. She worked at that enterprise from many directions. She applied sustained attention to single works of art whose place was secured through documented provenance. She also took the responsibility, often in the face of opprobrium, to analyze works that she understood to be of exceptional importance even if they did not have a known provenance. This was the case with the three seals she published between the mid 1960's and the early 1990's. Through her discussion and illumination each of them became a central touchstone in the dimly known world of Iranian plateau during the Bronze Age.

Even now, with the new material from Konar Sandal South, these three seals serve as the templates against which we can have a fuller understanding of the fragmentary record that has been painstakingly extracted from the ground and recorded. Building our knowledge of the material character of an ancient culture is a dialectical process. Individual pieces of evidence, whether they are textual, visual, or material can only be understood in relation to others. It is this relational quality to the building of fundamental and new knowledge that I have attempted to demonstrate here. On the one hand, Edith Porada took the risk of elaborating what were essentially intuitions about the cultural origin and meaning of the seals that floated unanchored by controlled archaeological context. On the other hand, through comparisons with controlled but fragmentary material, those seals contribute significantly to our reconstruction of the styles and imagery typical of the Iranian plateau in the Bronze Age. Eventually, with much more excavation and analysis, what will be revealed, I believe, is the

profound importance of the riverine cultures of the Iran, Central Asia and the Indus to the complex process of state formation of the third millennium.

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# DISSERTATION



## Curriculum vitae

Ich, Edith Porada, bin geboren am 22. 12. 1912  
in Wien als Tochter des Dr. Alfred Porada (Guts-  
besitzer)

Ich gewoss von der 1. - 5. Klasse der Volksschule  
Privatunterricht. Besuchte von 1920/21 - 1927/28 die 1.-  
bis zur 4. Klasse d. Mittelschule. Nach dem die drei folgenden  
Jahrgänge privat u. trat im Schuljahr 1927/28 aufgrund einer  
Aufnahmaprüfung in die 8te Klasse ein.

Ich bestand die Reifeprüfung an dieser Anstalt (Reifeprüf-  
Reifeprüfungsschule der Wiener I. Hochschulen 14) mit  
Auszeichnung (im Jahr 1930)

Ich immatriulierte am 22. Nov. 1930 in der phil. Fakultät d. Univ.  
Wien. Hauptfach Orientalistik  
Nebenfach Urgeschichte

Lebenslauf der Doktorandin Edith Porada mit Stempelmarke und Stempel.

## Curriculum Vitae

Ich, Edith Porada, bin geboren am 22. VIII 1912 in Wien als Tochter des Dr. Alfred Porada (Gutsbesitzer)[.]

Ich genoss von der 1. – 5. Klasse der Volksschule Privatunterricht. Besuchte von 1923/24 – 1927/28 die 1. – einschliesslich 4. Klasse d. Mittelschule. Studierte die drei folgenden Jahrgänge privat u. trat im Schuljahr 1929/30 aufgrund einer Aufnahmeprüfung in die 8<sup>te</sup> Klasse ein. Ich bestand die Reifeprüfung an dieser Anstalt (Mädchen Reform-Realgymnasium Luithlen in Wien I. Tuchlauben 14) mit Auszeichnung (im Juli 1930)[.]

Ich inscribierte am 22. Nov. 1930 in die phil. Fakultät der Univ. Wien. Hauptfach Orientalistik  
Nebenfach Urgeschichte

*Der Abdruck des Lebenslaufes und der Gutachten von Dr. Czermak und Dr. Wilke auf S. 29 bzw. 31 erfolgt mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Archivs der Universität Wien.*

## Zur nicht publizierten unter Viktor Christian verfassten Wiener Dissertation Edith Poradas

Erika Bleibtreu

Ein Vergleich zwischen der 1934 verfassten und 1935 von der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Wien angenommenen und zum Druck freigegebenen Dissertation Edith Poradas, die damals nicht überarbeitet und publiziert worden ist: *„Die Rollsiegel der Akkadzeit“* mit Rainer Michael Boehmers Dissertation, die eine Generation später, 1965, erschienen ist: *„Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit“* zeigt wesentliche Unterschiede in der Bearbeitung des gleichen Themas. Es ist nicht nur der weitaus größere Umfang an Material, der Bohmer zur Verfügung stand, sondern auch ein anderer Zugang mit anderer Zielsetzung.

Ein weiterer Vergleich der Wiener Dissertation Poradas bietet sich an mit der Arbeit von Karin Rohn, 2011, *„Beschriftete mesopotamische Siegel der Frühdynastischen und der Akkad-Zeit“*. Sie ist etwa eine Generation nach Bohmer erschienen. Allerdings werden hier nur Rollsiegel mit Inschrift behandelt einschließlich der Frühdynastischen Zeit.

Edith Porada hat nicht nur Sammlungen, die bereits bis 1934, dem Abschluss ihrer Arbeit, veröffentlicht waren, sondern auch damals noch nicht publizierte Museums- und Privatsammlungen in ihre Dissertation einbezogen:

1. Berlin, Sammlung Frida Hahn (seit 1965 im Israel Museum, Jerusalem, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer in diesem Band).
2. Berlin, Sammlung Friedrich Sarre (aufgelöst; s. Artikel Hans Ulrich Steymans in diesem Band).
3. Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum (Rollsiegelsammlung: 1940 von Anton Moortgat publiziert; eine neue Bearbeitung wird von Karin Rohn und Barbara Feller vorbereitet).
4. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung (seit 1981 Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung).

5. Wien, Museum für Völkerkunde (seit 1981 Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung).

Die 1935 für publikationswürdig gehaltene Dissertation Edith Poradas wurde vor allem wegen der zeitgeschichtlichen Ereignisse nicht weiter bearbeitet. Das einzige in Österreich erhaltene, maschinschriftliche Exemplar befindet sich in der Universitätsbibliothek Wien. Es ist nicht das Original des Manuskriptes, sondern eine Kopie (Durchschlag mit mechanischer Schreibmaschine). Es enthält weder Fotos noch Zeichnungen, von denen einige vorgesehen waren und wahrscheinlich im verschollenen Original verblieben sind.

Bei Porada 1934 wie bei allen späteren Bearbeitungen der Siegel der Akkad-Zeit (ca. 2330-2150 v. Chr.) wurde die thematische Einteilung gewählt, die sich wegen der zahlreichen mythologischen Themen anbietet (Frankfort 1939, Boehmer 1965, Collon 1982 und Collon 1987 [2. Aufl. 2005]). Die Gruppierung der Themen bei den mehr als 540 Siegel-Beispielen unterscheidet sich allerdings von Boehmer 1965, Rohn 2011 und allen anderen. Das hängt sicherlich auch damit zusammen, dass Porada größeren Wert auf genauere Detailbeobachtung legte sowie auf ausführlichere Beschreibung der Darstellungen. Einzelne Wiederholungen ihrer Siegelbeispiele sind gegeben, da ein Siegelbild manchmal in zwei Themengruppen einzuordnen ist.

In der Einleitung wird unter anderem auch auf den historischen Rahmen und das Ziel dieser Arbeit hingewiesen. In Anmerkung 5 heißt es: *„Diese kleinen Füllungsobjekte weisen auf den tieferen mythologischen Sinn dieser Siegel hin. Der Versuch diesen zu erkennen bildet einen wesentlichen Teil der Aufgaben dieser Arbeit.“*

Aus dem Resümee ihrer Dissertation, die sie im Alter von zweiundzwanzig Jahren verfasst hat, sollen hier zwei Zitate angeführt werden, die grundlegend auch für ihre spätere Arbeitsweise waren:

*„Sicher sind zahlreiche Darstellungen auf Siegeln Kopien eines oder des anderen großen und inzwischen verloren gegangenen Werkes der akkadischen [Relief-]Plastik. (Wie wir ja auch einige griechische Kunstwerke nur aus Reproduktionen auf Münzen oder ähnlichen Kleinkunstprodukten kennen).“ (...) „Ein charakteristischer Zug dieser Kunst, der sich besonders auf unseren Siegeln auswirkte, ist das Bestreben, umfangreiche Mythen und mehrere oft divergierende Tätigkeiten einzelner Gestalten der Legenden in einem Symbol (Tier, Mensch oder Gegenstand) zusammenzufassen und für immer festzulegen. Später als die schöpferische Kraft und Phantasie der Akkadleute untergegangen war, machte sich dies noch deutlicher und nachhaltiger bemerkbar.“ (Porada, 1934, 187f.).*

Im Folgenden wird Poradas Nummerierung der Siegel beibehalten. Da im Manuskript nur wenige Abbildungen vorgesehen sind und keine einzige dem erhaltenen Exemplar beigelegt ist, kann nur durch Gleichsetzung ihrer Nummern (fett) mit jenen späterer Publikationen gezeigt werden, welche Siegel mit ihren Nummern gemeint sind. Für diese Gleichsetzung wurden Boehmer 1965 und Rohn 2011 herangezogen. Boehmer bezieht sich auf alle ihm damals bekannten Siegel der Akkade-Zeit, sowohl beschriftete wie auch solche ohne Inschrift, bildet aber etwa ein Drittel seiner Beispiele nicht ab. Rohn 2011 beschränkt sich auf beschriftete Siegel, bildet ebenfalls nur einen Teil davon ab. Einige postakkadische Siegel wurden in Porada 1934 als Vergleiche zu akkadzeitlichen herangezogen. Die hier in Abbildung wiedergegebenen Siegel sind ausschließlich solche, die weder bei Boehmer noch bei Rohn abgebildet wurden. Die Themeneinteilung in Poradas Arbeit wurde beibehalten (*kursive Überschriften*). Die hier in Abbildung wiedergegebenen Siegel sind ausschließlich solche, die weder bei Boehmer noch bei Rohn abgebildet sind. Den abgebildeten Siegeln wurden einige Zitate der Beschreibung Edith Poradas beigelegt.

„Paarweise Tierkampfbilder“: **Nr. 1 – 50<sup>1</sup>**:

**Nr. 1** = „Hahn 62“ = Porada 1938a, Nr. 1, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 1 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 2** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 616 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 2:** Nach Ward 1910, Nr. 180, S. 69: „Source unrecorded“: Material, Maße und Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

„Der Stierheld dürfte verzeichnet und das Siegel unrichtig abgerollt sein, da die beiden Helden sicher antithetisch ... komponiert waren...“.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alle Abbildungen sind nach verschiedenen Maßstäben vergrößert, um Details besser erkennbar zu machen. Material und Maße der Siegelzylinder werden nur, soweit wie möglich, bei den Abbildungen angegeben.

<sup>2</sup> Auf Angabe der Seitenzahlen der Siegelbeschreibungen in der Doktorarbeit wird verzichtet. Die Textstellen sind durch die Kapitelüberschriften und die Nummern leicht zu finden.

**Nr. 3** = „Hahn 61“ = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 585 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 291 (ohne Abb.), s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 2 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 4** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 615, Abb. 181.

**Nr. 5** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 552, Abb. 163 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 289, Tf. 29.

**Nr. 6** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 512, Abb. 141 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 268, Tf. 28.

**Nr. 7** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 553, Abb. 165 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 226, Tf. 26.<sup>1</sup>

**Nr. 7a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 606, Abb. 174.

**Nr. 8** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 550, Abb. 161 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 245 (ohne Abb.).

**Nr. 9** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 555 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 280, Tf. 29.

**Nr. 10** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 584 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 249 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 10:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VI, Nr. 49, S. 50f.; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Porphyr, 39 x 27 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.<sup>2</sup>

“... dürfte durch die starke Abnützung wie eine unscharfe Arbeit wirken. Unter der Inschrift ein liegender Löwe mit über dem Rücken aufgestellten Schwanz ...“.

**Nr. 11** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 609, Abb. 177 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 251 (ohne Abb.).

<sup>1</sup> Porada nennt „Zackelschaf“ was Rohn 2011, S. 39 als „Spießbock“ bezeichnet: Zackelschafe haben gerade, V-förmige, korkzieherartig gedrehte Hörner, Spießböcke hingegen lange, scharfe, V-förmige Hörner und einen Schweif wie ein Pferd. Nach dem guten Foto bei Boehmer zu schließen, hat Porada recht.

<sup>2</sup> Bei den Abbildungen in de Clercq/Ménant 1888 handelt es sich um Heliogravüren, der Vorläufer-Technik des Tiefdrucks.



**Nr. 12** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 590, (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 12:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 49, Abb. 13 (D. 13), S. 68; nach Porada 1934: Grüner Jaspis, 27 x 18 mm. Musée du Louvre AOD 43, Paris.  
*„No. 11 ... gehört schon zu den weniger gut gearbeiteten Siegeln ... . Ähnlich sind No. 12 ... No. 13... No. 14 und Nr. (sic) 15 ...“.* Porada 1934 und Boehmer 1965 bezeichnen den Wasserbüffel als Arni-Büffel. Arni ist die indische Bezeichnung für wilde Büffel.

**Nr. 13** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 588 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 13:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 67, Abb. 10 (A. 86), S. 103; nach Porada 1934: Grüner Jaspis, 26 x 17 mm. Musée du Louvre AO 1512, Paris.

**Nr. 14** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 589 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 243, Tf. 27.

**Nr. 15** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 511 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 272, Tf. 28.

**Nr. 16** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 510 (ohne Abb.). Nach „*Siegelverzeichnis*“ identisch mit **Nr. 32, Abb. 32**.<sup>1</sup>



**Abb. 16:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VI, Nr. 50; Material- und Maßangabe bei **Nr. 32**, Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

„No. 16 ... zeigt einen sechszackigen Stern zwischen dem Löwen und dem Arni-Büffel. Zwischen dem Arni-Büffel und dem gelockten Helden eine Pflanze ?“.

**Nr. 17** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 517 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 365 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 17:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. IX, Nr. 132, S. 182; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 27 x 16 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 14426, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 18** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 582 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 292, Tf. 30.

**Nr. 19** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 502, Abb. 135 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 307, Tf. 30.

<sup>1</sup> Da **Nr. 16** und **Nr. 32** identisch sind und dem gleichen Themenkreis angehören, dürfte ein Irrtum in der Nummer vorliegen.

**Nr. 20** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 556 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 276 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 20:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VI, Nr. 53; nach Porada 1934: Grüner Porphyr, 25 x 16 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

*„No. 20 ... ebenfalls mit wenigen schärferen Linien geschnitten. Dem starken Hang zur Symmetrie, der dieser Kunst eigen ist, folgend, wurden oft die Helden einander angeglichen ...“.*

**Nr. 21** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 708 (ohne Abb.).

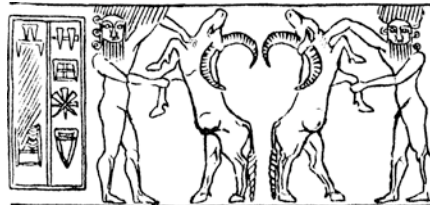


**Abb. 21:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. X, Nr. 143, S. 184f; nach Porada 1934: Quarz, 25 x 17 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 9099, Philadelphia, USA.

*„... zahlreich sind die Beispiele, in denen durch Angleichung von Helden und Tieren zwei identische Gruppen einander gegenübergestellt sind. Ist die Anordnung derselben eine spiegelbildartige, so wird sie als, anti-thetisch‘ bezeichnet.“*

**Nr. 22** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 656 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 391, Tf. 35.

**Nr. 23** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 639 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 370 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 23:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 67, Nr. 167 ; nach Rohn 2011, Nr. 370: roter Jaspis, H. 30 mm, Durchmesser nicht angegeben. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.  
*„No. 23 zeigt die vollkommene Angleichung beider Kämpfergruppen an einander“.*

**Nr. 24** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 636, Abb. 191 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 367, Tf. 34.

**Nr. 25** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 638 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 368, Tf. 34.

**Nr. 26** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 664, Abb. 198.

**Nr. 27** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 489, (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 326, Tf. 31.

**Nr. 27a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 504 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 27a:** Nach Delaporte 1909a, Tf. II, Abb. 15: 31 x 19 mm (auch bei Porada 1934 ohne Materialangabe). Musée Guimet, Paris.

Nr. 27a Wird im Text nicht erwähnt, ist nur im „*Siegelverzeichnis*“ angegeben. Poradas Bezeichnung „*gelockter Held*“ ist bei Boehmer 1965 und späteren (z.B. Braun-Holzinger 2013, 65): „*sechslowiger Held*“, da er en face dargestellt, immer auf jeder Seite seines Kopfes drei große, deutlich erkennbare Locken aufweist.

**Nr. 27b** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 520, Abb. 144 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 321, Tf. 31.

**Nr. 28** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 546, Abb. 157 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 317, Tf. 31.

**Nr. 29** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 595 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 29:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. X, Nr. 141, S. 184: Grüner, jadeähnlicher Stein, 25 x 15,5 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 1831, Philadelphia, USA.

*„... Die Haltung jener Kämpferpaare, in denen der Löwe der Gegner des Helden ist, [weicht] viel öfter von dem Schema ab..., als es bei jenen Gruppen der Fall ist, in denen der Arni-Büffel Gegner des Helden ist. Ein gutes Beispiel dafür ist No. 29, woe die Stellung des gelockten Helden und des Arni-Büffels dem Schema entspricht, während der Löwe, der den Kopf zurückgewandt hat, mit der erhobenen Tatze gegen die Beine des Stierlöwen stößt.“*

Poradas Bezeichnung „Stierheld“ entspricht bei Boehmer 1965 und späteren: „Stierrmensch“.

**Nr. 30** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 649 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 378, Tf. 34.

*„Hier ist merkwürdigerweise zweimal dieselbe Gruppe nach der derselben Richtung gezeichnet, also keine antithetische Verdoppelung.“*

**Nr. 31** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 730, Abb. 238.

Was Porada als: *„ein stilisierter Vogel?, aus dessen Rücken drei Pflanzen? emporwachsen“* bezeichnet, nennt Delaporte 1923, S. 102, A. 73: *„Entre les lions, trois tiges de roseau s’élèvent du milieu d’une gerbe.“* Vgl. **Nr. 33**.

**Nr. 32** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 510 (ohne Abb.) = de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Nr. 50. Nach dem „Siegelverzeichnis“ identisch mit **Nr. 16**, **Abb. 16**. Materialangabe bei Porada 1934 für **Nr. 32**: Glimmer, 35 x 24 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt. Diese Angaben fehlen bei **Nr. 16**.

**Nr. 33** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 728, Abb. 236 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 376, Tf. 34.  
Das gleiche Motiv wie auf Nr. 31 wird bei Porada ebenfalls beschrieben als: „*stilisierter Vogel, aus dessen Rücken drei Pflanzen hervorwachsen*“ (hier ohne Fragezeichen!). Collon 1982, 63, Nr. 114: „*At the bottom are two shapes which were probably added in order to convert the design into a sheaf of corn ...*“.

**Nr. 34** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 315, Abb. 70 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 142 (ohne Abb.) = Braun-Holzinger 2013, Tf. 45 Siegel 178, 141f., 218.

**Nr. 35** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 734 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 35:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. IX, Nr. 123, S. 181: Serpentin, 25 x 14 mm, University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 7330, Philadelphia, USA.

„Ähnlich [wie No. 33 und 34] das stark zerstörte Siegel No. 35“, wo der Löwe links „in vergeblichen Zuckungen mit beiden Pranken in die Luft schlägt. Mit dem ... Arm hält der Held den ... Löwen ... , der eine Fuss ist gegen das Kreuz des Löwen, der andere als Halt nach rückwärts gestemmt, das Tier schlägt ohnmächtig mit der freien Pranke nach vorne in die Luft.“

**Nr. 36** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 706 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 356, Tf. 33.

**Nr. 37** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 303, Abb. 71.

**Nr. 38** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 677, Abb. 208 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 359 (ohne Abb.)

„... Eine waagrechte Girlande oder eine in dieser Art angelegte Beschädigung des Zylinders? ... Schriftzeichen, die wie Standarten anmuten“.



**Nr. 39** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 697 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 39:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. V, Nr. 48, S. 5; nach Porada 1934: Grüner Jaspis, 38 x 16 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

*„... Die antithetischen gelockten Helden... haben einen Fuss auf die nach vorne gerichteten Köpfe der Löwen gesetzt und halten sie an einem Hinterfuss und am Schwanz in die Höhe“.*

**Nr. 40** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 716, Abb. 227 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 358, Tf. 33.

**Nr. 41** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 726, Abb. 234.

*„Es sind hier zwei identische Gruppen antithetisch dargestellt“* wie in Nr. 42 – 44.

**Nr. 42** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 699 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 386, Tf. 35.

**Nr. 43** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 687, Abb. 213 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 374, Tf. 34.

**Nr. 44** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 680, Abb. 210.

**Nr. 45** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 514, Abb. 142 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 344, Tf. 32.

**Nr. 46** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 526, Abb. 147.

**Nr. 47** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 601, Abb. 171.

**Nr. 48** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 618, Abb. 183 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 244, Tf. 27.

**Nr. 49** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 461, Abb. 117 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 148, Tf. 19.

**Nr. 49a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 98 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 49a:** Nach Delaporte 1909a, Tf. II, Abb. 16; nach Porada 1934: Ohne Materialangabe, 35 x 23 mm. Musée Guimet, Paris.

*„Auf No. 49a hat ein gelockter Held einen Hörnerträger gefasst, der von einem Löwen angegriffen wird. Als zweite Gruppe ein seitlich dargestellter“*

*Stierheld im Kampfe ..., daneben „zwei stehende Figuren im Rüschengewand.“<sup>1</sup>*

**Nr. 50** = de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VIII, Nr. 76.



**Abb. 50:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VIII, Nr. 76; nach Porada 1934: Karneol, 19 x 11 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

**Nr. 50** „schließt ... inhaltlich ... an die ... besprochenen Darstellungen an und ist ihnen auch in der Technik vollkommen angeglichen.“

„Erweiterung der paarweisen Tierkampfbilder“: **Nr. 51 – 99a:**

**Nr. 51** = „Hahn 293“ = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 667 (ohne Abb.) s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 3 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 52** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 439, Abb. 105 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 778, Tf. 58.

**Nr. 53** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 665, Abb. 199.

**Nr. 54** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 450, Abb. 111 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 136 (ohne Abb.).

**Nr. 55:** Fehlt im „Siegelverzeichnis“ bei Porada 1934, im Text gestrichen.

<sup>1</sup> Porada bezeichnet das Falbelgewand der Gottheiten immer als „Rüschengewand“.



**Nr. 56** = Delaporte 1910, Tf. IV, Abb. 33. In Boehmer 1965 und Rohn 2011 nicht aufgenommen.



**Abb. 56:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. IV, Abb. 33; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 28 x 18 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

*Auf einer ganzen Reihe von Siegeln treten ... weitere Kämpfer hinzu. ... [D]er Löwe ... [wird] von hinten von einem ... Helden angegriffen ...“.*

**Nr. 57** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 506, Abb. 137.

**Nr. 58** = „Hahn 13“ = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 641 (ohne Abb.) s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 4 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 58a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 786 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 58a:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. VI, Nr. 76, S. 175: Schwarzer Diorit, 18,5 x 9,5 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 14474, Philadelphia, USA.

*„... Einer dem Schema entsprechenden Gruppe: gelockter Held – Arni-Büffel ... [rechts, steht links] eine Dreiergruppe gegenüber ...“.*

**Nr. 59** = „Hahn 60“ = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 516 (ohne Abb.) s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 5 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 60** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 486 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 60:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 415, S. 97f.; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Jaspis, 29 x 18 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire No. 415, Brüssel.  
*Ein anderer Typus des Helden „hat in der Stellung des gelockten Helden auf dem Schema Hals und Vorderfuss des ... aufrecht stehenden Rindes erfasst.“*

**Nr. 61** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 497, Abb. 134 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 160 (ohne Abb.).

**Nr. 62** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 521 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 558, Tf. 46.

**Nr. 63** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 523 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 418, Tf. 37.

**Nr. 64** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 514, Abb. 142 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 344, Tf. 32.

**Nr. 65** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 652 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 65:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. IX, Nr. 79, S. 60; nach Porada 1934: Grüner Porphyr, 20 x 12 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

**Nrn. 59-73** zeigen Gruppen, bei „denen in der charakteristischen Haltung des gelockten Helden ... Kämpfer in der Kleidung der Akkad-Zeit auftreten“.

**Nr. 66** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 421 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 403 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 66:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. IX, Nr. 80, S. 60; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Porphyr, 24 x 13 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

**Nr. 67** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 784 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 427, Tf. 38.

**Nr. 68** = Delaporte 1920, Tf. 31, Abb. 5, (S. 433), S. 54.



**Abb. 68:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 31, Abb. 5 (S. 433), S. 67; nach Porada 1934: Lapislazuli, 18 x 10 mm. Musée du Louvre AS.B. 323, Paris.

**Nr. 69** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 527 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 69:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 49, Abb. 12 (D. 10), S. 67; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Stein, 26 x 16 mm. Musée du Louvre AOD 45, Paris.

**Nr. 70** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 490 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 70:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 629, S. 104f.; nach Porada 1934: Muschel, 28 x 17 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire No. 629, Brüssel.

**Nr. 71** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 515 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 71:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 403, S. 105; nach Porada 1934: Bläulicher Stein, 29 x 17 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire No. 403, Brüssel.

**Nr. 72** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 625 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 346 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 72:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. X, Nr.139, S. 183f.; nach Porada 1934: Grüner jadeartiger Stein, 23,5 x 13,5 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S., 1055, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 73** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 485, Abb. 130.

**Nr. 74** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 534, Abb. 151 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 398, Tf. 36.

**Nr. 75** = „Hahn 67“ = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 659 (ohne Abb.), s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 6 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 76** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 745 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 76:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VI, Nr. 57, S. 53f.; Nach Porada 1934: schwarzer Porphyr, 39 x 27 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

„... zwei Helden, von denen der eine einen Arni-Büffel von hinten am Schwanz packt und mit dem oberen ... verzeichneten Arm sein Horn fasst“.

**Nr. 77** = Legrain 1925, Tf. VII, Nr. 86, Tf. VII, S. 176.



**Abb. 77:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. VII, Nr. 86: Brauner Marmor, 34 x 23,5 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 5057, Philadelphia, USA.

Das Siegel wird in der Doktorarbeit nicht beschrieben.

**Nr. 78** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 733 (ohne Abb.).

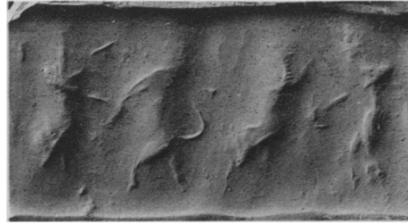


**Abb. 78:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. VIII, Nr. 100; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Diorit, 35 x 22,5 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 7311, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 79** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 488, Abb. 132.



**Nr. 80** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 498 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 80:** Nach Delaporte 1909a, Tf. I, Abb. 14; Nach Porada 1934: 33 x 19 mm. Ohne Materialangabe, Musée Guimet, Paris.

*„Ein ... Held kämpft ... mit einem Löwen. Dieser hat das rechte Hinterbein gerade nach rückwärts gestellt und das linke leicht gebeugt, so daß es den Eindruck erweckt, als stemme er sich mit ungeheurer Kraft gegen den Helden.“*

**Nr. 81** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 718, Abb. 229 = Rohn 2011 Nr. 400, Tf. 36.

**Nr. 82** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 543, Abb. 155 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 406, Tf. 36.

**Nr. 83** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 536, (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 411 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 83:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VI, Nr. 54; nach Porada 1934: hellgrüner Porphyrt, 27 x 17 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

*„Auf No. 83 ... kämpfen zwei Helden, die durch ihre Schabelschuhe und übereinander gewickeltem Lendenschurze auffallen, gegen zwei identische Arni-Büffel.“*

**Nr. 84** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 783 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 426, Tf. 37.

**Nr. 85** = Im „Siegelverzeichnis“ Speleers 1917, Nr. 418, S. 98; im Literaturverzeichnis Speleers 1917 Nr. 478. Identifizierung wegen der Kürze der Beschreibung in der Dissertation nicht möglich.

**Nr. 86** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 529 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 201, Tf. 24.<sup>1</sup>

**Nr. 87** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 514, Abb. 142 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 344, Tf. 32.

**Nr. 88** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 422, Abb. 96 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 343, Tf. 32.

**Nr. 89** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 446, Abb. 109.

**Nr. 90** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 402, Abb. 89.

**Nr. 91** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 55 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 929, Tf. 64.

**Nr. 92** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 308, (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 173 (ohne Abb.)<sup>2</sup>.



**Abb. 92:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. IX, Nr. 134, S. 182: Siegelabrollung; nach Porada 1934: Diorit, 36 x 26 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 14389, Philadelphia, USA.

*„Der Stierheld ... mit nach vorne gewandtem Kopf, mit einem Löwen kämpfend, ... dessen Darstellung für die Akkad-Zeit ... ungewöhnlich ist. ... In der Mitte der Held mit der gerillten [konischen] Kappe, der mit beiden Armen die Vorderfüsse eines Rindes erfasst hat. Die Stelle des Helden mit der hinaufgebundenen Frisur nimmt [links] der gelockte Held ein. ... Den Abschluss bildet eine Inschrift, darunter eine kleine Antilope, diese scheint auf eine 3-teilige Pflanze zuzuspringen ...“.*

**Nr. 93** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 180 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 170, Tf. 21.

<sup>1</sup> Porada kannte nur die Abbildung bei Ward 1910, Nr. 172 und erwähnt, dass „der zweite Held auf diesem Papierabdruck verloren gegangen sein dürfte“, Ward 1910, S. 68: „from a paper impression“. Der Siegelzylinder befindet sich im British Museum, BM ANE 89171: Collon 1982, 59, Nr. 96, Tf. XIII.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. die Besprechung des Siegels bei Boehmer 1965, S. 149f. sowie Rohn 2011, S. 33 Anm. 272.



**Nr. 93a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 405 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 93a:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. VI, Nr. 77; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Diorit, 36 x 21 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 9096, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 94** = „Hahn 72“ = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 441 (ohne Abb.) s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 7 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 95** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 509, Abb. 140 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 6\* (ohne Abb.). Nach Rohn 2011, 238: „*vermutlich in die Zeit der III. Dynastie von Ur zu datieren*“.

**Nr. 96** = „Hahn 16“, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 8 in diesem Band. = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 433 (ohne Abb.) benennt das Siegel „Hahn 8“ gemäß der Zählung in Porada 1938a.

**Nr. 97** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 444, Abb. 107.

**Nr. 98** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 451 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 211, Tf. 25.

**Nr. 99** = „Hahn 65“ = Rohn 2011, Nr. 209 (ohne Abb.) s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 9 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 99a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 158, (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 26\* (ohne Abb.) = Delaporte 1909a, Tf. II, Abb. 17.

*„Löwen treten an Stelle der Helden“: Nr. 100 – 111:*

**Nr. 100** = Boehmer 1065, Nr. 425, Abb. 98.

**Nr. 101** = de Cercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. IX., Nr. 78.



**Abb. 101:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. IX, Nr. 78; nach Porada 1934: Hellgrüner Porphyr, 22 x 13 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

Auf **Nr. 100-106** sind die gleichen Szenen dargestellt: Held gegen Oryx-Antilope und Löwe gegen Steinbock. Auf **Nr. 101** wird der Steinbock durch ein Rind, auf **Nr. 106** durch einen Arni-Büffel ersetzt.

**Nr. 102** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 761 (ohne Abb).



**Abb. 102:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 66, Abb. 10 (A. 70), S. 101; nach Porada 1934: Grüner Jaspis, 16 x 9 mm. Musée du Louvre KLq 65, Paris.

**Nr. 103** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 765 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 431, Tf. 38.

**Nr. 104** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 424, Abb. 97 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 925, Tf. 63.

**Nr. 105** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 418 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 105:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 31, Abb. 12 (S. 445), S. 55; nach Porada 1934: Bräunlicher Marmor, 33 x 20 mm. Musée du Louvre AS 42, Paris.

**Nr. 106** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 760 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 430, Tf. 38.

**Nr. 107** = „Hahn 63“, Boehmer 1965, Nr. 756 (ohne Abb.) s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 10 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 108** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 759, Abb. 255 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 443 (ohne Abb.).

**Nr. 109** = „Sarre 1“ s. Artikel Hans Ulrich Steymans in diesem Band.

**Nr. 110** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 767, Abb. 258 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 438a, 438b, 438c, Tf. 38.

**Nr. 111** = Boehmer 1965, nr. 753, Abb. 252 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 442, Tf. 38.

*„Ornamentale Tierkampfbilder“: Nr. 112 – 162*

**Nr. 112** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 151 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 112:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. II, Abb. 12; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 29 x 17 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

*„Die Leiber der Tier sind als gleichmäßig flache Felder aus dem Material gehoben und dann die Umrisse mit dünnen Linie (wahrscheinlich mit dem Spitzbohrer) umzogen, so dass der Charakter dieses Siegels ein sehr flächenhaft ornamentaler ist“.*

**Nr. 113** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 257 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 113:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. II, Abb. 13; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 21 x 13 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

*„... strenge Konzentration der Linienführung und der Formen ... . Gleichartige Darstellungen sind No. 114... [bis] No. 119.“*

**Nr. 114** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 125 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 114:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 30, Abb. 15 (S. 418), S. 52f.; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Kalkstein, 25 x 17 mm. Musée du Louvre AS 4888, Paris.

**Nr. 115** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 126 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 115:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 30, Abb. 16 (S. 419), S. 53; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 26 x 16 mm. Musée du Louvre AS 9969 (1910), Paris.

**Nr. 116** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 246, (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 116:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 66, Abb. 1 (A. 61), S. 101; nach Porada 1934: Brauner Marmor, 23 x 13 mm, Musée du Louvre KLq 67 (1868), Paris.

**Nr. 117** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 170 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 117:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. VIII, Nr. 107; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 21 x 14 mm, University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 1046, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 118** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 237 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 118:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. VIII, Nr. 104. Nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 31 x 19 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 1065, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 119** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 76 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 119:** Nach Delaporte 1909a, Tf. I, Abb. 8; Porada 1934: Ohne Materialangabe, 27 x 15 mm. Musée Guimet, Paris.

**Nr. 120** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 259 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 120:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 577, S. 100f.; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Stein, 36 x 8 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire No. 577, Brüssel.  
„Auf No. 120 ... ist im oberen Streifen ... ein rhombisches Ornament gebildet.“

**Nr. 121** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 127 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 121:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 3, Abb. 8 (T. 33), S. 3; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 27 x 14 mm. Musée du Louvre Inv.: MNB 1346 (Sarzec, 1879), Paris.

„Begreiflicherweise haben sich an dieser ... oft geschnittenen Szene auch minder begabte Künstler und Schüler versucht. Zu diesem Typus sind folgende Siegel zu stellen.“ **Nr. 121–129a.**

**Nr. 122** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 16 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 744 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 122:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 30, Abb. 17 (S. 420), S. 53; nach Porada 1934: Gipsartiger Alabaster, 25 x 14 mm. Musée du Louvre AS.A 7410 (1910), Paris.

**Nr. 123** = In Boehmer 1965, Nr. 264 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 123:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 49, Abb. 6 (D. 5), S. 67: Schwarzer Stein gelb gefleckt, 27 x 17 mm. Musée du Louvre AOD 53, Paris.

**Nr. 124** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 77 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 124:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. VII, Nr. 95; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 29 x 18 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 14418, Philadelphia, USA.



**Nr. 125** = Legrain 1925, Tf. VIII, Nr. 98, S. 178.



**Abb. 125:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. VIII, Nr. 98; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 26 x 14 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 7318, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 126** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 43 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 126:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. VIII, Nr. 103; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 27 x 16 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 1042, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 127** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 135 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 25\* (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 127:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. IX, Nr. 128: Schwarzer Diorit; nach Porada 1934: 28,5 x 16,5 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 1070, Philadelphia, USA.



**Nr. 128** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 236 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 128:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 66, Abb. 2 (A. 62), S. 101; nach Porada 1934: Grüner Serpentin, 25 x 14 mm. Musée du Louvre AO 2279 (1893), Paris.

**Nr. 129** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 39 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 129:** Nach Delaporte 1909a, Tf. I, Abb. 10; nach Porada 1934: Ohne Materialangabe, 26 x 16 mm. Musée Guimet, Paris.

**Nr. 129a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 232 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 747 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 129a:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. II, Abb. 18; nach Porada 1934: Hämatit, 28 x 16 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

**Nr. 130** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 258 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 130:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. II, Abb. 14; nach Porada 1934: Faseriger Stein, 26 x 16 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.  
*„Auf No. 130 fallen die Wulstlippen des Helden auf ... .“*

**Nr. 131** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 152 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 746 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 131:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. II, Abb. 16 ; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 26 x 15 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.  
*„Auf No. 131 hat der Held in der Mitte nach sumerischer Art einen kahlgeschorenen Kopf, ebenso auf No. 132 ... und No. 133 ... .“*

**Nr. 132** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 262 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 132:** Nach Delaporte 1909a, Tf. I, Abb. 7; nach Porada 1934: Ohne Materialangabe, 16 x 8 mm. Musée Guimet, Paris.

**Nr. 133** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 231 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 133:** Nach Delaporte 1909a, Tf. I, Abb. 9; nach Porada 1934: Ohne Materialangabe, 33 x 14 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

**Nr. 134** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 232 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 747 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 134:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. II, Abb. 18; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 27 x 17 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

*„Auf No. 134 sieht man ... die Körper plastisch herausgehoben ..., [mit] einem besonders scharfen Werkzeug die Mähnen der Löwen, die Arme, die hier etwas auffallend geformten Hörner, die Zeichen ...“ eingeschnitten.*

**Nr. 135** = „Hahn 74“ = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 245 (ohne Abb.) s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 11 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 136** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 233 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 136:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. II, Abb. 17; nach Porada 1934: Hämatit, 30 x 15 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

*„Zum Unterschied von den bisher erwähnten Darstellungen fällt das Siegel No. 136 durch seine recht naturalistischen Formen auf.“*

**Nr. 137** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 260 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 137:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VIII, Nr. 69; Porada 1934: Dunkelgrüner Porphyr, 26 x 16 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

*„Ebenfalls sehr naturalistische Auffassungen dieser Szene zeigen No 137 ... und No 138...“*

**Nr. 138** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 150, Abb. 41 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 755, Tf. 57.

**Nr. 139** = Ward 1910, S. 67, Nr. 169.



**Abb. 139:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 67, Nr. 169; nach Porada 1948, Nr. 171: Grünlich schwarzer Serpentin, 35,5 x 21 mm. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. „Auf No. 139 steht neben der ... charakteristischen Gruppe ein Zuseher? mit einer Pflanze im Arm. Er trägt, ebenso wie der Held in der Mitte eine Rillenkappe.“

**Nr. 140** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 179 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 140:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VIII, Nr. 67; nach Porada 1934: Grün und roter Porphyr, 35 x 24 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt. „Auf No. 140 ... packt ein ... Held von hinten einen der Löwen am [Schwanz], sucht also den Helden in der Mitte zu entlasten.“

Diese Erweiterung der Hauptszene findet sich auch auf **Nr. 141–145**.

**Nr. 141** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 209 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 141:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VII, Nr. 63; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Porphyr, 26 x 15 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

**Nr. 142** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 65 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 142:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VIII, Nr. 72; nach Porada 1934: Dunkelgrüner Porphyr, 20 x 112 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

**Nr. 143** = Delaporte 1923, Tf. 66, Abb. 3 (A. 64), S. 101.



**Abb. 143:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 66, Abb. 3 (A. 64), S. 101; nach Porada 1934: Grauer Marmor, weiß durchzogen, 22 x 13 mm. Musée du Louvre AO 1903, Paris.

**Nr. 144** = Delaporte 1923, Tf. 66, Abb. 7, (A. 67), S. 101.



**Abb. 144:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 66, Abb. 7 (A. 67), 101; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Serpentin, grün gefleckt, 26 x 16 mm. Musée du Louvre Inv. MNB 1948, Paris.



**Nr. 145** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 69 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 145:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 31, Abb. 1 (S. 427), S. 53; nach Porada 1934: Weißer Kalkstein, opak, 30 x 19 mm. Musée du Louvre Inv. AS 9991, Paris.

**Nr. 146** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 242, Abb. 62 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 128, Tf. 17.

**Nr. 147** = „Hahn 310“, Boehmer 1965, Nr. 382 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 740 (ohne Abb.) s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 12 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 147a:** Fehlt im „*Siegelverzeichnis*“; nach Porada 1934 im Text: Serpentin, 20 x 11 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

**Nr. 148** = „Hahn 4a“ = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 347 (ohne Abb.) s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 13 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 148a:** Fehlt im „*Siegelverzeichnis*“; nach dem Literaturverzeichnis zu den Nummern: Delaporte 1923, Tf. 66, Abb. 4, S. 101 (A. 63).

**Nr. 149** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 17 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 149:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 30, Abb. 19 (S. 422), S. 53; nach Porada 1934: Durchscheinender Quarz, 21 x 12 mm. Musée du Louvre AS 9967 (1910), Paris.

*„Welche geringe Bedeutung auf die Erkennbarkeit dieser Darstellung gelegt wurde, zeigt weiters ihre Verwendung auf den kleinsten Akkad-Siegeln wie No. 148 ... . Etwas grösser No. 149 ... No. 150 ... u. 151. Sie wurden wohl kaum zum Siegeln der Urkunden benutzt, sondern nur als Amulette getragen.“*

**Nr. 150** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 79 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 150:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 30, Abb. 20 (S. 425), S. 53; nach Porada 1934: Grauer Kalkstein, 19 x 12 mm. Musée du Louvre AS 7750, Paris.

**Nr. 151** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 68 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 151:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 30, Abb. 21 (S. 426), S. 53; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 20 x 12 mm. Musée du Louvre AS 9968 (1910), Paris.

**Nr. 152** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 58 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 152:** Nach Delaporte 1909a Tf. I, Abb. 11; nach Porada 1934: Ohne Materialangabe, 28 x 15 mm. Musée Guimet, Paris.

*„Eine ... andere mythologische Grundlage dürften jene Darstellungen haben, auf denen der Held von aussen an eine Gruppe herantritt, die von zwei gekreuzten Löwen gebildet wird, welche ihre Krallen in die Brust je eines Hörnerträgers gebohrt haben. Es sind dies No. 152 [bis] ... 153a.“*



**Nr. 153** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 57, Abb. 26.

**Nr. 153a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 160 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 153a:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. II, Abb. 11: Material und Maße unbekannt. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

**Nr. 154** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 161, Abb. 43.

**Nr. 155** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 272 (ohne Abb) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 764, Tf. 58.

**Nr. 156** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 61, Abb. 27.

**Nr. 157** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 3 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 157:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. VIII, Nr. 114, S. 180; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Diorit, 23,5 x 14 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 10889, Philadelphia, USA.

*„Auf No. 156 greift auf jeder Seite ein Held von aussen an. ... Ebenso auf No. 157 ....“*

**Nr. 158** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 182 (ohne Abb).



**Abb. 158:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 420, S. 102f.; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Kalkstein, 35 x 23 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire Nr. 420, Brüssel.

*„Auf No. 158 ... scheint ein weiterer Löwe einen der Helden von rückwärts anzugreifen.“*

**Nr. 159** = „Hahn 35“ s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 14 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 160** = „Hahn 46“ s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 15 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 161** = „Hahn 75“ = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 347 (ohne Abb.) s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 16 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 162** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 198 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 775, Tf. 58.

*„Versuch der Einordnung der ‚Helden‘ in das Akkad-Pantheon“:*

#### **Nr. 163–177**

*„Unwillkürlich drängt sich nun die Frage nach der mythologischen Grundlage dieser Siegel auf. Bis vor kurzem wurde der gelockte Held und alle anderen Darstellungen des Helden überhaupt, mit Gilgamesch ... gleich gesetzt“.*

**Nr. 163** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 512, Abb. 141 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 268, Tf. 28.

**Nr. 164** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 806, Abb. 280 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 688, Tf. 54.

Dieses sehr interessante Siegel steht leider nur als Zeichnung zur Verfügung. Das Original ist verschollen. Porada 1934 beschreibt die Zeichnung nach Heidenreich 1925, S. 13f. Abb. 3 (= Ward 1910, Nr. 199): Der „Wassergott... steht mit einem Bein auf einem gegitterten Gebilde, das kaum etwas anderes bedeutet als einen Tempel, dessen Fassade in der Architektur Vorderasiens ja meist reich gegliedert war...“. Rohn 2011, S. 94 beschreibt es als „ein Objekt mit Nischengliederung“.

**Nr. 165** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 803, Abb. 277.

**Nr. 166** = „Hahn 66“ s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 17 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 167** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 724, Abb. 232 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 686, Tf. 54. Auf diesem Siegel von hervorragender Qualität ist die Inschrift mit Erwähnung des Šar-kali-šarri (2217-2193 v. Chr.) über den Rücken der antithetischen Wasserbüffel gesetzt.

**Nr. 168** = de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VIII, Nr. 113(?) (Vergleich mit Siegel der Gudea-Zeit). In Boehmer 1965 nicht aufgenommen.

**Nr. 169** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 723, Abb. 231 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 197, Tf. 23.

**Nr. 170:** fehlt im „Siegelverzeichnis“, wird aber im Text der Dissertation beschrieben.

**Nr. 171** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1207, Abb. 523. Nach dem „Siegelverzeichnis“ identisch mit **Nr. 343**.<sup>1</sup>

**Nr. 172** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1206 (ohne Abb.). Nach dem „Siegelverzeichnis“ identisch mit **Nr. 332**.<sup>2</sup>



**Abb. 172:** Nach Moortgat 1940, Tf. 30, Nr. 223: Serpentin, 37 x 26 mm. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 3329, Berlin.

*„Als Trabanten Eas finden wir den gelockten Helden ... hinter der sitzenden Gottheit. Auf No. 172 kniet er auf einem Bein, ... wendet sich mit Kopf und Oberkörper zurück zu dem Urigallu-Stab, den er mit beiden Händen umschlungen hält.“*

**Nr. 173** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1139, Abb. 488, s. Artikel Hans Ulrich Steymans in diesem Band.

<sup>1</sup> **Nr. 171** wird hier als Beispiel für den „gelockten Helden“ angeführt, ... „den sogenannten Urigallu-Stab haltend, also deutlich in der Funktion eines Wächters hinter der sitzenden Gottheit“, während die Hauptszene „Einführung zu Ea“ darstellt = **Nr. 343**.

<sup>2</sup> **Nr. 172** bezieht sich auf die Darstellung des „Helden“, während **Nr. 332** dem Thema der Einführung des Vogelmenschen gewidmet ist.

**Nr. 174** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1217 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 174:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 73, Abb. 1 (A. 159), S. 111f.; nach Porada 1934: Grünlicher Jaspis, 30 x 19 mm. Musée du Louvre AO 4418 (1905), Paris.

*„Zwei gelockte Helden sind ... knieend zu beiden Seiten des sitzenden Ea dargestellt.“*

**Nr. 175** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1213, Abb. 520.

**Nr. 176** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1215, Abb. 522.

**Nr. 177** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 801, Abb. 274. Bei Rohn 2011 nicht aufgenommen, da Ur III-zeitlicher Vergleich.

*„Der Stierheld auf Götterkampfszenen“: Nr. 178 –185:*

**Nr. 178** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 827, Abb. 299.

**Nr. 179** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 824 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 179:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. X, Nr. 150, S. 186; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 33 x 20,5 mm, University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 9095, Philadelphia, USA.

*„Auf No 179 wehrt sich der Stierheld, der ... Kopf und Oberkörper ... seinem Angreifer entgegen nach rückwärts gewandt hat, gegen einen Gott,*

*dessen Oberkörper von Flammen umlodert ist. ... Daneben ein zweites Kämpferpaar: zwei Götter, die einander an den Hörnern fassen, der eine hat einen Dolch, der andere eine Keule in der Hand. Die beiden Kämpfer der dritten Gruppe haben keine Hörnerkrone ... . Der eine Held hat den Kopf des anderen am Bart in die Höhe gerissen und stösst ihm einen Dolch in den Hals. ... Etwas verkürzt ist diese Szene auf No. 180 dargestellt.“*

**Nr. 180** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 838, Abb. 308 (BM 89628) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 815, Tf. 59.

**Nr. 181** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 326, Abb. 75.

**Nr. 182** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 828, Abb. 300.

**Nr. 183** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 829, Abb. 301.

**Nr. 184** = Nach „Siegelverzeichnis“: „de Clercq 181 bis“, bis [= zweimal] ist in de Clercq 1888, Tf. XIX nicht vorhanden.

**Nr. 185** = Boehmer 1965 (ohne Nr. und ohne Abb.). S. 51, Fn. 19 vermutet, dass es sich um eine Fälschung handelt.



**Abb. 185:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 57, Nr. 139c; nach Collon 1982, Nr. 138, S. 72: Grünstein, 29 x 17 mm. British Museum BM ANE 89070, London.

*„Auf No. 185 steht über einem kleinen Berg ein Stier. Über seinem Rücken spannt ein Kämpfer den Bogen. Zu beiden Seiten dieser Gruppe je ein ... Kämpferpaar. Sollte hier der Stierheld in rein tierischer Gestalt dargestellt sein?“*

„Götterkampfszenen“: Nr. 186 – 197:

**Nr. 186** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 832, Abb. 304 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 495, Tf. 41.

**Nr. 187** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 866, Abb. 322.

**Nr. 187a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 840 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 187a:** Nach Delaporte 1909a, Tf. III, Abb. 28: (ohne Materialangabe), 17 x 10 mm. Musée Guimet, Paris.

*Auf dem Siegel „lehnt ein nackter Gott mit ... Hörnerkrone an einem Berg. Seine Handflächen sind nach aussen gekehrt ... Er wird ... von einem Gott angegriffen ... Daneben ein Gott ... wie ... sitzend, von vorne von einem ... von Flammen umloderten Gott angegriffen.“*

**Nr. 187b** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 863, Abb. 320.

**Nr. 187c** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 893 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 187c:** Nach Moortgat 1940, Tf. 31, Nr. 231: Serpentin, 28 x 13 mm. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 2572, Berlin.

*„Gott auf einem Berg sitzend, und von vorne von einem ... von Flammen umloderten Gott angegriffen. Hier tritt ... von hinten ein Angreifer mit einer Keule heran.“*



**Nr. 188** = Delaporte 1910, Nr. 78 = irrtümliche Nummerierung in „*Siegelverzeichnis*“, bei **Nr. 410** ist Delaporte 1910, Nr. 78 thematisch richtig zugeordnet.

**Nr. 189** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 825, Abb. 297 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 508, Tf. 42.

**Nr. 190** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 874, Abb. 328.

**Nr. 191** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 831, Abb. 303.

**Nr. 192** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 872, Abb. 327.

**Nr. 192a** = „Hahn 77“, kann nicht identifiziert werden, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer in diesem Band.

**Nr. 193** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 914, Abb. 352.

**Nr. 193a** = Delaporte 1923, Tf. 71, Abb. 1 (A. 132).



**Abb. 193a:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 71, Abb. 1 (A. 132): Serpentin, 26 x 14 mm. Musée du Louvre MN 549, N 8339 [3514], Paris.

„... Eine Göttin in Rüschengewand ... hält eine ... vielleicht buschige Pflanze über das rechte Bein eines Gottes, der an dem rechten Arm und Bein von einem anderen Gott waagrecht über einen Berg gehalten wird, dahinter eine weitere stehende Gottheit.“

**Nr. 194** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 835, Abb. 306.

**Nr. 195** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1133, Abb. 482.<sup>1</sup>

**Nr. 196** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1080, Abb. 443.

<sup>1</sup> Wurde von Frankfort 1934, Tf. III, Abb. c, Frankfort 1939, Tf. XXIII, Abb. a, Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1133, Abb. 482 und Ruth Opificius, 1970/2010, 353, Abb. 10 nicht als Fälschung erkannt. Collon 1982, hat BM ANE 89135 jedoch nicht in den Katalog des British Museum aufgenommen. Die Beschreibung in Porada 1934 stimmt nicht mit der im „*Siegelverzeichnis*“ angegebenen Literatur, Frankfort 1934, Tf. III, Abb. c, überein. Nr. 195 = Frankfort 1934, Tf. II, Abb. g, dessen Beschreibung im Text unter dem durchgestrichenen Teil für **Nr. 309** zu finden ist = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 913, Abb. 350 = Collon 1982, Nr. 210, Tf. XXX, S. 100, BM ANE 89802 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 575, Tf. 47. Für Frankfort 1934, Tf. III, Abb. c wird keine Beschreibung geboten. Der Irrtum ist vermutlich entstanden, weil dieses doppelt beschriebene Siegel zwei Themen zuzuordnen ist, den Götterkämpfen und den Vegetationsgottheiten.

**Nr. 197** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 804, Abb. 278.

*„Der aufsteigende Sonnengott“: Nr. 198 – 240*

**Nr. 198** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 967, Abb. 393.

**Nr. 199** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1044, Abb. 430.

**Nr. 200 (Fig. 7 q)** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1009, Abb. 417, „Hahn 80“, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 90 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 201** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 976 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 201:** Nach Moortgat 1940, Tf. 30, Nr. 219: Serpentin, 33 x 20 mm. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 4269, Berlin.

*„Da diese Darstellung des aufsteigenden Sonnengottes zu den häufigsten Motiven der Akkadsiegel gehören, unterlagen sie einer starken Stilisierung: Die beiden Bergkuppen sind durch bienenkorbartige Gebilde angedeutet.“*

**Nr. 202** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 974, Abb. 399 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 862 (ohne Abb.).

**Nr. 203** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 968, Abb. 394 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 857 (ohne Abb.).

**Nr. 204** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 970 (ohne Abb.).

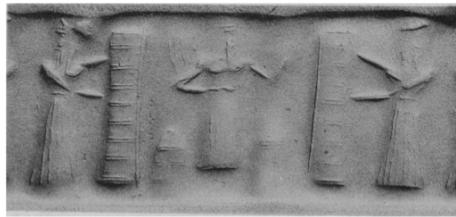


**Abb. 204:** Nach Collon 1982, Tf. XXV, Nr. 176: Serpentin, 37,9 x 26,3 (24,6) mm. British Museum BM ANE 89548, London.



*„Der emporsteigende Gott stützt sich mit beiden Armen auf die Bergkuppen. ... Die beiden bärtigen Türöffner tragen die Rillenkappe, und halten jeder mit beiden Händen einen Türflügel gefasst. Den Abschluss der Szene bildet eine Cypresse.“*

**Nr. 205** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 981 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 205:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 50, Abb. 4 (D. 20), S. 68; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Marmor, 35 x 24 mm. Musée du Louvre AOD 86, Paris.

*„Auf No. 205 ... scheint sich der Gott nicht auf die Bergkuppen gestützt zu haben, sondern hält in der erhobenen Linken eine Waffe ... .“*

**Nr. 206** = Ward 1910, S. 90, Nr. 256 = Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1952, Tf. II., Nr. 19, S. 12.



**Abb. 206:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 90, Nr. 256: „from a cast“; nach Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1952, Tf. II, Nr. 19: Serpentin, 26,5 x 15 mm. Cabinet Royale des Medailles, Den Haag, Niederlande.

*„Auf No. 206 nur ein Türöffner ... . Vor dem Gott aus dessen Schultern Flammen emporzüngeln ..., ein Mann ..., der dem Gott seine Säge zu reichen scheint.“*

**Nr. 207** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 980 (ohne Abb).



**Abb. 207:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 91, Nr. 258; nach Collon 1982, Nr. 175: Serpentin, 33,3 x 22 (20,6) mm. British Museum BM ANE 89531, London.

*„Auf No. 207 scheint der Gott, der in seiner erhobenen Linken die Säge hält ... zwischen den Bergkuppen emporzuschweben ... , auffallend die Seile ? an den Türflügeln“.*

**Nr. 208** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1021, Abb. 420.

**Nr. 209** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 998, Abb. 409 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 844, Tf. 60.

**Nr. 210 (Fig. 10)** = Ward 1910, S. 90, Nr. 251.



**Abb. 210:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 90, Nr. 251: „St. Petersburg“. Eremitage (?). Aufbewahrungsort unsicher, Material und Maße nicht bekannt.

*„No. 208 sehr ähnlich“: „Der Gott ... steht mit dem einen Bein auf einem Einschnitt ? zwischen zwei Bergkuppen. Dieses Gebilde ist ... wie zwei hohe Berge gezeichnet, die durch eine ... Niederung verbunden sind. Den anderen Fuss hat der Gott auf eine der Bergkuppen gesetzt, [wie] meist ist dieses erhobene Bein deutlich nackt, während das Standbein bis zum Knöchel von einem gerade herunterhängenden Faltenrock bedeckt ist. ... Daneben ein Adorant ...“, außen Diener mit Türflügel und Gottheit mit erhobenen Armen.*

**Nr. 211** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 996 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 211:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XIII, Nr. 189, S. 199; nach Porada 1934: Muschel, 31 x 18 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 1112, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 212** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1005 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 847 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 212:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XIII, Nr. 190, S. 199; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 29 x 14,5 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 7308, Philadelphia, USA.

*„No. 212 ... zeigt ... den von Flammen umloderten Gott, der den einen erhobenen Fuss auf den kleinen Berg gesetzt hat.“*

**Nr. 213** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 985, Abb. 406.

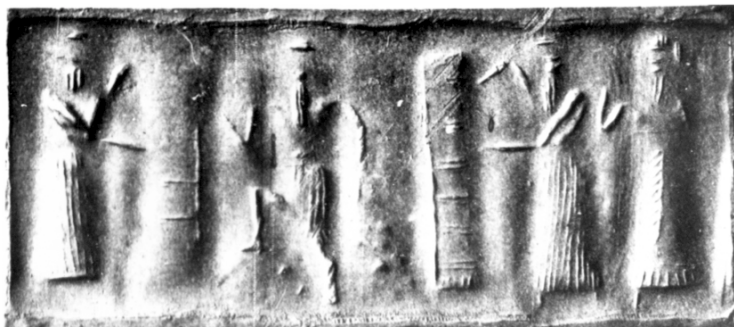
**Nr. 214** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1032 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 654 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 214:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 89, Nr. 247; nach Porada 1948, Nr. 183: Braunschwarzer Steatit, 36,5 x 24 mm. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.  
*„Hier tragen die Türöffner ... Hörnerkrone und Faltenrock.“*

**Nr. 215** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 999, Abb. 410.

**Nr. 216** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1023 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 216:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. IX, Nr. 85; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Porphyry, 41 x 26 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.  
*„Auf No. 216 unterscheidet sich der emporsteigende Gott durch seinen kurzen Faltenrock von den bisher besprochenen Darstellungen. ... Adorant, mit einem kleinen Opfertier im Arm, zu dem der eine Türöffner den Kopf zurückgewendet hat ... .“*

**Nr. 217** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1004, Abb. 414.

**Nr. 218** = Moortgat 1940, Nr. 221, Tf. 30.



**Abb. 218:** Nach Moortgat 1940, Tf. 30, Nr. 221: Roter Kalkstein, 21 x 14 mm.  
Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 4221, Berlin.

„... *Nur eine kleine Bergkuppe, ... Cypresse*“.

**Nr. 219** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 990 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 7\* (ohne Abb.), Anm. 1863: Die Legende wurde später, wahrscheinlich in der Ur III-Zeit, eingefügt.



**Abb. 219:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 594, 116f.; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Stein, 30 x 21 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire No. 594, Brüssel.  
*„Auffallend sind die Stangen, die senkrecht an der Innenseite der Türflügel angebracht sind“.*

**Nr. 220** = „Hahn 79“, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 20 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 221** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1029 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 221:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XIII, Nr. 187, S. 198; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Diorit, 41 x 26 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 5002, Philadelphia, USA.

*„Umriss des aufsteigenden Gottes, der beiden Türflügel, ... Türöffner ... und einer vierten Gestalt mit gefalteten Händen ...“.*

**Nr. 222** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1020 (ohne Abb.).



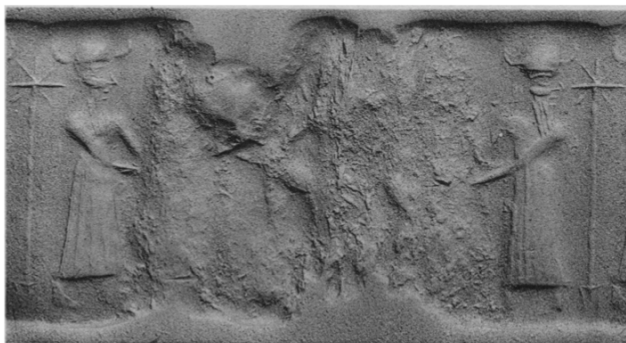
**Abb. 222:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XIII, Nr. 188, S. 198f.; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 37,5 x 24 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 14420, Philadelphia, USA.

*„Gott, der das erhobene Bein über die eine Bergkuppe schwingt. ... Ein Türöffner mit Fransenrock, neben diesem ein Baum ...“.*

**Nr. 223** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 986, Abb. 411.



**Nr. 224** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 992 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 853 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 224:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 71, Abb. 5 (A. 137), S. 109; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 39 x 22 mm. Musée du Louvre AO 6642, Paris.

*„Nur mehr die beiden Türöffner sichtbar, von denen der eine den Kopf zurückgewandt hat. ... Sie tragen hier dieselben auffallenden Hörnerkronen wie auf No. 209.“*

**Nr. 225** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1007 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 854 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 225:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 71, Abb. 6 (A. 138), S. 109; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Serpentin, 22 x 13 mm. Musée du Louvre AO 2269 (1893), Paris.

*„Eine Trennungsmarke mit achtzackigem Stern<sup>1</sup> ... wesentlich flüchtiger gezeichnet ... als ... auf No. 224 [= Sonnenzeichen].“*

<sup>1</sup> Rohn 2011, 147: „Indem man die beiden Keilschriftzeichen DĠIR und UTU miteinander verband, schuf man ein Piktogramm für den Sonnengott.“

**Nr. 226** = Legrain 1925, Nr. 191, C.B.S. 3790. Es besteht Zweifel an der Echtheit.



**Abb. 226:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XIII, Nr. 191, S. 199; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Diorit, 23 x 12 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 3790, Philadelphia, USA.

*„Vor dem emporsteigenden Gott ... steht ein Adorant, der seinen Arm ... über einem mit ... Opfern beladenen dreifüssigen Tisch hält.“*

**Nr. 227** = „Hahn 82“, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 21 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 228** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1041, Abb. 428.

**Nr. 229** = Legrain 1925, Nr. 192, S. 199f.



**Abb. 229:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XIII, Nr. 192; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 23 x 13 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum, Philadelphia C.B.S. 3798, Philadelphia, USA.

*„... Adorant vor der Gottheit. Hinter dem ... Gott ein bärtiger Türöffner.“*



**Nr. 230** = „*Wiener Museum 25398*“. Inv.-Nr. des Völkerkundemuseums Wien: VKM 25398. Alle Rollsiegel des VKM wurden 1981 dem Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung, übergeben: KHM ÄgS Sem. 1134 = Bleibtreu 1981, Nr. 43, Abb. 43: In Boehmer 1965 nicht aufgenommen da postakkadisch.



**Abb. 230:** Nach Bleibtreu 1981, Nr. 43 und Abb. 43, S. 39: Gehäuse einer Meeres-  
schnecke, 21,2 x 10 mm. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Ägyptisch-  
Orientalische Sammlung Sem. 1134, Wien.

„... Auf No. 230 sind die Türen weggefallen. ... Eine Gestalt führt an der Hand ein Wesen vor den Gott ...“

**Nr. 231** = Ward 1910, S. 89, Nr. 250.



**Abb. 231:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 89, Nr. 250; nach Porada 1948, Nr. 186: Grüner  
Serpentin, 22 x 13 mm. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

„Die Zeichnung zeigt [den Gott] ... mit nach rückwärts gewandtem Kopf.“

**Nr. 232** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1050 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 232:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 429, S. 130; nach Porada 1934: Brauner Kalk-  
stein, 29 x 18 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire No. 594, Brüssel.

*„Auf No. 232 leitet der Einführer einen männlichen und einen weiblichen Adoranten mit einem Opfertier vor den aufsteigenden Gott.“*

**Nr. 233** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1049 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 233:** Nach Delaporte 1909a, Tf. III, Nr. 29; nach Porada 1934: Ohne Materialangabe, 32 x 19 mm. Musée Guimet, Paris.

*„Gott, der seinen erhobenen Fuss auf ein kaum mehr erkenntliches Gebilde vor ihm gesetzt hat, als Gegenstand der Anbetung.“*

**Nr. 234** = „Hahn 81“ = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1037, Abb. 426, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 22 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 235** = Boehmer 1965. Nr. 1039 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 825 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 235:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 90, Nr. 253; Nach Collon 1982, Nr. 170: Grünstein, 19 x 13 (12,3) mm. British Museum BM ANE 89760. London.

*„... Gebilde, auf das der Gott seinen ... Fuss gesetzt hat, ... trapezförmig.“*

**Nr. 236** = Ward 1910, S. 91, Nr. 260. In Boehmer 1965 nicht aufgenommen, da nach Porada 1948, Nr. 254: „*Post-Akkad*“.



**Abb. 236:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 91, Nr. 260; nach Porada 1948, Nr. 254: Lapislazuli, 23 x 12 mm. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.  
„eine sehr schlechte Zeichnung ...“

**Nr. 237** = Ward 1910, S. 92, Nr. 268. Postakkadisch.



**Abb. 237:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 92, Nr. 268, : „W. Harding Smith“. Material, Maße und Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

**Nr. 238:** Delaporte 1920, Tf. 33, Abb. 8 (S. 472), S. 58. Postakkadisch.



**Abb. 238:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 33, Abb. 8 (S. 472), S. 58; nach Porada 1934: Alabaster; 27 x 17 mm. Musée du Louvre, AS 9973 (1910), Paris.  
„... besonders rohe Ausführung ...“.

**Nr. 239** = Delaporte 1923, Tf. 71, Abb. 8 (A. 140), S. 109. Postakkadisch.



**Abb. 239:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 71, Abb. 8 (A. 140), S. 109; nach Porada 1934: Grüner Marmor, 32 x 15 mm. Musée du Louvre KLq 40, Paris.  
*„Auf No. 239 bringt ein Adorant vor dem Gott ein Trankopfer dar.“*

**Nr. 240** = Ward 1910, S. 90, Nr. 252, s. Artikel Hans Ulrich Steymans in diesem Band.

*„Die mythologische Grundlage der Darstellungen  
 des aufsteigenden Sonnengottes“: **Nr. 241 – 242***

**Nr. 241** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1114, Abb. 464.

**Nr. 242** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 945, Abb. 377,.

*„Der vierbeinige Löwengreif“: **Nr. 243 – 252***

**Nr. 243 (Fig. 6)** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 935, Abb. 368.

**Nr. 244** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 934, Abb. 367.

**Nr. 245** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 940, Abb. 373.

**Nr. 246** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 941, Abb. 374.

**Nr. 247** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 931, Abb. 364.

**Nr. 248** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 927, Abb. 361.

**Nr. 249** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 936, Abb. 369 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 691, Tf. 55.

**Nr. 250** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 881, Abb. 333.

**Nr. 251** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 942 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 251:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 72, Abb. 8 (A. 153), S. 111; nach Porada 1934: Grüner Jaspis, 35 x 22 mm, Musée du Louvre MN 545, N 8429 [3492] (1850), Paris.

*„Die beiden Gottheiten, die weibliche und die männliche auf den vierbeinigen Löwengreifen, die drei waagrechten Linien an dem Kopf der Gottheit sind... unerklärlich.“*

**Nr. 252** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 937, Abb. 370 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 529 Tf. 44.

*„Die Gottheit im abgeschlossenen Raum“: **Nr. 253 – 258***

**Nr. 253** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1211 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 253:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 590, S. 125f.; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Stein mit kleinen weißen Stellen, 30 x 20 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, Brüssel.

*„Die... von der Aussenwelt abgeschlossene Wassergottheit ...“*

**Nr. 254** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1156, Abb. 501.

**Nr. 255** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1140, Abb. 489, s. Artikel Hans Ulrich Steymans in diesem Band.

**Nr. 256** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1648, Abb. 685.

*„... Der ... abgeschlossene Raum, in dem die Gottheit sitzt, [wird] von dem mit dem Wipfel zur Erde gebogenen Baum gebildet.“*

**Nr. 257** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1646, Abb. 683.

**Nr. 258** = „Hahn 6“, kann in der Hahn-Voss Sammlung des Israel-Museums nicht identifiziert werden, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer in diesem Band. Boehmer 1965, Nr. 659 (ohne Abb.) nennt „Hahn 6“ nach der Zählung von Porada 1938a, doch das ist in Wirklichkeit „Hahn 67“, s. Fig. 6 im Artikel von Irit Ziffer in diesem Band = **Nr. 75**.

*„Menschenstier-Darstellungen“: **Nr. 259 – 295***

**Nr. 259** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 312, Abb. 72 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 140, Tf. 18.

**Nr. 260** = „Hahn 3“, kann nicht identifiziert werden, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer in diesem Band.

**Nr. 261** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 298, Abb. 68

**Nr. 262** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 54, Abb. 24 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 171, Tf. 21.

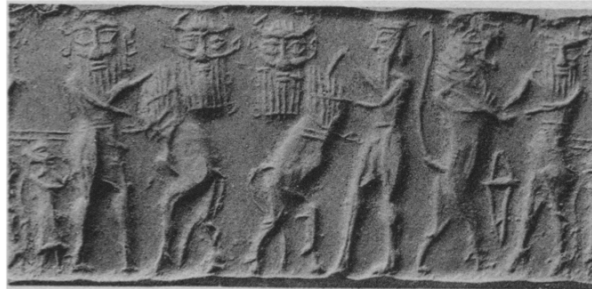
**Nr. 263** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 101 (ohne Abb.)



**Abb. 263:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 622, S. 109f.: Schwarzer Stein, 29 x 19 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, Brüssel.

*„Auf No. 263 kämpft der Stierheld mit einem Rind, der Menschstier mit dem gelockten Helden. Daneben eine Gazelle, die von einem Löwen angegriffen wird und an deren anderer Seite ein nackter, bärtiger Held getreten ist. Die Szene wird abgeschlossen durch eine zweizeilige Darstellung, im oberen Teil ein kleiner Adler, im untern Raum ein kleiner Mann, der zwei Hörnerträger an sich presst.“*

**Nr. 264** = Delaporte 1910, Tf. V, Nr. 45.



**Abb. 264:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. V, Nr. 45; nach Porada 1934: Fibrolith,<sup>1</sup> 30 x 20 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

„... Die Gleichheit der beiden antithetischen Menschstiere [Iud] zur Schaffung zweier spiegelbildlicher Gruppen ... ein ...“.

**Nr. 265** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 315, Abb. 70 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 142 (ohne Abb.).

**Nr. 266** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 324 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 793 Tf. 58.

**Nr. 267** = identisch mit **Nr. 266**.

**Nr. 268** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 323 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 268:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 68, Abb. 8 (A. 103), S. 105; Porada 1934: Steatit, 33 x 20 mm. Musée du Louvre AO 1157 (1884), Paris.

**Nr. 269** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 53, Abb. 23.

<sup>1</sup> Fibrolith ist eine Silimanit-Gesteinsart, die auch für neolithische Steinbeile verwendet worden ist.



**Nr. 270** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 299 (ohne Abb) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 164, Tf. 20.

**Nr. 271** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 300 (ohne Abb).



**Abb. 271:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VII, Nr. 65; nach Porada 1934: Grün und roter Porphy, 35 x 24 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

„...Neben den beiden antithetischen Gruppen ... hat der Stierheld eine Gazelle gepackt. [Daneben] ... eine göttliche Gestalt ? im Faltenrock ... .“

**Nr. 272** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 95, Abb. 31 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 147, Tf. 19.

**Nr. 273** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 291 (ohne Abb).

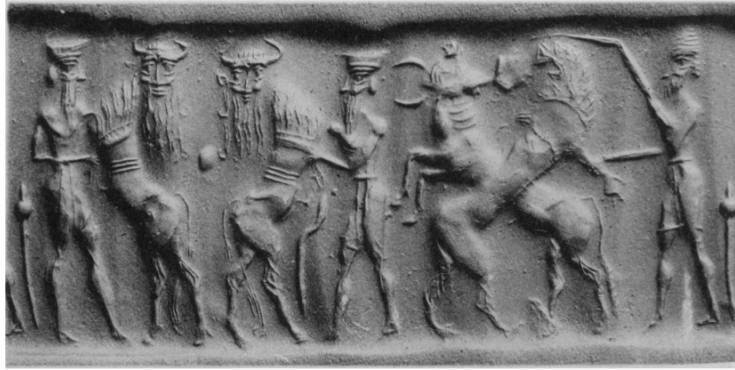


**Abb. 273:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. IX, Nr. 124, S. 181: Serpentin, 37,5 x 23,5 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 1071, Philadelphia, USA.

„No. 273 zeigt zwei mit dem Rücken gegeneinander gewandte Menschenstiere, die von aussen von je einem Löwen angegriffen werden, diese wieder packt von hinten je ein gelockter Held ... .“



**Nr. 274** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 174 (ohne Abb.).

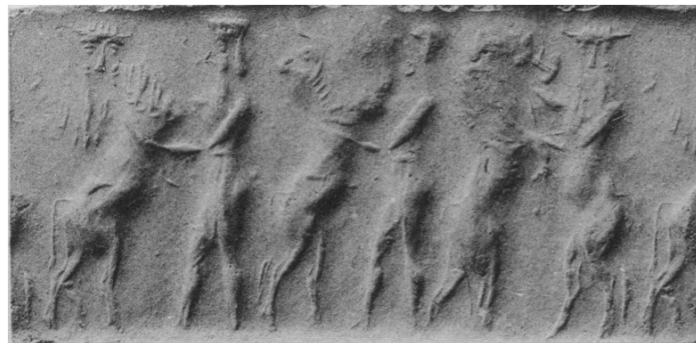


**Abb. 274:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 31, Abb. 11 (S. 444), S. 55; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Serpentin, 42 x 29 mm. Musée du Louvre AS 8807 (1904, gefunden im Tempel des Šušinak), Paris.

Das Siegel zeigt: *Menschenstiere ... Helden mit Lendenschurz und gerillter Kappe. Daneben ... Löwen und Stier..., ... dritter Held. ... Keule.*

**Nr. 275** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 172 (ohne Abb) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 149, Tf. 19.

**Nr. 276** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 178 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 276:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. V, Nr. 46; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 22 x 11 mm, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

**Nr. 277** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 184 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 277:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VII, Nr. 60; nach Porada 1934: Dunkelgrüner Porphyr, 35 x 24 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

*„... Zeigt den mit Rillenkappe und Lendenschurz bekleideten Helden im Kampfe mit einem Menschstier ... neben einem mit einem Gnu kämpfenden nackten Helden [rechts] und einem Stierhelden, der mit einem Löwen kämpft“ [links].*

**Nr. 278** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 227 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 278:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 68, Abb. 7 (A. 100), S. 105; nach Porada 1934: Muschel, 46 x 21 mm. Musée du Louvre MNB 1185, Paris.

*„Auf No. 278 hält neben den Menschstierkampfpfaaren, ein Stierheld einen Bügelstab [Bügelschaft] gefasst ...“.*

**Nr. 279** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 228, Abb. 58 (= „de Clercq 58 bis“, aber in de Clercq 1888, Tf. VII, ist kein 58 bis vorhanden, Boehmer Nr. 228 stimmt jedoch mit dem „Siegelverzeichnis“ überein!).

**Nr. 280** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 302 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 280:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VII, Nr. 64; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Porphyrt, 26 x 15 mm (?). Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.  
*„Auf No. 280 greift ein Löwe von rückwärts den mit der gerillten Kappe bekleideten Helden an.“*

**Nr. 281** = de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Nr. 61.



**Abb. 281:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VII, Nr. 61; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Glimmer, 33 x 20 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.  
*„Auf No. 281 hat ein Löwe seine Pranken in die Brust des einen Menschstieres gegraben. Von rückwärts packt ihn ... ein nackter Held mit gerillter Kappe. Ein [gleicher] ... Held ist der Gegner des zweiten Menschstieres.“*

**Nr. 282** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1205 (ohne Abb.) = Speleers 1917, Nr. 455, S. 120f. Nach dem „Siegelverzeichnis“ identisch mit **Nr. 334** im Kapitel: „Der Vogelmensch vor dem Richterstuhl“. Da aber die Maßangaben in Porada 1934 für beide Nummern unterschiedlich sind, kann nicht dasselbe Siegel mit beiden Nummern gemeint sein. (Abb. bei **Nr. 334**).

**Nr. 283** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 415, Abb. 94.

**Nr. 284** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 505 Abb. 136 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 778, Tf. 58.

**Nr. 285** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 532, (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 285:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 68, Abb. 14 (A. 106), S. 105; nach Porada 1934: Grüner Serpentin, 21 x 13 mm, Musée du Louvre KLq 49 (1868), Paris.

„Kampf zweier ... Helden ... gegen die Menschstiere ...“. Ähnlich wie **Nr. 283, 284** und **286**.

**Nr. 286** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 416, (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 28\* (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 286:** Nach Delaporte 1909a, Tf. II, Abb. 19; nach Porada 1934: Grüner Serpentin, 29 x 14 mm. Nach Rohn 2011, S. 240: Ehemals Musée Guimet, derzeit Musée du Louvre, Paris.

**Nr. 287** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 195, (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 287:** Nach Delaporte 1909a, Tf. II, Abb. 20; nach Porada 1934: Ohne Materialangabe, 38 x 24 mm. Musée Guimet, Paris.

*„... Die Leiber der Menschstiere gekreuzt. Links greift ... ein Held mit Rillenkappe und Lendenschurz an, rechts ein Löwe, den ... ein zweiter Held mit Rillenkappe und Lendenschurz an Mähne und ... [Schwanz] gepackt hat.“*

**Nr. 288** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 197 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 288:** Nach Moortgat 1940, Tf. 24, Nr. 160: Achat, 29 x 18 mm. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 3879, Berlin.

*„Über dem Kreuzungspunkt der Menschstierleiber ein achtzackiger Stern.“*



**Nr. 289** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 277 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 289:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. VII, Nr. 66; nach Porada 1934: Grün und roter Porphyr, 26 x 16 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.  
*„Späte und flüchtige Darstellungen sind No. 289 ... und No. 290 ...“.*

**Nr. 290** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 153 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 290:** Nach Delaporte 1909a, Tf. II, Abb. 21; nach Porada 1934: Material unbekannt, 24 x 15 mm. Musée Guimet, Paris.

**Nr. 291** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 505, Abb. 136 = Rohn 2011, Tf. 20, Nr. 155.

**Nr. 292** = „Hahn 59“, s. Artikel Ziffer Fig. 23 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 293** = Ward 1910, S. 73, Nr. 195.



**Abb. 293:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 73, Nr. 195; Material, Maße und Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.  
*„An der Echtheit könnte man zweifeln“*

## „Die Vegetationsgottheiten“: Nr. 294 – 295

**Nr. 294 (Fig. 8)** = „Hahn 2“ Das Siegel kann nicht identifiziert werden, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer in diesem Band.

**Nr. 295** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1175 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 512 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 295:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 50, Abb. 9 (D. 24), S. 69; nach Porada 1934: Lapislazuli, 29 x 15 mm, Musée du Louvre AOD 31, Paris.  
„Auf No. 295 ruht der Thron Eas ... auf dem Rücken eines grossen Fisches ...“.

„Ištar“: Nr. 296 – 300<sup>1</sup>

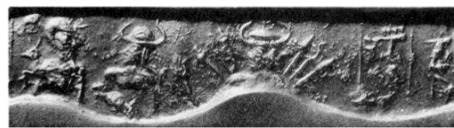
**Nr. 296** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 949, Abb. 380.

**Nr. 297** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1297, Abb. 555.

**Nr. 298** = Ward 1910, S. 155, Nr. 409.



**Abb. 298a**



**Abb. 298b**

**Abb. 298a:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 155, Nr. 409.

**Abb. 298b:** Nach Porada 1948, Tf. XXXVIII, Nr. 237: Muschel, nur der obere Teil ist erhalten, D. 25,5 mm. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

<sup>1</sup> Es kommt vielfach zu Überschneidungen der Themen, was u.a. zu der geringen Zahl der unter „Ištar“ aufgelisteten Beispiele führt. Im Text werden zahlreiche Verweise angegeben.

„Wesenszüge Ištars durch ... Embleme ... betont ... . Auf ... No. 298 sind diese Embleme ... Waffen“.

**Nr. 299** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 672, Abb. 204.

**Nr. 300** = Legrain 1925, Nr. 152.



**Abb. 300:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XI, Nr. 152, S. 187: „Seal impression on a clay label. Nippur“. University of Pennsylvania, University Museum C.B.S. 8077, Philadelphia, USA.

*Ištar links, ihre „Waffen ... sind Keule, Hacke und ein gebogener Löwenkopfstab ...“.*

„Vegetationsgottheiten“: **Nr. 301 – 308** (Nr. 309 = 195)

„Ištar als Herrin der Vegetation“

**Nr. 301** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1258, Abb. 537 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 576 (ohne Abb.), s. Artikel Hans Ulrich Steymans in diesem Band.

**Nr. 302** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1067, Abb. 541

**Nr. 303** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1285, Abb. 546 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 676, Tf. 53.

**Nr. 304** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1302, Abb. 561. Die Literaturangabe im „Siegelverzeichnis“: Delaporte 1910, Abb. 79 = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1302, passt nicht zur Bildbeschreibung im Text. Tippfehler bei der Nummer?



**Nr. 305** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1245 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 305:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XI, Nr. 166, S. 191f.; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 29,5 x 17 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 1002, Philadelphia, USA.

*„Göttin [im Rüschengewand], die ... Ähren hält, ... eine bärtige männliche Gestalt, aus deren ganzem Körper Ähren wachsen.“*

**Nr. 306** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1244, Abb. 533.

**Nr. 307** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1259, Abb. 538 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 574, Tf. 47.

**Nr. 308** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1296 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 308:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. IX, Abb. 82; nach Porada 1934: Weißer Marmor, 38 x 18 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

*„Weibliche Figur im Fransengewand, einen Zweig in der ... Hand, vor ihr halten zwei Diener? über einem bienenkorbartigen Gebilde ... einen rechteckigen Gegenstand ..., von den unteren Enden hängen Seile ... herab.“*

**Nr. 308a:** wurde im Manuskript von Porada 1934 gestrichen.

**Nr. 309 = 195.** **Nr. 309** wurde im Manuskript von Porada 1934 gestrichen und **Nr. 195** als Fälschung erkannt.

**Nr. 310** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 913, Abb. 350.

## „Ea“: Nr. 311-342

**Nr. 311** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1294 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 544, Tf. 45.

**Nr. 312** = Ward 1910, S. 133, Nr. 375.



**Abb. 312:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 133, Abb. 375; nach Porada 1948, Nr. 208:  
Schwarzer Serpentin, 32 x 20 mm. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.  
*„Gestalten bringen einen aufgerichteten Pflug vor die Gottheit.“*

**Nr. 313** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1552 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 585, Tf. 48.

**Nr. 314** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1302, Abb. 561.

**Nr. 315:** Ward 1910, S. 134, Nr. 379, und S. 362 Nr. 1239. In Boehmer 1965 und Rohn 2011 nicht aufgenommen, da postakkadisch.



**Abb. 315a**



**Abb. 315b**

**Abb. 315a:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 134, Nr. 379.

**Abb. 315b:** Nach Porada 1948, Tf. XLIV, Nr. 290, S. 36: „First Dynasty of Ur“:

Lapislazuli, 28 x 16 mm. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

*„Auf No. 315 libiert ein Adorant vor einem Gott ... . In einer Hand hält er eine Keule, mit der anderen den aufgerichteten Pflug.“*

**Nr. 316** = „Sarre 2“, s. Artikel Hans Ulrich Steymans in diesem Band.

**Nr. 317** = Ward 1910, S. 155, Nr. 408.



**Abb. 317:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 155, Nr. 408; nach Collon 1982, Nr. 236: Serpentin, 39,7 15,9 (14) mm. British Museum BM ANE 89464, London.

„... Aus den Schultern der Gottheit [wachsen] Ähren ... . Im unteren Streifen Wasservögel?.“

„Der Vogelmensch vor dem Richterstuhl: **Nr. 318 - 334**“

**Nr. 318** = **Nr. 319** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1182, Abb. 512.

**Nr. 319a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1125, Abb. 475.

**Nr. 320** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1188 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 320:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 73, Abb. 6 (A. 163), S. 112: Steatit, 32 x 22 mm. Musée du Louvre AO 6071, Paris.

„Die Darstellung Eas als göttlicher Richter. ... Auf einem durch ... Querleisten ... geteilten Thron sitzt Ea ... . Er ist bärtig und trägt das Rüschen- gewand. Vor ihn führt ... ein Einführer (im Faltengewand und Hörnerkro- ne) einen Mann, ... dessen Unterkörper der eines Vogels ist. Dieser wird rückwärts an Ellbogen ... von einer ... göttlichen Gestalt ... gepackt.“

**Nr. 321** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1227 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 321:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XII, Nr. 175, S. 194: Muschel, 33 x 19 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 5061, Philadelphia.

„... *In der Anordnung der Figuren ähnlich ... flüchtige Ausführung ... [lässt] auf eine Fälschung schliessen*“.

**Nr. 322** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1161 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 322:** Nach Moortgat 1940, Tf. 30, Nr. 226: Serpentin 39 x 27 mm. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 3169, Berlin.

„Auf No. 322 fehlen die aus den Schultern Eas hervorgehenden Wasserströme ...“.

**Nr. 323** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1183 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 323:** Nach Collon 1982, Nr. 200, S. 97: Serpentin, 39,2 x 24 (22) mm. British Museum BM ANE 89764, London.

*„... Weicht ... insoweit ab, als der ... Diener den Vogelmenschen ... mit einer Keule antreibt. Interessant ... ist eine kleine ... hinter Ea sitzende göttliche Figur, die mit einem ausgestreckten Arm eine Pflanze berührt. Diese Pflanze wächst aus einem kugeligen Gefäß, aus dessen Boden Wasserstrahlen ... herabfallen. ... Form des Thronsessels Eas erinnert sehr an die Andeutung eines Tempelbaues.“*

**Nr. 324** = Delaporte 1920, Tf. 5, Abb. 5. (T. 99).



**Abb. 324:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 5, Abb. 5 (T. 99), S. 10: Grüner Serpentin, 37 x 23 mm. Musée du Louvre AO 4360, Paris.

*„Hinter Ea eine Pflanze ...“.*

**Nr. 325** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1202, Abb. 521.

**Nr. 326** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1159 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 326:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XII, Nr. 178, S. 196: Serpentin, 31,5 x 19 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 14481, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 327** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1185, Abb. 513 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 663, Tf. 52.

**Nr. 328** = Van Buren 1933, Tf. IV, Abb. 15. In Boehmer 1965 nicht aufgenommen da postakkadisch.



**Abb. 328:** Nach Van Buren 1933, Tf. IV, Abb. 15; nach Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1952, Nr. 77, S. 24: Hämatit, 26 x 12,5 mm. Cabinet Royale de Medailles à la Haye 77, Den Haag, Niederlande.  
*„... Nur im Vergleich mit anderen Siegeln zu rekonstruieren.“*

**Nr. 329** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1179, Abb. 509 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 868 (ohne Abb.).



**Nr. 330** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1203 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 330:** Nach Moortgat 1940, Tf. 30, Nr. 224: Serpentin, 42 x 26 mm. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 541, Berlin.

*„Auf No. 330 hält [der einführende Gott]...mit Janusgesicht...Usmu einen Zweig ... in der Hand.“*

**Nr. 331** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1180, Abb. 510.

**Nr. 332** = Identisch mit **Nr. 172**.

**Nr. 333** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1147, Abb. 497.

**Nr. 334** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1205 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 334:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 455, S. 120f.; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Stein mit weißen Stellen, 39 x 25 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquante-naire, Brüssel, Belgien.

*„Auf No. 334 ... steht hinter dem thronenden Ea eine Gestalt, der gleich Ea Wasserströme aus den Schultern quellen ...“.*

**Nr. 335** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1192 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 335:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 73, Abb. 2 (A. 165). S. 112: Serpentin, 21 x 11 mm. Musée du Louvre KLq 55, Paris.  
„... *flüchtige Darstellung* ...“.

**Nr. 336** = Delaporte 1910, Tf. VIII, Nr. 75.



**Abb. 336:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. VIII, Abb. 75; nach Porada 1934: Hämatit, 33 x 18 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.  
„*Ein Adorant folgt ... dem göttlichen Diener.*“



**Nr. 337** = Ward 1910, Nr. 297, S. 105.



**Abb. 337:** Nach Ward 1910, Nr. 297, S. 105: Material und Maße unbekannt. Eremitage, St. Petersburg.

**Nr. 338** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1201, Abb. 519.

**Nr. 339** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1204, (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 339:** Nach Moortgat 1940, Tf. 30, Nr. 225, Serpentin, 33 x 22 mm. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 244, Berlin.

„... ein Pflug zwischen dem rückwärtigen göttlichen Diener und dem Adoranten eingefügt ...“.

**Nr. 340** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1198, Abb. 515 (Ward 1910, S. 103, Nr. 292, Porada 1948, Nr. 199, S. 26; Ea thront nicht, sondern tritt auf einen Berg?, was für dieses Thema ungewöhnlich ist).

**Nr. 341** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1146, Abb. 496.

**Nr. 341a:** Fehlt im „Siegelverzeichnis“.

**Nr. 342** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1180a, Abb. 511.

„Einführungen vor Ea“: **Nr. 343 - 376**

**Nr. 343** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1207, Abb. 523<sup>1</sup> Identisch mit **Nr. 171**.

**Nr. 344** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1208 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 344:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 5, Abb. 2 (T. 96), S. 9; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 28 x 24 mm. Musée du Louvre MNB 1340 (Sarzec), Paris.  
 „... hinter dem Einführer ein Adorant mit einem Zicklein auf dem Arm“.

**Nr. 345** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1151 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 517, Tf. 43.

**Nr. 346** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1163 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 346:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 73, Abb. 8, (A.164), S. 112; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 33 x 21 mm. Musée du Louvre AO 2331 (1893), Paris.  
 „... weibliche ? Figur mit dem Henkelgefäß hinter Eas Thron“.

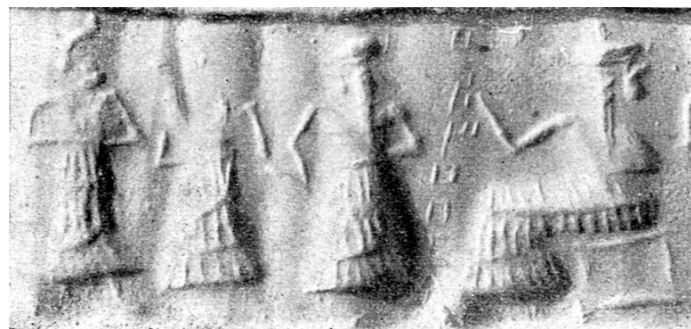
<sup>1</sup> Im „Siegelverzeichnis“ wird für Nr. 171 und Nr. 343 dieselbe Quelle, Delaporte 1923, Tf. 73, Abb. 4 (A. 161), angegeben: Frankfort 1923, Tf. 73, Abb. 4 (A. 161). Zwei Motive dieses Siegels werden in der thematischen Gliederung bei jedem Motiv beschrieben.

**Nr. 347** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1474 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 347:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 73, Abb. 12 (A. 169), S. 113; nach Porada 1934: Weißer Marmor, braun durchzogen, 30 x 20 mm. Musée du Louvre. „... *ähnliche Szene* ...“.

**Nr. 348** = Delaporte 1909b, Tf. I, Abb. 6, S. 86. (Inscription unleserlich?).<sup>1</sup>



**Abb. 348:** Nach Delaporte 1909b, Tf. I, Abb. 6, S. 86: Ohne Materialangabe, 31 x 19 mm. Musée historique de l'Orléanais C 187, Orléans, Frankreich. „... *ein Adorant zwischen zwei göttlichen Dienern vor Ea geführt* ...“.

**Nr. 349** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1171, Abb. 508 = Van Buren 1933, Tf. VII, Abb. 26.

**Nr. 350** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1154, Abb. 499.

<sup>1</sup> Ur III-zeitliche Einführungsszene mit später hinzugefügter Inschrift.

**Nr. 351** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1153 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 938 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 351a**



**Abb. 351b**

**Abb. 351a:** Nach Ward 1910, Nr. 283, S. 99.

**Abb. 351b:** Nach Porada 1948, Tf. XXXII, Nr. 206, S. 26: Schwarzer Serpentin, 29 x 16,5 mm. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

**Nr. 351a:** Fehlt im „*Siegelverzeichnis*“.

**Nr. 352** = Ward 1910, S. 99, Nr. 288.



**Abb. 352:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 99, Nr. 288 („*de Sarzec, Découvertes, XXX bis, 15*“). Material, Maße und Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

**Nr. 352a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1143, Abb. 493.

**Nr. 353** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1256 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 353:** Nach Moortgat 1940, Tf. 27, Nr. 193: Serpentin, 32 x 18 mm. Vorderasiatisches Museum, VA 580, Berlin.

*„... Hinter Ea ein Baum mit vielen Zweigen. Die vier sich ihm nahenden Gestalten sind alle barhaupt und tragen Faltengewand. Die erste Figur hat die Hand zur Gottheit erhoben, die zweite bringt ein Zicklein, die beiden anderen haben die Hände vor der Brust gefaltet.“*

**Nr. 354** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1232 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 354:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. 11, Nr. 157, S. 189: Schwarzer Diorit, 26 x 15 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 14429, Philadelphia, USA.

Dem Thema zugeordnet unter Berufung auf van Buren, 1933, S. 54: *“A much worn concave cylinder seal of black diorite, C.B.S. 14429, which was formerly in the Maxwell Sommerville Collection, reproduces the group of the patron god leading by the hand a worshipper who raises the other hand in prayer. In this case the man’s wife follows immediately after him, carrying a big pail in one hand. But here Ea is standing, and the streams gush down from his shoulders. Behind him a great spear crowned by a star is planted in the ground ...”*

**Nr. 354a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1169, Abb. 506. (Ehemals Sammlung Peek Nr. 13), von Porada aufgenommen nach der Beschreibung in van Buren, 1933, S. 54.

**Nr. 355** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1178, Abb. 507.

**Nr. 356** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1270 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 356:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XV, Nr. 227, Tf. XV, S. 208; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Diorit 47,5 x 25 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 5001, Philadelphia, USA.

*„Szenen ..., auf denen Einführer Adoranten vor eine Gottheit leiten, die durch keinerlei Attribute besonders charakterisiert ist, deren ganze Anordnung aber den Einführungsszenen vor Ea entspricht. So ... No. 356 ..., No. 357 ..., No. 358 ..., No. 359 ..., No. 360 ...“.*

**Nr. 357** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1549 (ohne Abb.), S. 186: *“Echt?”*



**Abb. 357:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 414, S. 128; nach Porada 1934: Grauer Stein, weiß gefleckt, 32 x 21 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire No. 414, Brüssel.



**Nr. 358** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1470a (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 358:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. VII, Nr. 62; nach Porada 1934: Grüner Serpentin, 39 x 27 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

**Nr. 359** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1450, Abb. 638 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 610 (ohne Abb.).

**Nr. 360** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1561 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 10\*, S. 238: „Die Legende ist vermutlich nicht akkadzeitlich, da das Zeichen GAL eine altbabylonische Form hat.“



**Abb. 360:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 50, Abb. 7 (D. 23), S. 69: Grüner Serpentin, 27 x 13 mm. Musée du Louvre AOD 27, Paris.

**Nr. 361** = „Hahn 85“, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 24 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 362** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1557 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 593, Tf. 49.

**Nr. 363** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1430 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 363:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 50, Abb. 6 (D. 22), S. 69: Grüner Jaspis, 31 x 20 mm. Musée du Louvre AOD 30, Paris.

**Nr. 364:** Ward 1910, S. 114, Nr. 316. Bei Porada 1948, Nr. 1118, S. 159 unter: „*Seals of doubtful design and recut pieces*“.



**Abb. 364:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 114, Nr. 316; nach Porada 1948, Nr. 1118: Muschel, 41 x 26 mm. Pierpont Morgan Library Nr. 1118, New York.

**Nr. 365** = „Hahn 93“, (auch für **Nr. 525** angegeben), s. Artikel Irit Ziffer in diesem Band.

**Nr. 366** = Ward 1910, S. 84, Nr. 235, ehemals Sammlung M. Schlumberger.



**Abb. 366:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 84, Nr. 235: Material, Maße und Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.



Es liegt wohl ein Tippfehler (9 statt 3) im „Siegelverzeichnis“ vor, denn das dort angegebene Siegel Ward 1910, S. 104, Nr. 295 zeigt nicht, was Porada beschreibt wohl aber Ward 1910, Nr. 235:

*„Auf No. 366 recken hinter dem Throne der Gottheit zu beiden Seiten einer Cypresse zwei Wasservögel die Hälse.“*

**Nr. 367** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1544 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 367:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. VI, Abb. 59; nach Porada 1934: Grüner Jaspis, 29 x 13 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

*„Auf No. 367 ... sind im unteren Streifen drei Wasservögel friesartig angeordnet.“*

**Nr. 368** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1550 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 591, Tf. 49.

**Nr. 369** = „Hahn 83“, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 25 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 370** = Delaporte 1920, Tf. 33, Abb. 3 (S. 470), S. 57b.



**Abb. 370:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 33, Abb. 3 (S. 470), S. 57b: Alabaster, 17 x 9 mm. Musée du Louvre AS 9972 (1910), Paris.

*„Die Gottheit mit einfacher Hörnerkrone sitzt auf einem durch einfache Striche angedeuteten Thron, dessen Sitzfläche etwas geschwungen, den Formen des Körpers angepasst ist. Über ihrer zur Begrüssung erhobenen*

*... Hand ein liegender Halbmond. Von einem Einführer wird ein Adorant an der Hand vor sie geleitet. ... Ähnlich“ Nr. 371-374.*

**Nr. 370a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1505, Abb. 652.

**Nr. 371** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1253 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 371:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XI, Nr. 167, S. 192: Schwarzer Diorit (beschädigt), 35 x 23 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum MS. Coll. C.B.S. 7312, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 372** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1570 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 372:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XIV, Nr. 202; nach Porada 1934: Weißer Marmor, 22 x 13 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 373** = Delaporte 1909a, Tf. II, Abb. 25, S. 11f. (Postakkadisch).



**Abb. 373:** Nach Delaporte 1909a, Tf. II, Abb. 25; nach Porada 1934: (ohne Materialangabe), 19 x 9 mm. Musée Guimet, Paris.

**Nr. 374** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1487, S. 113f. (ohne Abb.), (Postakkadisch).



**Abb. 374:** Nach Ward 1910, Nr. 218, S. 81; nach Porada 1948, Nr. 246, S. 30: Schwarzer Serpentin, 24 x 14,5mm. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

**Nr. 375** = Delaporte 1909a, Tf. II, Abb. 26, S. 14f. (Postakkadisch).



**Abb. 375:** Nach Delaporte 1909a, Tf. II, Abb. 26; nach Porada 1934: Ohne Materialangabe, 23 x 9 mm. Musée Guimet, Paris.

*„Vielleicht ist No. 375 ... an den Übergang zur folgenden Epoche zu stellen ....“*

**Nr. 376** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1503, Abb. 651.

*„Einführungsszenen vor dem Sonnengott“: Nr. 377 - 404*

**Nr. 377** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1066, Abb. 440.

**Nr. 378** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1076 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 378:** Nach Ward 1910, Nr. 278, S. 98; nach Collon 1982, Nr. 159: Serpentin, 36,5 x 23,5 (22) mm. British Museum BM ANE 89487, London.

*„Einführungsszenen vor ... Gott, aus dessen Schultern Flammen emporlodern und der die aufgerichtete Säge in der Hand hält“: Nr. 378-390.*

**Nr. 379** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1075 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 821 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 379:** Nach Ward 1910, Nr. 279, S. 98; nach Collon 1982, Nr. 157: Serpentin, 41 x 29 mm. British Museum BM ANE 89257, London.

**Nr. 380** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1096 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 560, Tf. 46.

**Nr. 381** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1100, Abb. 456.

**Nr. 382** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1098, Abb. 454.

**Nr. 383** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1071 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 383:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XII, Nr. 179, S. 196f.; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Diorit, 21 x 11 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 5065, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 384** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1103 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 384:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XII, Nr. 181, S. 196f.; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Diorit, 21 x 11 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 8982, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 385** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1067, Abb. 441..

**Nr. 386** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1085, Abb. 447.

**Nr. 386a:** Wird nur im Text erwähnt, nicht im „*Siegelverzeichnis*“.

**Nr. 387** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1091 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 387a**



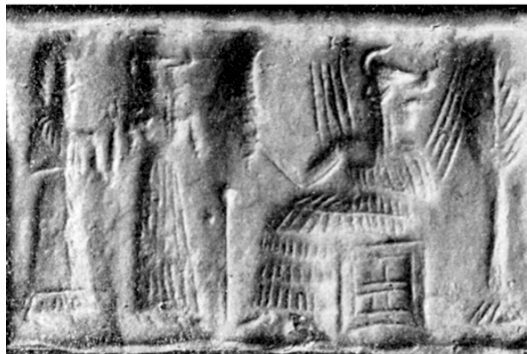
**Abb. 387b**

**Abb. 387a:** Nach Ward 1910, Nr. 281, S. 98.

**Abb. 387b:** Nach Porada 1948, Nr. 193, S. 25: Schwarzer Serpentin, 36,5 x 22,5 mm. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

**Nr. 388** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1105, Abb. 457.

**Nr. 389** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1101 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 389:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 592, S. 118; nach Porada 1934: Muschel, 38 x 25 mm. Brüssel, Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, Nr. 592.



**Nr. 390** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1078 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 828 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 390:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XII, Nr. 182; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Diorit, 33 x 21 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 1003, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 391** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1104 (ohne Abb.), (Postakkadisch).



**Abb. 391:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 33, Abb. 9 (S. 473), Ur III-Zeit; nach Porada 1934: Muschel, 27 x 15 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

**Nr. 392** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1074 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 392:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 72, Abb. 2 (A. 147); nach Porada 1934: Brauner Serpentin, 26 x 16 mm. Musée du Louvre AO 2373 (1893), Paris.

**Nr. 393** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1108, Abb. 459.

**Nr. 394** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1107 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 394a**



**Abb. 394b**

**Abb. 394a:** Nach Ward 1910, Nr. 273, S. 97.

**Abb. 394b:** Nach Porada 1948, Tf. XXIX, Nr. 188, S. 25: Schwarzer Serpentin, 23,5 x 14 (12) mm. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

„Auf No. 394 ist nur ein Türflügel dargestellt. Der Sonnengott sitzt hier auf dem in 9 Quadrate geteilten Thron.“

**Nr. 395** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1094, Abb. 451.

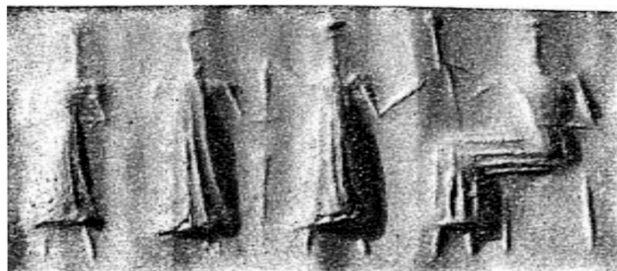
„...Ist besonders interessant, da hier der Einführer vor der Gottheit einen Vorhang[?] zur Seite schiebt.“

**Nr. 396** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1084, Abb. 446 = Rohn2011, Nr. 563 (ohne Abb.).

**Nr. 396a** = Fehlt im „Siegelverzeichnis“.

**Nr. 397** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1268, Abb. 543.

**Nr. 398** = Delaporte 1909b, Tf. II, Abb. 7, S. 86f.

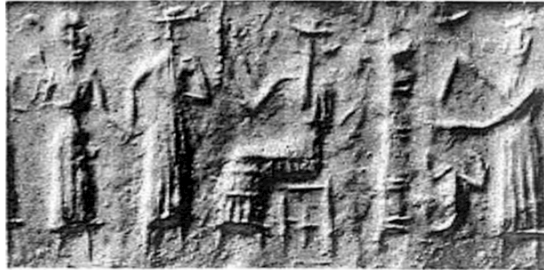


**Abb. 398:** Nach Delaporte 1909b, Tf. II, Abb. 7, S. 86f.: Ohne Materialangabe, 30 x 18 mm. Musée historique de l'Orléanais C. 186, Orléans, Frankreich.

„Auf No. 396, 397 ... No. 398, No. 399, No. 400 nahen sich dem thronenden Gott nur Figuren mit Hörnerkronen, also göttliche Gestalten.“



**Nr. 399** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1079 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 399:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XIII, Nr. 186; nach Porada 1934: Muschel, 35 x 21 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 14292, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 400** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1070, Abb. 442 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 829 (ohne Abb.).

**Nr. 401** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1092 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 401:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XIII, Nr. 185; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 27,5 x 17 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S.1005, Philadelphia, USA.

*„Auf No. 401 ... bringen [die Götter] an einer Keule hängend einen Zweig vor die Gottheit.“*

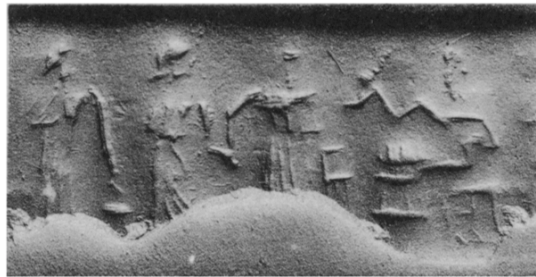
**Nr. 402** = „Hahn 84“, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 26 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 403** = Moortgat 1940, Nr. 207, Tf. 28, S. 102. (Postakkadisch).



**Abb. 403:** Nach Moortgat 1940, Tf. 28, Nr. 207, S. 102: Dunkelgrüner Kalkstein, 26 x 16 mm. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 3258, Berlin.

**Nr. 404** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1104 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 404:** Delaporte-1920, Tf. 33, Abb. 10 (S. 473), S. 58: Muschel [= Gehäuse einer Meeresschnecke], 27 x 15 mm. Musée du Louvre AS 7757, Paris.

„Die Schlangengottheit“: Nr. 405 - 423<sup>1</sup>

**Nr. 405** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1305, Abb. 564.

**Nr. 406** = Ward 1910, S. 114, Nr. 318.



**Abb. 406:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 114, Nr. 318. Material, Maße und Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt, [Fälschung?]

**Nr. 407** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1316, Abb. 574.

**Nr. 408** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1315, Abb. 573 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 571b, Tf. 47.

**Nr. 409** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 865, Abb. 321.

**Nr. 410** = Hahn 96 (s. Artikel von Irit Ziffer Fig. 27 in diesem Band).

Edith Porada hat vergessen, das Siegel 96 aus der Sammlung Hahn in ihrem „Siegelverzeichnis“ und in ihrem „Verzeichnis der Siegel der Sammlung Hahn in Berlin“ zu vermerken. Sie beschreibt es aber in der Doktorarbeit zu Nr. 410:

*„No. 410 zeigt die für diese Szenen ... typische Anordnung. Vor einem Gebilde, das vorläufig hergebrachtermassen als Tür bezeichnet werden soll, sitzt ein Wesen mit menschlichem Oberkörper und dem Unterleib einer Schlange. ... Dieses Schlangenwesen scheint in der Hand eine kleine flache Schale zu halten ... . Vor ihm ein ... Altar, auf dem Flammen sichtbar sind. ... Hinter dem Altar steht ... ein Adorant oder ein Diener ... .“*

Das passt zu dem Siegelbild von Hahn 96 (Ziffer Fig. 27) überein. Doch im Siegelverzeichnis gibt sie für Nr. 410 „Bib. Nat. 78“ (= Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1317, Abb. 575) an. Doch das Siegelbild von Boehmer, Abb. 575, passt zur Beschreibung ihrer Nr. 412.

<sup>1</sup> Bei den Nummern 410-416 gibt es Fehler im „Siegelverzeichnis“, denn das Siegelbild der von Edith Porada angegebenen Siegel stimmt nicht mit ihrer Beschreibung überein. Es war aufgrund der Beschreibungen und der dem „Siegelverzeichnis“ folgenden Liste der Siegelnummern, die Siegelbilder aus Ward 1910 repräsentieren, möglich, die Siegel den Nummern richtig zuzuordnen.

**Nr. 411** = Legrain 1925, Tf. XI, Nr. 164. Porada gibt zwar für Nr. 411 „Guimet 30“ an = Delaporte 1909a, Tf. III, Abb. 30 = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1321 (ohne Abb.), doch das passt nicht zu ihrer Qualifikation des Siegels als „zur Hälfte zerstört“. Guimet 30/Boehmer Nr. 1321 ist nicht zerstört. Nur die zwei Figuren, die sich der Schlangengottheit nähern, sind abgenutzt.



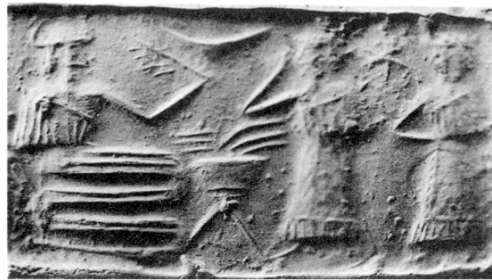
**Abb. 411:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XI, Abb. 164; nach Porada 1934: Muschel, 25 x 15 mm.

*„Ähnlich [wie 410] ist das zur Hälfte zerstörte Siegl No. 411 ...“*

**Nr. 412** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1317, Abb. 575. Im „*Siegelverzeichnis*“ wird Ward 364 angegeben. Tatsächlich passt die Beschreibung zu Ward 365, dort als „Bibliothèque Nationale 718“ identifiziert, mit überflüssiger Ziffer „1“, offenbar Druckfehler für „Bib. Nat. 78“, was Porada mit Nr. 410 in ihrem Siegelverzeichniss gleichgesetzt hatte. Die Zeichnung von Ward 1910, S. 127, Nr. 365 zeigt dasselbe Siegel wie das Foto von Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1317, Abb. 575, und passt zu folgenden Bemerkungen in der Doktorarbeit:

*„Auf No. 412 (schwarzer Jaspis 34 : 22) trägt das Schlangenwesen die halblangen Haare kunstvoll in Locken um den Kopf gelegt. Die eine Hand ist in einer Geste der Begrüssung ... erhoben. Über dem Altar, auf dem kleine Flammen sichtbar sind, hält mit derselben Geste ein Adorant ... im Fransengewand seine Hand. Mit beiden Händen hat ein weiterer Diener seitlich die Tempeltür gefasst. Halbmond und Stern sind eingefügt.“*

**Nr. 413** = Delaporte 1909a, Tf. III, Abb. 30 = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1321 (ohne Abb.) Im „Siegelverzeichnis“ wird „Ward 366“ angegeben = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1336 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 568, Tf. 47. Dieses Siegel zeigt aber nicht das im Text beschriebene Siegelbild, vielmehr ist 413 das Siegel, das Porada im „Siegelverzeichnis“ als Nr. 411 = „Guimet 30“ gelistet hat.



**Abb. 413:** Nach Delaporte 1909a, Tf. III, Abb. 30; nach Porada 1934, 35 x 23 mm. Musée Guimet, Paris.

*„Auf No. 413 ist das mit Hörnerkrone bekleidete Schlangenwesen, das einen Zweig in der Hand hält, Gegenstand der Anbetung zweier Gestalten im Fransengewand. Die Gestalt des Altars fällt auf.“*

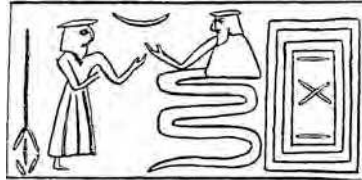
**Nr. 414** = Ward 1910, S. 127, Nr. 364. Im „Siegelverzeichnis“ gibt Porada für 414 Ward 363 an. Doch in ihrem Verzeichnis der aus Ward, *The Seal-Cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington 1910, besprochenen Siegel, ist 414 Ward 364 = J. Pierpont Morgan Library.



**Abb. 414:** Nach Porada 1948, Tf. XXXIV, Nr. 217, S. 27: Schwarzer Serpentin, 30 x 16 mm. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, USA.

**Nr. 415** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1320, Abb. 578.

**Nr. 416** = Ward 1910, Nr. 63. Wahrscheinlich ist Ward Nr. 363 gemeint.



**Abb. 416:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 127, Nr. 363. Metropolitan Museum, New York, USA.

*„Auf der No. 416 fällt die Form der „Türe“ besonders auf.“*

**Nr. 417** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1320, Abb. 578.

**Nr. 418** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1345, Abb. 586.

**Nr. 419** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1340, Abb. 585.

**Nr. 420** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1338, (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 420:** Nach Moortgat 1940, Tf. 32, Nr. 236. Serpentin, 32 x 21 mm. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 2931, Berlin.

*„Auf No. 420 lodern aus den Schultern der Schlangengottheit, die hier ebenso wie die ihr gegenüberstehende Gestalt eine Hörnerkrone trägt, Flammen empor.“*

**Nr. 421** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1318, Abb. 576.

**Nr. 422** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1346, Abb. 587.

**Nr. 423** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 819, Abb. 292.

*„Die Befreiung des Sonnengottes“: Nr. 424 - 430*

**Nr. 424** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 869, Abb. 324

**Nr. 425** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 868, Abb. 323.

**Nr. 426** = „Hahn 54“ (s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 28 in diesem Band). Ornan, 2010, S. 417, Fig. 15 (Foto und Zeichnung).

**Nr. 427** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 837, Abb. 307.

**Nr. 428** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 950, Abb. 381.

**Nr. 429** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1286, Abb. 547.

**Nr. 430** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 890, Abb. 342.

*„Das Rind mit der Flügeltür“: Nr. 431 - 463*

**Nr. 431 (Fig. 7a)** = „Hahn 86“, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 29 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 432 (Fig. 7i und Fig. 9)** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1351, Abb. 591, S. 105: „Vermutlich ist dieses Siegel in Elam geschnitten worden, worauf der im sumerischen Gebiet unbekannte, auf einem Tier kniende Gott hinweist.“ Das Original dieses Siegels ist bisher nicht bekannt (Privatsammlung).

*„Die Darstellung [ist] so ungewöhnlich, dass die Möglichkeit einer Fälschung nicht ausgeschlossen ist... „Auf diesem Siegel ist die Perspektive der aus einiger Entfernung herbeikommenden Gestalten in geradezu meisterhafter Weise gelöst.“*

**Nr. 433 (Fig. 70)** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1422, Abb. 620, s. Artikel Hans Ulrich Steymans in diesem Band.

**Nr. 434** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1353 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 434a**



**Abb. 434b**

**Abb. 434a:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 125, Nr. 359.

**Abb. 434b:** Nach Porada 1948, Nr. 222: Schwarzer Serpentin, 24 x 14,5 mm. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

*„... die ‚Geflügelte Tür‘ ‚über‘ einem Tier... Fälschung nicht ganz ausgeschlossen“.*



**Nr. 435 (Fig. 7b)** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1388 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 435:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. VIII, Abb. 77; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 28 x 17 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

*„Auf der rechten Seite der ‚geflügelten Tür‘ kommt von rückwärts ein Seil heraus, das von einer bärtigen ..., nackten Figur mit beiden Händen gefasst wird. Der Mann hat den Kopf nach rückwärts gewandt.“*

**Nr. 436** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1404, Abb. 615.

**Nr. 437** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1386, Abb. 608 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 864 (ohne Abb.).

**Nr. 438 (Fig. 7e)** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1048 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 438:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 123, Nr. 351; nach Boehmer: Material und Maße unbekannt, Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum A. 7171. Diyala 988, Chicago, USA.

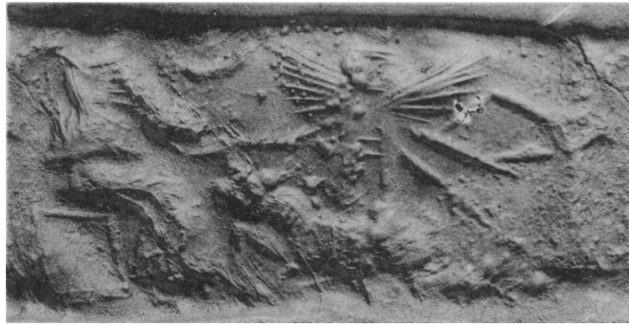
*„Hier steht die männliche Figur links von der Tür. Sie ... ist aber nicht nackt, sondern mit dem Faltenrock bekleidet.“*

**Nr. 439 (Fig. 7f)** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1397, Abb. 613.

**Nr. 440** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1367, Abb. 597.



**Nr. 441** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1420 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 441:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 4, Abb. 9 (T. 91), S. 9; nach Porada 1934: Muschel, 33 x 20 mm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.  
*„Auf No. 440 hat die sitzende weibliche Figur ein Horn des Rindes erfasst. ... Ähnlich war das stark zerstörte Siegel 441.“*

**Nr. 441a** = Boehmer, 1965, Nr. 1321 (ohne Abb.). Fehlt im „*Siegelverzeichnis*“ und im Text.

**Nr. 442 (Fig. 7j)** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1404, Abb. 615.

**Nr. 442 a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1356, Abb. 595.

**Nr. 443 (Fig. 7h)** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1380, Abb. 605.

**Nr. 444** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1384 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 444:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 72, Abb. 3 (A. 148), S. 110.; nach Porada 1934: Muschel, 35 x 19 mm. Musée du Louvre AO 1901 (1889), Paris.  
*„... Nur die beiden Figuren und die Umrisse des Rindes deutlich zu erkennen ... eine äusserste Abkürzung der ‚geflügelten Tür‘...“.*

**Nr. 445 (Fig. 7h)** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1373, Abb. 600.

**Nr. 446 (Fig. 7d)** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1413, Abb. 618.

**Nr. 447** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1416 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 447:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XI, Nr. 162, S. 190f.; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Diorit, 18 x 8,5 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S.14335, Philadelphia, USA.  
„...Wegfallen der männlichen Figur ...“.

**Nr. 448** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1417 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 448:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XI, Nr. 163, S. 191: Serpentin, 25 x 15 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 8981, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 449 (Fig. 7c)** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1402, (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 449:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 124, Nr. 354; nach Porada 1948, Nr. 231: Schwarzer Serpentin, 27 x 15,5 mm. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.  
„... Fehlen der männlichen Figur durch die Zerstörung des Zylinders hervorgerufen ...“.

**Nr. 450 (Fig. 7 I)** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1376 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 450:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 72, Abb. 4 (A. 149) S. 110; nach Porada 1934: Steatit, 34 x 22 mm. Musée du Louvre AO 2281 (1893), Paris.  
*„...an Stelle der ... stehenden männlichen Figur eine Gestalt mit gebeugten Knien ...“.*

**Nr. 451** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1377 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 451:** Nach Moortgat 1940, Tf. 32, Nr. 238: Serpentin, 31 x 20 mm. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 555, Berlin.  
*„... Bärtige... Figur ... trägt Faltenrock, obwohl die Falten nicht wie gewöhnlich in Linien der Bewegung der hinaufgezogenen Knie folgen, sondern in kleinen senkrechten Strichen ... geschnitten sind.“*

**Nr. 451a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1394, Abb. 611.

**Nr. 452 (Fig. 7m)** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1359 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 452:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 463, S. 125; nach Porada 1934: Muschel, 27 x 14 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire Nr. 463, Brüssel.

*„Zwei bärtige Männer ... haben die Knie so gebeugt, dass sie nur mit der Fussspitze den Boden berühren. Mit beiden Händen halten sie je ein in der oberen Hälfte auf jeder Seite des ‚Rechtecks‘ angebrachtes Seil mit Fransen. ... Auffallend ist hier das ungeflügelte Rechteck an Stelle der geflügelten ‚Tür‘.“*

**Nr. 453 (Fig. 7n)** = Speleers 1917, Nr. 595, S. 124f.



**Abb. 453:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 595, S. 124f.; nach Porada 1934: Muschel, 22 x 13 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, Brüssel.

*„Auf dem Rücken des Rindes ist ein geflügeltes rechteckiges Gebilde, das einer ‚Tür‘ noch viel weniger gleicht als das Rechteck auf No. 452. In dessen unterer Hälfte ist eine Tür und darüber ein Rundbogen eingezeichnet.“*

**Nr. 454** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1172 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 454:** Nach Southesk 1908, Tf. II, Qa 31; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 31 x 19 mm. British Museum, BM ANE 129487, London.  
*„... Hinter einem ... Opfer empfangenden Gott ... das Rind mit der ‚Flügel-  
 geltür‘...“.*

**Nr. 455 (Fig. 7p)** = „Sarre 3“, s. Artikel Hans Ulrich Steymans in diesem Band..

**Nr. 455a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 846, Abb. 314. Nr. 455a wird im „Siegelverzeichnis“ mit VA 3243 angegeben = Moortgat 1940, Nr. 229, Tf. 31 stimmt aber nicht mit der Beschreibung im Text von Nr. 455/455a überein.

**Nr. 456** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 855 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 456:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 571a, S. 126f.; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Stein, 22 x 14 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire Nr. 571a, Brüssel.  
*„Die Legende von ... dem Widersacher ..., der getötet wurde, dürften wir ... auf No. 455a, No. 456 ... No. 462 ... annehmen, wenn nicht einige dieser Siegel den Götterkämpfen um die ‚Befreiung des Sonnengottes‘ zuzuschreiben sind.“*

**Nr. 457** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 809, Abb. 284.

**Nr. 458** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 826, Abb. 298 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 509, Tf. 42.



**Nr. 459** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 821, Abb. 295.

**Nr. 460** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 856, Abb. 319.

**Nr. 461** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 903 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 461:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. XIX, Nr. 177; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Porphyrt, 27 x 19 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

**Nr. 462** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 878 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 462:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. X, Nr. 149; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Diorit, 26,5 x 15 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 463** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1118, Abb. 468.

„Das Bootwesen“: Nr. 464 - 471

**Nr. 464** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1121, Abb. 471.

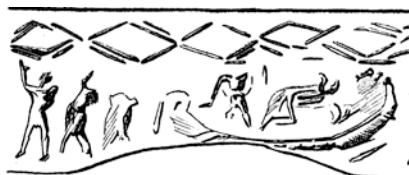
**Nr. 465** = Ward 1910, S. 41, Nr. 105. (Nach Ward: Pierpont Morgan Library, fehlt jedoch in Porada 1948).



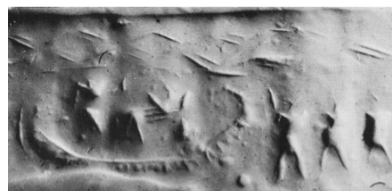
**Abb. 465:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 41, Nr. 105. Material, Maße und Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

„... im oberen Streifen ... das Bootwesen ...“.

**Nr. 466** = Ward 1910, S. 42, Nr. 108a.



**Abb. 466a**



**Abb. 466b**

**Abb. 466a:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 42, Nr. 108a, .

**Abb. 466b:** Nach Bleibtreu 1976, Nr. 1, S. 106: Dunkelgrüner Serpentin, im unteren Teil abgebrochen, 28 x 18 mm. Joanneum, Graz, Österreich.

„... das Bootwesen [trägt] einen aufrecht stehenden und einen sitzenden Mann ...“.

**Nr. 467** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1127, Abb. 477.

**Nr. 468** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1127, Abb. 475.

**Nr. 469** = Speleers 1917, Nr. 681, S. 123.



**Abb. 469:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 681, S. 123: Alabaster, 30 x 14 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, Brüssel, Belgien.

*„Hier sitzt auf einem würfelförmigen Hocker mit waagrechten Quersprossen ... eine Gestalt, deren Faltenrock menschlich, deren Oberköper, die Sitzpartie ... tierisch zu sein scheinen.“*

**Nr. 470** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 997, Abb. 408.

**Nr. 471** = Van Buren 1933, Tf. II, Abb. 4.



**Abb. 471:** Nach Van Buren 1933, Tf. II, Abb. 4; Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1952, Nr. 29: Grüner Serpentin, 19 x 10 mm. Cabinet Royal des Médailles à la Haye Nr. 29, Den Haag, Niederlande.

*„... No. 471, wo aus den Schultern der im Boot sitzenden Gottheit Wasserströme hervorquellen ... . Die Form des Bootes, die noch heute in Vorderasien verwendet wird, mit hochgeschwungenem Bug und Heck ...“.*



„Die Gottheit im Boot“: Nr. 472 - 475

Nr. 472 = Ward 1910, Nr. 104, S. 40 und Nr. 1234, S. 360.



Abb. 472a



Abb. 472b

Abb. 472a: Nach Ward 1910, Nr. 104, S. 40 und Nr. 1234, S. 360.

Abb. 472b: Nach Porada 1948, Tf. XX, Nr. 125, S. 18: Weißgrauer Marmor, 26 x 16 mm. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, USA.

„Hinter der thronenden Göttin eine zweizeilige Darstellung. Im oberen Streifen eine Tempelfassade. ... Durch zwei Striche von dieser oberen Darstellung getrennt, ein Boot. In seinem Heck steht ein vogelköpfiger Mann. Eine zweite ... vogelköpfige Figur im Bug wendet sich zu zwei ... Figuren.“

Nr. 473 = Ward 1910, S. 43, Nr. 110a, „Lajard, Culte de Mithra, pl. L, fig. 8“.



Abb. 473: Nach Ward 1910, S. 43, Nr. 110a: Material, Maße und Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

Nr. 474 = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1221, Abb. 526.

**Nr. 475** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1650 (ohne Abb.), S. 119.



**Abb. 475:** Nach Moortgat 1940, Tf. 33, Nr. 242: Speckstein, 24 x 13 mm. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 7968, Berlin.

*„Der Mann im Bug hat ... seine Stange [Staken] so gehoben, ... als stösse er mit einer Lanze in den Rücken eines Vierfüßers, über dem ... drei Pflanzen sichtbar sind.“*

**Nr. 476:** Fehlt im „Siegelverzeichnis“ und im Text.

*„Kultische Festmahlszenen“: Nr. 477 - 491*

**Nr. 477** = Speleers 1917, Nr. 459, S. 122f.<sup>1</sup> In Boehmer 1965, S. 119, Fn. 6: „Fälschung“. Rohn 2011, Nr. 935, Tf. 64: Mit Sicherheit eine Fälschung.“ Die zweizeilige Inschrift wurde schräg hinter dem Boot eingesetzt.



**Abb. 477:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 459, S. 122: Muschel, 35 x 20 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, Nr. 459, Brüssel.

*„... zwei in einem Boot einander gegenüber sitzende Gestalten. Vor dem Boot ... ein ...stilisierter Vierfüßer ...“.*

**Nr. 478** = „Hahn 95“, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 30 in diesem Band.

<sup>1</sup> Bei der Gleichsetzung von Speleers 1917, Nr. 459 mit Porada 1934, **Nr. 418** ist ein Fehler unterlaufen, denn es handelt sich eindeutig um **Nr. 477**.

**Nr. 479** = Speleers 1917, Nr. 448, S. 121f.



**Abb. 479:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 448, S. 121f.; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Stein, 27 x 18 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquanteaire Nr. 448, Brüssel.  
*„Hier tragen die Gestalten Rüschengewand, sitzen auf kreuzförmigen Hockern.“*

**Nr. 480** = „Hahn 94“, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 31 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 481** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1638 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 481:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. VI, Nr. 56; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 23 x 15 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.  
*„... die Rundung des ... Rohres durch lauter flüchtig aneinander gesetzte Striche gebildet ...“.*

**Nr. 482** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1637 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 482:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Nr. 57; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 26 x 15 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.  
*„...Pflanze zwischen den sitzenden Gestalten ...“.*

**Nr. 483** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1587, Abb. 668.

**Nr. 484** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1644 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 484:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XIV, Nr. 196, S. 200f.; nach Porada 1934: Roter Marmor, 28,5 x 16 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 8970, Philadelphia, USA.  
*„Hinter der links sitzenden Gestalt ein Diener mit gefalteten Händen ...“.*

**Nr. 485** = „Hahn 1“, nicht zu identifizieren, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer in diesem Band.

**Nr. 486** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 946 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 486:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XIII, Nr. 184, S. 187; nach Porada 1934: Muschel, 37 x 23 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 1029, Philadelphia, USA.

*„ ... eine Gottheit, aus deren Schultern Pflanzen emporspriessen, sitzt ... einer Gottheit gegenüber, aus deren Schultern Flammen emporlodern. “*

**Nr. 487** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1601 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 487:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 73, Abb. 9 (A. 166), S. 112f.; nach Porada 1934: Serpentin, 34 x 23 mm. Musée du Louvre MNB 1325 (1879), Paris.

*„... eine weibliche Gottheit ... scheint eine Schale emporzuhalten ... “.*

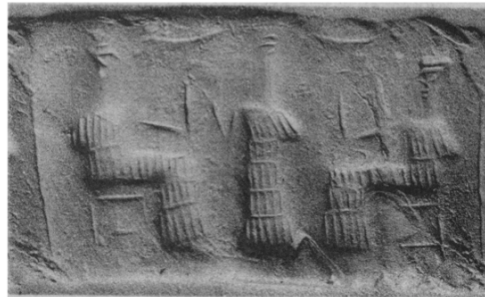
**Nr. 488** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1623 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 488:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 605, S. 127; nach Porada 1934: Grünlicher Stein, weiß durchzogen, 34 x 21 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantaire, Nr. 605, Brüssel.

*„... ein Festmahl, vielleicht zu Ehren eines Toten ...“.*

**Nr. 489** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1631 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 489:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 4, Abb. 10 (T. 92), S. 9; nach Porada 1934: Muschel, 30 x 17 mm. Musée du Louvre AO 4369 (Sarzec), Paris.



**Nr. 490** = Ward 1910, S. 138, Nr. 388. In Boehmer 1965 nicht aufgenommen, da postakkadisch.



**Abb. 490:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 138, Nr. 388. ; nach Collon 1982, Nr. 302: Grünstein, 27,1 x 16,5 (14, 5) mm. „Post-Akkadian“, British Museum BM ANE 89326, London.  
 „... Vegetationsgottheiten ...“.

**Nr. 491** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1594, Abb. 670 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 487, Tf. 41.

„Etana und der Adler“: **Nr. 492 - 500**

**Nr. 492** = „Hahn 97“, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 32 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 493** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1663, Abb. 698.

**Nr. 494** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1671, Abb. 704.

**Nr. 495** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1674, Abb. 707,

**Nr. 496** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1661, Abb. 695.

**Nr. 496a:** wird nur im Text erwähnt im Zusammenhang mit Darstellungen des Sonnengottes, nicht im „Siegelverzeichnis“.

**Nr. 497** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1667 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 497a**



**Abb. 497b**

**Abb. 497a:** Nach Ward 1910, Nr. 392, S. 144.

**Abb. 497b:** Nach Porada 1948, Tf. XXXVII, Nr. 236, S. 29: Schwarzer Serpentin, 36,5 x 28 (26) mm. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, USA.

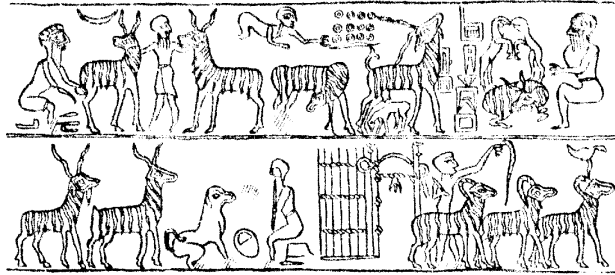
*„Dass der Sinn der Darstellung wirklich den Flug Etanas auf dem Rücken des Adlers in den Himmel versinnbildlicht, möchte ich nicht annehmen. ... Die Gruppe der beiden Hunde, die in die Höhe blicken, wo über ihnen ein Adler einen Menschen von dannen trägt, ist für alle diese Siegel die bezeichnendste ...“*

**Nr. 498** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1660, Abb. 694. .

**Nr. 499** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1668, Abb. 701.



**Nr. 500** = Ward 1910, S. 145, Nr. 396. In Boehmer 1965 nicht aufgenommen.



**Abb. 500:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 145, Nr. 396, : „Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, XLI, 5“. Material, Maße und Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

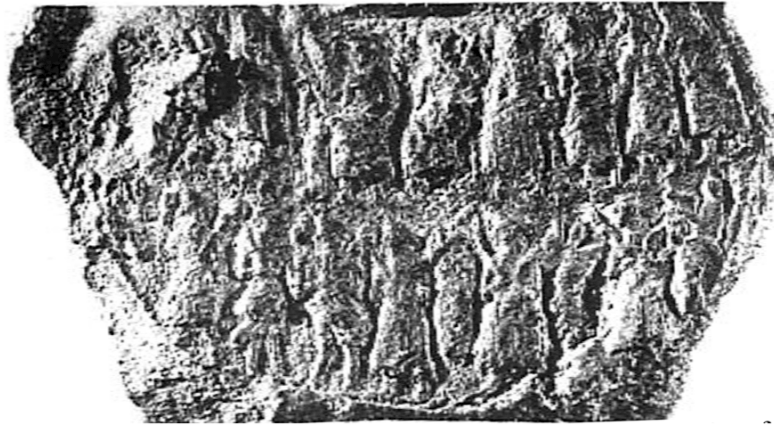
„Die Siegelstecher dieser Darstellungen dürften sich an das Vorbild der Viehwirtschaft der ... Tempel gehalten haben. Besonders trifft das auf das Siegel No. 500 zu.“

Merkwürdig an dieser Darstellung sind die senkrecht angebrachten Zeichen zwischen dem Horntier, das seinen Kopf in die Höhe streckt und dem liegenden Tier, das seinen Kopf zurück wendet. Mehrere ungewöhnliche Details lassen Zweifel an der Echtheit aufkommen.

„Wir haben jetzt über 500 Akkadsiegel besprochen und gesehen, dass sie alle von einem ... Mythenkreis erfüllt sind, der sich aus dem Ineinanderfließen von Vegetations- und Astralgöttheiten geformt hatte.“

„Thronende Gottheiten“: **Nr. 501 – 533**

**Nr. 501** = Legrain 1925, Nr. 176, C.B.S. 11158, Tf. XII, S. 194f.



**Abb. 501:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XII, Nr. 176: Siegelabdruck auf einer Tonbulle aus Nippur (1889), University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 11158, Philadelphia, USA.

*„Im unteren Streifen dieses zweizeiligen Siegels ein ... sitzender Gott, dem sich ein Zug von Gestalten nähert, unter denen sich auch zwei Vogelmenschen befinden ... Die Vogelmenschen sind hier nicht gebunden, sondern tragen über jeder Schulter eine Waffe, über der einen eine Keule mit rundem Kopf, über der anderen einen Stock ... Im oberen Streifen sitzt Ea, eine Vase vor der Brust haltend, daneben der Sonnengott, aus dessen Schultern Flammen emporlodern und vor diesem die weibliche Hauptgottheit Ninkī-Ištar. In ihrer Funktion als Mutter mit einem kleinen Gott auf den Knien.“*

**Nr. 502** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1297, Abb. 555.

**Nr. 503** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 919 (ohne Abb.), ebd. 59 Anm. 83: Nr. 919-921: „Alle mehr oder minder verschliffen.“ = de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Nr. 182.

**Nr. 504** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1060, Abb. 560 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 234, Tf. 26.“

**Nr. 505** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1298, Abb. 556.

**Nr. 506** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1496, Abb. 648.

**Nr. 507** = Delaporte 1923, Tf. 75, Abb. 5 (A. 198). In Boehmer 1965 und Rohn 2011 nicht aufgenommen, postakkadisch.



**Abb. 507:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 75, Abb. 5 (A. 198), S. 115 : Hämatit, 12 x 7 mm. Musée du Louvre MNB 1485, Paris.

*„Anbetung einer ... weiblichen Gottheit ... oder besonders verehrte ‚hohe Frau‘ ...“.*

**Nr. 508** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1514 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 508:** Nach Moortgat 1940, Tf. 27, Nr. 194: Serpentin, 29 x 20 mm. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 3037, Berlin.

*„... Eine weibliche Gottheit im Fransengewand mit gefälteltem Oberteil. Sie hat eine Hand erhoben, aus ihr scheint ein Wasserstrahl auf die Erde hinabzufließen.“*

**Nr. 509** = „Hahn 87“, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 33 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 510** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1558 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 510:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 74, Abb. 2 (A. 171), S. 113: Serpentin, 32 x 21 mm. Musée du Louvre AO 2402 (1894), Paris.

„Szenen ähnlichen Inhalts finden wir auf No. 510“ bis **Nr. 522**.

**Nr. 511** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1556 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 511:** Nach Delaporte 1923, Tf. 74, Abb. 3 (A. 174), S. 113f.: Weiß- und gelber Marmor, 20 x 13 mm. Musée du Louvre AO 2384 (1893), Paris.

**Nr. 512** = Delaporte 1920, Tf. 4, Abb. 11 (T. 93), S. 9. Postakkadisch (?).



**Abb. 512:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 4, Abb. 11 (T. 93), S. 9: Grüner Serpentin, 38 x 26 mm. Musée du Louvre MNB 1339 (Sarzec, 1879), Paris.

**Nr. 513** = Delaporte 1920, Tf. 4, Abb. 12 (T. 94), S. 9. Postakkadisch (?).



**Abb. 513:** Nach Delaporte 1920, Tf. 4, Abb. 12 (T. 94), S. 9: Brauner Marmor weiß gefleckt, 33 x 21 mm. Musée du Louvre MNB 1488 (Sarzec, 1879), Paris.

**Nr. 514** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1515, Abb. 658.

**Nr. 515** = Böhmer 1965, Nr. 1517 (ohne Abb.).



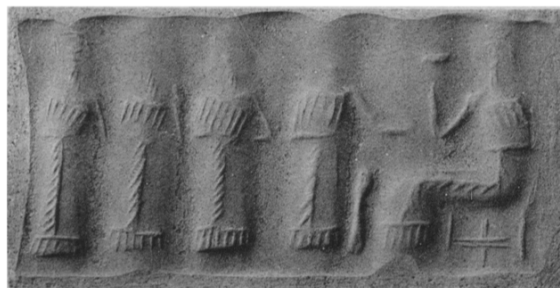
**Abb. 515:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XIV, Nr. 205, S. 202; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Diorit, 24 x 13 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum, C.B.S. 7310, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 516** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1551 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 516:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. XVI, Nr. 144; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Porphyrt, 26 x 20 mm, Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

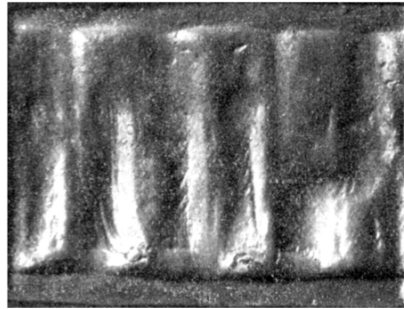
**Nr. 517** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1545 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 517:** Nach Delaporte 1910, Tf. VII, Nr. 64; Porada 1934: Serpentin, 29 x 19 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



**Nr. 518** = Speleers 1917, Nr. 430, S. 124.



**Abb. 518:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 430, S. 124: Muschel, 31 x 17 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire Nr. 430, Brüssel.

**Nr. 518a** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1521 (ohne Abb.) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 838 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 518a:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 118, Nr. 339, ; nach Collon 1982: Serpentin, 28 x 16 mm. British Museum, BM ANE 89579, London.

**Nr. 519:** Delaporte 1909b, Tf. I, Abb. 5, S. 85f., wird nur im Text als Vergleichsbeispiel zu **Nr. 509** erwähnt.



**Abb. 519:** Nach Delaporte 1909b, Tf. I, Abb. 5, S. 85f.: Ohne Materialangabe, 39 x 23 mm. Musée historique de l'Orléanais C. 184, Orléans, Frankreich.

**Nr. 520:** Legrain 1925, Tf. XIX, Nr. 299, S. 233. In Rohn 2011 nicht aufgenommen da Ur III-zeitlich, wird im Text bei Porada 1934 nur als Beispiel für eine Einführungsszene erwähnt. Nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Diorit, 32,5 x 21,5 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 7325, Philadelphia, USA.



**Abb. 520:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XIX, Nr. 299, S. 233: Serpentin, 24,5 x 12,5 mm. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 7325, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 521** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1523 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 521:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XIV, Nr. 208, S. 203: Serpentin; nach Porada 1934: Ohne Materialangabe, 29,5 x 17 mm. University of Pennsylvania, University Museum C.B.S. 5004, Philadelphia, USA.



**Nr. 522** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1478 (ohne Abb.).



**Abb. 522:** Nach Legrain 1925, Tf. XV, Nr. 226, S. 207f.; nach Porada 1934: Kalkstein, 40 x 25 mm (abgebrochen). University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum C.B.S. 8969, Philadelphia, USA.

**Nr. 523** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 229, Abb. 60 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 804, Tf. 59.

**Nr. 524** = Speleers 1917, Nr. 575, S. 128f.. In Boehmer 1965 nicht aufgenommen, postakkadisch.



**Abb. 524:** Nach Speleers 1917, Nr. 575, S. 128f.; nach Porada 1934: Schwarzer Stein, 37 x 18 mm. Musées Royaux du Cinquanteaire Nr. 575, Brüssel. „... im unteren Streifen ein rhombisches Linienornament“.

**Nr. 525** = „Hahn 93“, nach dem „*Siegelverzeichnis*“ identisch mit **Nr. 365**, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer in diesem Band.

**Nr. 526** = „Hahn 88“, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 34 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 527** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1597, Abb. 673.

**Nr. 528** = Delaporte 1910, Tf. VI, Nr. 60. Postakkadisch.



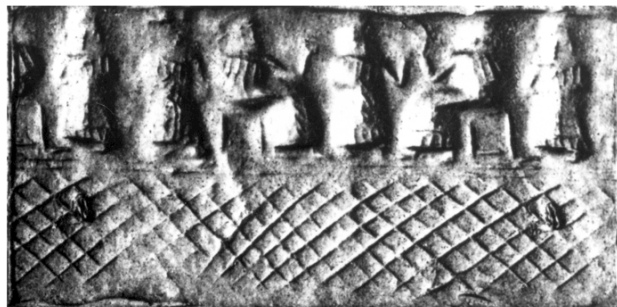
**Abb. 528:** Delaporte 1910, Tf. VI, Nr. 60: Hämatit, 14 x 9 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

„... *schematische Darstellung* ...“.

**Nr. 529** = Boehmer Nr. 1445, Abb. 634.

**Nr. 530** = „Hahn 90“, s. Artikel Irit Ziffer Fig. 35 in diesem Band.

**Nr. 531** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1624 (ohne Abb.), postakkadisch (?).



**Abb. 531:** Nach de Clercq/Ménant 1888, Tf. II, Nr. 11; nach Porada 1934: Muschel, 35 x 14 mm. Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.

„... *Eine Festmahlszene* ... *dürfte im oberen Streifen* ... *dargestellt sein*“.

**Nr. 532** = Ward 1910, S. 81, Nr. 217 (Marquis de Lorne Collection). In Boehmer 1965 und Rohn 2011 nicht aufgenommen, da Ur III-zeitlich.

**Nr. 533** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 957, Abb. 385.

„Pflugszenen“: **Nr. 534 – 540**

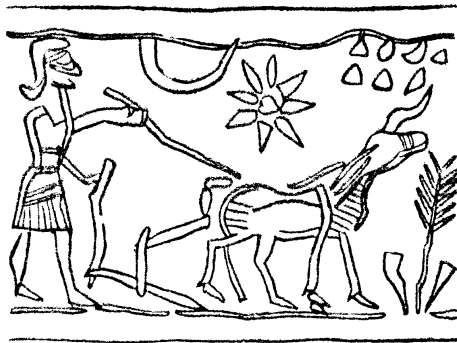
**Nr. 534:** in Porada 1934 irrtümlich als Delaporte 1910, Nr. 299 angegeben.

**Nr. 535** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1683, Abb. 715 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 674, Tf. 53.

**Nr. 536** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1682, Abb. 714 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 675, Tf. 53.

„No. 536 zeigt pflügende Götter. ... Der auf No. 311, 302, 306, 312, 315, 339, 467, 534-536 dargestellte Pflug entspricht im Wesentlichen den noch heute in Gebrauch stehenden. In eine lange, gekrümmte Schar sind zwei Sterzen eingelassen. Am hinteren Ende der Schar ist die Deichsel schräg befestigt, die wieder mit ihrem Ende am Joch des Tieres befestigt wird. Auf einer späteren Darstellung... [ist] am Pflug auch ein Saattrichter angebracht.“

**Nr. 537** = Ward 1910, S. 132, Nr. 372: “from a cast”.



**Abb. 537:** Nach Ward 1910, S. 132, Nr. 372. Material, Maße und Aufbewahrungsort des Siegelzylinders und der modernen Abrollung unbekannt.

„Auf No. 537, einem späten Siegel, führt ein Mann allein einen Pflug“.

**Nr. 538** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1676, Abb. 709 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 677, Tf. 53.

**Nr. 539** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1692, Abb. 723 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 669 (ohne Abb.).

**Nr. 540** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1686, Abb. 717 = Rohn 2011, Nr. 681, Tf. 53.

„Jagd auf einen Löwen“: **Nr. 541 - 542**

**Nr. 541** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 769, Abb. 260, = Bleibtreu 1981, Nr. 35, S. 331 (neue Signatur: Sem. 1236) = Rohn 2011, Nr. 672, Tf. 53,  
**Nr. 542** = Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1688, Abb. 719.

„Die Siegel der Akkadzeit in der Kunst des alten Orients“

„Sicher sind zahlreiche Darstellungen auf Siegeln Kopien eines oder des anderen großen, uns inzwischen verloren gegangenen Werkes der akkadischen (Relief-) Plastik.

Was die Technik der akkadischen Siegelschneider betrifft, zeigt die Vollendung der Zylinder, dass sie weder durch das Material, das ihnen zu Gebote stehende Verfahren (ihr Handwerksgerät waren Grabstichel, Säge und Kugelbohrer), noch durch einen Mangel an Beherrschung der Form in der Ausführung ihrer künstlerischen Konzeption gehemmt waren.

Indem sie die Verkürzungen richtig in den konvexen Zylinder zu schneiden vermochten, haben sie eine der schwersten Aufgaben der Perspektive gelöst.

Ein charakteristischer Zug dieser Kunst, der sich besonders auf unseren Siegeln auswirkte, ist das Bestreben, umfangreiche Mythen und mehrere oft divergierende Tätigkeiten einzelner Gestalten der Legenden in einem Symbol zusammenzufassen ... Wie weit die einzelnen Typen fortwirken, soll Gegenstand späterer Arbeiten sein.“ (Porada 1934, 187f.).

Ein Teil der Dissertation bezieht sich auf Detaildarstellungen der behandelten Siegel. Das betrifft Bildmotive, die in späteren Publikationen nicht so differenziert gesehen werden. In folgenden Motivgruppen werden die Siegelnummern aufgelistet: Füllelemente und Symbole, Gegenstände, Gesten und Handlungen von Figuren, Haartrachten, Kleidungen, Kopfbedeckungen, Mischwesen, Pflanzen, Tiere.<sup>1</sup> Die Systematik von Motiven und Szenen auf Rollsiegeln bei Digard 1975 hat Edith Porada in einer Besprechung ausführlich gewürdigt und methodische Versäumnisse aufgezeigt (1982c). Dieser Besprechungsartikel ist im Abschnitt Methode dieses Buches nachgedruckt. Die folgende Motivliste der Dissertation ist angeregt durch die Systematik bei Digard thematisch gegliedert. Für die fett gesetzten Siegel-

<sup>1</sup> Motivlisten zu Rollsiegeln finden sich in Collon 1982a, 27-36 (types of dress shown on Akkadian cylinder seals); Collon, 1986 (Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian), 21-31 (Deities), 31-40 (Humans), 40-46 (Animals and hybrids), 47-55 (Symbols); Collon 2001, 6-18 (Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian); Merrillies, 2005 (Pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid), 83-142; Stiehler-Alegria Delgado, 1996 (kassitisch), 94-153.

nummern hatte Edith Porada im Abgabexemplar Foto oder Zeichnung beigefügt.

### Füllelemente und Symbole

- „Sogenannte Trennungsmarken [= Sonnenzeichen = schematisierte, manchmal von der Schrift nicht kundigen Siegelschneidern wahrscheinlich missverstandene Kombination von Keilschriftzeichen.] (*symbolische Zeichen, deren Sinn noch nicht erschlossen ist. Am häufigsten sind sie auf den ornamentalen Tierkampfbildern dargestellt*)“: Nrn. 129, 131, 134, **135**, 147, 155, 180, 202, 203, 224, 225, 266, 267, 329, 369(?), 379, 385, 386(?), 390, 416, 422, 437, 451a, **523**.
- „Achtzackiger Stern, durch vier Schnitte angedeutet“: Nrn. 16, 21, 32(?), 49, **74**, 187, 213, 220, 249, 267, 288, 313 [zwei solcher Sterne verschiedener Größe; missverstandenes Sonnenzeichen], 318-320, 321(?), 322, 329, 331, 332, 351 [missverstandenes Sonnenzeichen?], 352(?), 358, 361, 362 [mit zwei Sternen], 380 [wahrscheinlich missverstandenes Sonnenzeichen], 386 [wie Nr. 380], 400, 410, 417, 418, 419, 421, 432, 435, 444, 445, 453, 455(?), 477[??], 487, 488(?), 504, 506, 507(?), 525(?).
- „Achtzackiger Stern, die Mitte mit dem Kugelbohrer geformt“: Nrn. 311 [8 Kugelbohrungen auch rund um den sechszackigen Stern], 314, 361, 484.
- „Ein achtzackiger Stern dessen Mittelpunkt ebenfalls mit dem Kugelbohrer geformt ist“: Nr. 257 [mit „Strahlen“ zwischen den Zacken] .
- „Liegende Mondsichel“ [da sie in Mesopotamien in natura mit einem Boot verglichen werden kann]: Nrn. 19, 47, 202, 215, 236, 246, 249(?), 315, 318- 320, 324, 325, 327, 334, 335, 339, 342, 345, 349, 356, 358, 359, **361**, 366(?), 367, 369-372, 407, 408, 410, 418-422, 431, 437-439, 441, 444, 446, 448, 451, 478, 479-482, 480, 487, 493, 503(?), 504, 506-509(?), 514, 517(?), 518a, 525(?), 526(?), 531.
- „Andeutung eines kleinen Berges“: Nrn. 178 [Thron], 182 [zwei Flächen mit Bergschuppenmuster, eine davon mit „Flammen“], 183-187a(?), **186**, 191-194, 198, 199, 214-223, 227-242, **299**, 340, 341, 381 [Thron].
- „Andeutung einer Zigurra [sic] oder stärkste Stilisierung eines Berges“: Nrn. **196**, 235-238, 240.
- „Andeutung von Bergkuppen: 228, 241, 242, 270.
- „Stark stilisierte Bergkuppen“: Nrn. **200**, **201**-206, 219-224, **227**.
- „Wasserläufe in gebirgiger Landschaft als ornamentaler Abschluss des Siegels“: Nr. **108** [ ?? beschädigtes Siegel].
- „Stärkste Stilisierung dieses Motivs zu einem linearen Ornament“: Nr. **463**.
- „Lineares rhombisches Ornament aus gekreuzten Linien bestehend“: Nrn. **120**, 524, 531.

### Gegenstände

- „Darstellung eines Bootes“: Nr. 463-460, **472-477**.
- „Darstellung vierrädriger Wagen“: Nrn. **245, 246**.
- „Darstellung von Türflügeln. (Die Verzierung der oberen Türpfannen mit ornamentalen Löwen ist selten. Der eine der beiden Türflügel kann dem Zug zur Vereinfachung der Darstellung folgend wegfallen)“: Nrn. 196-235, Nr. **200**, 208, 209, 393-395, 430.
- „Darstellungen von Türbauten“: Nrn. 410-**412**, 414, 418, 421.
- „Darstellung von Schilfhütten“:<sup>1</sup> Nrn. 492-495, Nr. **494**.
- „Räucherständer (kann auch unverziert sein): Nrn. 407, 419.
- „Uhrglasförmiger Räucherständer“: Nrn. 233, 410(?), 411, 417, 418, 421, 514 (bei keiner Nr. hatte Porada eine Abb. vorgesehen).
- „Darstellung des dreibeinigen Räucherständers?“: Nrn. 220, 401.
- „Opferständer in Form eines Hauses (W. Andrae, *Der archaische Ištar-tempel in Assur*“, WVD OG 39, 1922)“: Nrn. 296, 303, 374(?).
- „Kessel auf Stierfüßen ruhend“: Nr. 257.
- „Vorakkadischer Thron I. (mit gewölbter Sitzfläche, über den ein Fell geworfen sein dürfte.)“: (keine Nr. angegeben).
- „Vorakkadischer Thron II. (der aus zusammengebundenen Schilfbündeln gefertigt gewesen sein dürfte)“: (keine Nr. angegeben).
- „Akkadischer Thronsz. (Scheint einerseits den vorangegangenen nachgeformt, andererseits an die Andeutung einer Zigurrat (sic) zu erinnern)“: Nrn. 386, 433, 435, 436, 439, 440, 454, 478(?), 487, 491.
- „Akkadischer Sitz mit Quersprossen“: 408, 487, 488, 509(?).
- „Späte schematische Darstellungen akkadischer Sitze“: Nrn. 255, 256, 312, 325, 357, 374, 480(?), 489, 505, 512, 517, 523, 524; Nrn. 369(?), 371, 379, 380, 389, 447, 448, 453, 481.
- „Thronsz. (durch Quersprossen in neun Quadrate geteilt)“: Nrn. 253, 309(?)=195, 313, 322, 328, 329, 331-339, 342, 343, 349, 361(?), 366(?), 370(?), 376, 387-389, 394-396, 400, 401, 406, 407, 450, 486.
- „Thronsz. (durch Quersprossen in sechs Quadrate geteilt)“: Nrn. 316(?), 319, 383(?), 492.
- „Thronsz. (in vier Quadrate geteilter Thron)“: Nrn. 257, 323, 327, 346, 350, 351, 356(?), 362-365, 392, 399, 404, 510, 520, 521 (bei keiner Nr. hatte Porada eine Abb. vorgesehen).
- „Thronsz. (durch Quersprossen in zwei Quadrate geteilt)“: Nrn. 320, 344, 345(?), 376, 391.
- „Thronsessel mit geschwungener Lehne, die in einem gekrönten Schlangenhaupt(?) endet.“: Nr. 311. „Ein würfelförmiger Thron, die Seitenwände
-

dürften mit einer Reliefplatte, die zwei gekreuzte Löwen darstellt, verziert gewesen sein.)“: Nr. 296(?).

„Kreuzförmiger Sitz. (Die geschwungene Linie der Sitzfläche lässt vermuten, dass diese aus einem festen Gewebe bestand, welches (ähnlich wie die heutigen Feldsessel) zwischen den gekreuzten Beinen des Sitzes ausgespannt wurde.)“: Nr. 308; „Ähnliche Darstellungen“: Nrn. 390, 393, 419, 421, 422, 444, 445, 449, 451, 479, 482, 484, 516, 518a.

„Thronstiz, (schematisierte Form). Darstellungen“: Nrn. 326, 348, 371, 402, 403, 431, 438, 441, 446, 490, 512, 514, 515, 519, 527, 528. **525, 508.**

„Darstellung von Gefäßen: Nrn. 196(?), 233, 407, 479, 481, 482, 484, 494, 502, **508, 525.**

„Keulen<sup>1</sup> mit rundem Keulenknauf“: Nrn. 92, 187b, 191=184, 192a, 196(?), 274, 312, 333, 350, 396, 400, 423, 424(?).

„Keulen, deren runder Keulenkopf oben und unten mit einem Ring abgeschlossen ist. (Zur Verzierung?)“: Nrn. 93a, 188(?).

„Keulen mit birnenförmigem Kopf“: Nrn. 120(?), 180, 196(?), 243, 249, 339, 453a, 460.

„Keulen, deren Kopf einen ellipsenförmigen Durchschnitt aufweist“: Nrn. 198(?), 199, 218, 231(?), 233, 235, 237.

„Keule mit kugelförmigem Knauf und verlängertem Stiel“: Nrn. 133, **273.**

„Standarte?“<sup>2</sup>: Nr. **424.**

„Bügelstab“: Nrn. 171-176, 253, 254, 278, 332, 343, 350, 352, 405.

„Ruder.“ [oder Staken]: Nrn. **309**, 467, 473.

„Keulen deren Kopf einen ellipsenförmigen Durchschnitt aufweist (zur Verzierung) und der oben und unten von einem Ring begrenzt ist“: Nrn. 19, 189, 190, 233, 257, 311, 313, 318, 336, 337, 342, 347, 349, 389, 394, 398, 408, 430, 507.

„Hacke“: Nrn. 47, 93a, 177, 311, 358(?), 379, 509(?).

„Bogen“: Nrn. 243, 424, 425, 541, 542.

„Dolchmesser“: Nrn. 427, 457.

„Säge des Sonnengottes I.“: Nrn. 195, 200-202, 206-214, 218(?), 230, 231, 233-235.

„Säge des Sonnengottes II.“: Nrn. 38(?).

„Säge des Sonnengottes III. [thronend]“: Nrn. 378-403.

<sup>1</sup> Bezüglich der in den Götterkampfszenen verwendeten Waffen vgl. Rakic, 2003.

### Gesten und Haltungen von Figuren

„Der Griff mit dem der gelockte Held den Vorderfuß des Arnibüffels fasst“:  
Nr. 5.

„Der Griff mit dem der Stierheld die Pranke des Löwen packt“: Nr. 5.

„Der Griff mit dem die Helden Waffen halten“: Nr. 75.

„Die Stellung in der der gelockte Held dem angreifenden Tier eine Lanze in den Körper stößt“: Nr. 166.

„Die für den Adoranten, der im rechten Arm ein Opfertier hält, charakteristische Stellung, den linken Arm hat er anbetend erhoben“: (keine Nr. angegeben).

„Die Armstellung eines Gottes, der einen Zweig oder einen anderen Gegenstand emporhält“: Nr. 1.

„Für den Einführer die bezeichnende Armstellung“: Nr. 360, 361.

„Der Eingeführte hat die freie Hand begrüßend oder betend erhoben“: Nr. 526.

„Die Gebärde der Begrüßung oder Anbetung“: Nr. 244.

„Die Gebärde des Bittens“: Nr. 361.

„Die für den thronenden Ea kennzeichnende Stellung, (im Rüschengewand auf dem in neun Quadrate geteilten Thron sitzend. Wasserströme, die aus seinen Schultern oder aus einem Gefäß quellen, das er in der Hand hält fließen zu beiden Seiten herab. Die eine Hand erhebt er begrüßend)“: Nr. 242.

„Die für den emporsteigenden Sonnengott kennzeichnende Stellung. (Mit glattem Faltenrock, das eine nackte Bein auf die Bergkuppe gesetzt)“: Nr. 277.

„Die kennzeichnende Stellung für einen Gott, der seinen Fuß auf die Andeutung einer Zigurra (sic) gesetzt hat. (Im kurzen Faltenrock, an dem ein breiter Faltensaum angesetzt ist)“: Nr. 233.

„Der auf dem vierbeinigen Löwengreifen stehende Wettergott mit Keule und Peitsche im Arm.“: Nr. 249.

„Häufige Darstellung des nackten Helden in der Mitte der ornamentalen Tierkampfbilder (er ist nackt bis auf den Gürtel in der Taille und eine etwas flüchtig gezeichnete Rillenkappe)“: Nrn. 13, 116, 118, 123, 126, 128, 129a, 130, 134, 137(?), 139, 523(?).

„Sehr schematisierte Darstellung des Helden in der Mitte der ornamentalen Tierkampfbilder“: Nrn. 112-115, 117, 119, 120-122, 129, 148-151.



### Haartracht

- „Kunstvolle akkadische Frisuren“: Nrn. 62, 508, 535 (*a, b, c* in der Liste der Darstellung scheinen Detailzeichnungen zu sein). „Die übrigen auf den akkadischen Siegeln dargestellten einfacheren Haartrachten dürften flüchtigere Zeichnungen derselben sein“
- „Halblange Haare I. (Die Enden sind rückwärts in einer Locke aufgebürstet)“: Nrn. 58, 64-71[bei einigen Siegelabrollungen wegen minderer Qualität der Fotos nicht eindeutig zu erkennen], 82, 85(?), 91, 93, 97, 99(?), 101-103, 206, 295(?), 296, 298, 359-362 (No. **361**), 402, 541.
- „Halblange Haare II. (Die glatten Haare fallen rückwärts in den Nacken)“: 54, 57, 115, 127, 138, 140, 152, 154, 232-236, 274-278, 281, 307, 309(?) - 311, 358, 338-342, 344-351, 374(?) - 376, 378-380, 382, 388, 389, 391, 392, 394, 405-408, 412, 414, 417, 421, 451a, 454, 487, 488, 491, 493, 496-500, 503, 506-508, 509(?), 510(?).
- „Weibliche Haartracht (Die Haare sind rückwärts in einem einfachen Knoten gebunden, oft hängen die Haarenden noch über den Knoten)“: Nrn. 247(?), 256(?), 357-359, 378, 414(?), 422, 435-437, 479, 484(?), 487, 502-517, **529**.
- „Schematisierte Formen“: Nrn. **431**, 443(?), 454, **529**.
- „Die Haare sind mit einem Band oder einem einfachen runden Reifen aus der Stirne gehalten.“: Nrn. **59**, **75**, 76(?), 89, 90, 93a(?), 95, 97, 365, 376, 381, **509**, 519-**524**.
- „Die offenen Haare fallen in großen Wellen über die Schultern herab. (Dies ist die vorakkadische Haartracht, doch kommt sie auf Akkadsiegeln noch verhältnismäßig oft vor)“: Nrn. 245, **294**, 440, **492**, 504.

### Kleidung

- „Lendenschurz I. (Der rechteckige Stoff ist in der Taille mit einem Gürtel festgehalten, so dass die Kanten senkrecht herab hängen)“: Nrn. 58, 88, 89, 93, 101, 179, 181, 248, 541.
- „Lendenschurz II, dessen einer Zipfel länger herabhängt. (Der akkadische Künstler dürfte auf diese Art die Linie bewusst bewegter geführt haben. Die Kanten konnten auch mit Borten verziert sein)“: Nrn. 62, 63, 65, 69, 74, 90, 146, 184, 185, 200(?), 259, 265, 268, 274, 276-278, 284, 288, 289(?), 291, 335, „(No. 335 dürfte unter dem Lendenschurz noch einen ganz kurzen Rock zeigen)“.
- „Lendenschurz III. (Der Stoff ist doppelt genommen, so dass die eine Kante etwa 5cm unter der oberen Kante hervorschaut)“: Nrn. 33, **59**, 95, 105.
- „Der doppelt genommene Lendenschurz ist von der Taille aus vorne und rückwärts mit einer Schnur umgebunden, so dass Gewandbäusche

- entstehen, deren Linien sich wunderbar zu den Kanten ergänzen“: Nr. 75.*
- Lendenschurz IV. (Der Stoff des Lendenschurzes legt sich so eng an, dass der Eindruck von Hosenbeinen hervorgerufen wird)“: Nrn. 76, 81, 140, 166, 189.*
- „Kurze glatte Röcke der Helden“: Nrn. 70, 72, 82, 93, 96, 97, 138, 153a, 191, 275, 432. [Die Nrn. von „Kurze Hosen?“ wurde mit dieser Motivgruppe zusammengeführt].*
- „Faltenrock (Mit einem einfachen Gürtel in der Taille festgehalten.): Nrn. 139, 178, 195, 196, 199, 200, 201, 203-205, 207-221, 224, 228, 232, 234, 235, 240, 241, 243-251, 253-255, 271, 295, 301, 302, 305-311, 313, 316-339, 342, 344-351, 354(?), 356-367, 377-382, 384-400, 402(?), 405, 407, 408, 411, 424, 425, 428, 438-440, 451, 452, 475, 477, 478, 486, 487, 535.*
- „Kurzer Faltenrock“: Nrn. 208, 534.*
- „Faltengewand. (Die Taille ist wie der Rock in senkrechte Falten gelegt)“: Nrn. 200, 245, 257, 309(?), 310, 317-331(?), 336, 337, 367(?), 371, 404, 417.*
- „Fransenrock. (Nach der in der Mitte des Rückens senkrecht aufgenähten Fransenborte ... ist glatt und eng anliegend. Den unteren Abschluss bildet ein in Falten gelegter Saum)“: Nrn. 163, 171, 200, 210, 211, 249, 296, 297, 303(?), 311, 333, 339, 340, 343, 349, 350-353, 450, 502-508, 509(?), 518-523, 525(?), 526(?), 538.*
- „Fransengewand, (auf dem die Fransenborte auch in Linien einer Schürze aufgenäht sein kann, besteht aus dem Fransenrock und einer Taille deren oberen Abschluss, schräg von der rechten Schulter unter dem linken Arm durchgehend, eine Fransenborte bildet)“: Nrn. 227, 240, 296, 308, 310, 313, 314, 316(?), 337-339, 343-345, 347, 351, 353, 356-363, 365, 368(?), 374, 376-384, 388, 389, 392-395, 405, 408, 411, 421, 422, 435, 437-439, 441, 487- 489, 491-494, 504-511, 514, 516, 517, 518a -521, 523, 526, 529, 530, 531(?), 538.*
- „Fransenrock mit Faltentaille. (Die Taille ist kreuzweise verschnürt)“: Nrn. 362, 381, 410, 415, 451(?), 478(?), 480(?)-482, 484, 488.*
- „Schnabelschuhe“: Nrn. 63, 75, 81, 64, 83(?), 87, 88, 539(?).*
- „Rüschenrock [Falbelgewand]. (Mehrere etwa 20-40 cm breite Faltenstreifen übereinander auf einem Unterkleid aufgenäht): Nrn. 164, 171-173, 182, 186, 228, 242, 253, 257, 311, 312(?), 327, 331, 334(?), 343, 348(?), 364, 383, 387, 433, 488.*

„Rüschengewand [Falbelgewand]<sup>1</sup>. (*Ein Rüschenrock und eine Taille, die aus mehreren um die linke Schulter und den linken Arm gewickelten Rüschenstreifen bestand*).“: Nrn. 171, 173-178, 193, 242, 248, 253, 255-257, **299**, 301-307, 313, 314, 317-319a, 325, 326, 328, 329, 331, 333, 335, 336-339, 342-350, 353, 355, **361**-363, 365, 368, 370(?), 374, 376-384, 386-397, 400, 401, 404-408, 418, 419, 433, 436(?), 438, 445, 449, 454, 464, 467, 471, 479, 483(?), 486, 487, 489, 491, 504, 506, 507, 519, 532, 533.

„Rüschengewand. (*Aus einem breiten Faltenstreifen bestehend, der um den Körper gelegt war*)“: Nr. **492**.

„Kurzer Rüschenrock: Nrn. **173**, 182, 240(?), 257, 472(?).

### Kopfbedeckungen

„Vorakkadische Idolkronen“: Nr. **294**.

„Federnkrone (*wegen der zu beiden Seiten wegstehenden Enden*)<sup>2</sup>“: Nrn. 172, **173**, 187, 187b(?), 189, 195, 196, 202(?), 208, 241, 304(?), 307, 310(?), 322, 329, 343, 346, 349, 362, 381, 382, 386(?), 392, 395, 400, 424(?), 426(?), 427(?), 455a, 457, 459, 461, 486, 487, 491, 507(?).

„Einfache Hörnerkrone I. (*Die Hörner sind durch eine waagrechte an beiden Enden rechtwinkelig aufgebogene Doppellinie angedeutet*)“: Nrn. 172, 174, 175, 178-182, 190-194, 201, 203-207, 210-218, 241, 248-250, 253-255, 312, 315, 317-328, 332-335, 344-349, 351, 355, 358, 359, 389, 390, 393, 394, 396, 399, 405, 408, 433, 453(?), 455, **459**, 471.

„Einfache Hörnerkrone II. (*die Hörner sind durch den Schwung der Linien angedeutet*)<sup>3</sup>“: Nrn. **200**, 202, 203, 219-220, 222, 232-240, 293, 295-298, 301, 302, 305, 306, 309, 311, 327, 330, 336, 337, 340, 350, 351, 355, 362-367, 368-376, 378-380, 383-388, 395, 400-404, 409, 420, 425(?), 438, 450, 490, 492(?), 494.

„Einspitzige Hörnerkrone. (*Über der einfachen Hörnerkrone I erhebt sich eine kegelförmige Spitze*)<sup>4</sup>“: Nrn. 182, 186-187b, 188(?), 241, 314,

<sup>1</sup> Zwischen diesen beiden Formen des Falbelgewandes ist keine unterschiedliche Bezeichnung bekannt.

<sup>2</sup> Die einfache Form der Hörnerkrone wurde wahrscheinlich gelegentlich als „Federnkrone“ missverstanden.

<sup>3</sup> Der Unterschied zwischen „Einfache Hörnerkrone I“ und „Einfache Hörnerkrone II“ wurde nicht eindeutig definiert und ist vermutlich bedeutungslos.

<sup>4</sup> Die kegelförmige Spitze ist meist mit kleineren paarweise angebrachten „Hörnern“ besetzt und wahrscheinlich eine Form der „Vielfältigen Hörnerkrone“. Vielleicht besteht ein Bedeutungsunterschied zwischen den über den Basishörnern sich paarweise windenden kleineren Hörnern und den zu beiden Seiten der kegelförmigen Spitze angesetzten. Da auf demselben Siegel gelegentlich beide Formen der Hörnerkrone vertreten sind, wird der Unterschied beabsichtigt sein und möglicherweise auf die Hierarchie oder eine bestimmte Funktion der Gottheiten hinweisen.

316(?), 339, 360, 391, 392, 400, 427, 430, 455, 456, 459-462, 467, 468, 502.

„Vielfältige Hörnerkrone. (Durch mehrere übereinander gesetzt Hörnerpaare gebildet, meist für Ea charakteristisch)“: Nrn. 171, 173, 177, 253, 256, 257, **307**, 309(?), 310, 329, 331, 338, 343, 361, 406(?), 428.

„Federkrone [Hörnerkrone ?] mit der besonderen für Götter kennzeichnenden Haartracht. (Die Haare sind rückwärts in einem dreiteiligen Knoten aufgebunden)“: Nrn. 163, 178, 199, 302, **361**.

„Rillenkappe I. (eine kegelstumpfförmige, mit übereinander gesetzten Zickzacklinien verzierte Kopfbedeckung)“: Nrn. 146, 179(?), 181, 183, 184(?), 192, 193, 195, 259, **260**, 265, 269, 428, 429, 435.

„Rillenkappe II. (Die Verzierung ist durch längliche nebeneinander gesetzte Vertiefungen, Rillen, gebildet)“: Nrn. 63, 77, **94**, 96(?), 136, 153, 189, 436, 437, 438.

„Rillenkappe (schematisierte Form)“: Nrn. 65(?), 69, 89-93, 116, 118, 123, 128, 129a, 130(?), 134, **135**, 137, 139-141, 162, 252, 264, 266-268, 274-292(?), 451, 523.

### Mischwesen

„Löwenköpfiger Adler, (kommt in der vorliegenden Gestalt schon auf der Vase Entemenas vor und ist daher eine vollkommen aus der vorangehenden Epoche übernommene Figur), ähnliche Darstellungen“: Nrn. 177, 259 (bei keiner Nr. ist eine Abb. vorgesehen).

„Löwengreif, (eine Schöpfung der Akkadzeit, die sich als Motiv bis in die Kunst der Neuzeit erhalten hat) ähnliche Darstellungen“: Nrn. 243, 249-252.

„Naturalistische Darstellung der Flügel“: Nr. 245.

„Menschstier, ähnliche Darstellungen“: Nrn. 258(?)-293, 473(?).

„Stierheld [Stiermensch] (Stammt in der vorliegenden Form mit nach vorne gewandtem Oberkörper [en face] frühestens aus dem Ende der Lugalandazeit [um 2370]. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass der griechische Pan mittelbar von diesem Stierhelden beeinflusst war)“: Nrn. **1**, 2, **3**, 4-18, 20, 26-29, 36-38, 40(?), 47, 51-53, 71(?), 87, 178, 182, 184, 192(?), **269**, 261, 271, 276-278, 292(?).

„Stierheld seitlich dargestellt“: Nrn. 19, 49a, 54, **61**, 71, 74, 88-91, 93(?), 93a, 95, 162, 180, 181, 262, 272, 275.

„Gelockter Held [Sechslowiger Held] (Eine vorakkadische Gestalt, die bis auf die künstlerische Vervollkommenung der Formen unverändert in die Akkadsiegel übernommen wird. Besonders sein von symmetrischen Locken umrahmter Kopf blieb als Motiv in der altorientalischen Kunst lange erhalten und dürfte sowohl die Gestalt des Bes wie auch die der

*Medusa beeinflusst haben*)“: Nrn. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 7a, 11, 15-25, 27-30, 40, 50, 51, 56, **78**, 106, 156(?), 262-264, 267, 269-272.

„Die vollendet geschnittenen Beine und der um die Taille des gelockten Helden geschlungene Waffengürtel“: Nrn. **1**, **3**, 5, 7, 9, 10, 13, 25, 30, 31-34, 37, 39, 41-44, 46-49, 52-54, 57, 163, 164, 167, 171, 176, 177, 181, 197, 254, 259, 260 (?), 261-264, 266-273, 343, 405, 473.

### Pflanzen

„Nadelbäume“: Nrn. 75, 405, 532.

„Nadelbäume, stilisierte Auffassung“: Nrn. 16, 101, 227, 236, 59, 60, 204, 327, 389.

„Palmen: Nrn. 283, 370, 370a, 376, 479, 490, 516, 538; 309, 509: Hahn-Siegel Nr. 87(?)<sup>1</sup>.

„Pflanzen I.“<sup>2</sup>: Nrn. 92, 96, 164, **257**, 259, 331, 342, 401, 423, 488, 508.

„Pflanzen II.“: Nrn. 256, 301, 305, 314, 316, 317, **323**, 422, 428, 429a, 432, 463, 475, 477.

### Tiere

„Löwe I.“: „Auf zahlreichen Akkadsiegeln finden wir diese Draufsicht auf den Kopf des Löwen zugleich mit der vorakkadischen Darstellungsart übernommen“ (Keine Nr. angegeben).

„Löwen II.“: Nrn. 37, 49, 92, 93a, 100, 102, 125, 138, 149-151, 158-160, **260**, **263**, **269**, 272-274, 276, 279, 281, 293, 542.

„Löwen III.“: „Draufsicht auf den Kopf des Löwen, der künstlerisch vollendet und äußerst naturalistisch gezeichnet, mit seinem vorakkadischen Vorbild nur mehr die Stellung gemeinsam hat“: Nr. **109**.

„Löwe IV.: In Seitenansicht, der für die Akkadsiegel charakteristischen Stellung naturalistisch mit künstlerischer Vollendung gezeichnet“: Nrn. 2, 3, **7**, 36, 41, 46, 48, 54, 59, 69, 70, 72, **75**, 76, 79, 80, 88, 90.

„Löwe V.“: „(Etwas stilisierte Auffassung)“: Nrn. 1(?), 5, 7a-9, 15-20, 26, 34-39, 44, 47, 52, 53, 57, 62, 63, 110(?), 117, 262, 541.

„Löwe VI.“: „Stärker stilisierte Auffassung des Löwen“: Nrn. 28, 29, 43, 51, 63, 64, 68, 73, 78, 82, 88, 135(?), 153a, 242, 267, 277.

„Löwe VII.“: Nrn. 4, 10-14, 21, 22, 42, 60, 65, 99, 101, 105, 133, 139.

„Löwe VIII.“: Nrn. 91, 92, 95, 97, 99, 103, 108, 126, 143.

„Löwe IX.“: Nrn. 49a, 121, 122, 124-126, 130, 131, 152, 287, 299, 473.

„Löwe X.“: Nrn. 128, 129, 134, 135, 137, 140, 146.

„Löwe XI.“: Nrn. 27, 27a(?), 56, 140, 288, 289.

<sup>1</sup> Bäume, aber keine Palmen sind auf Nrn. 218, 220, 222, 255, 288, 367, 394, 417, 431, 438, 483. Zweig auf Nr. 392.

<sup>2</sup> Meist dreiteilige Pflanzen mit lanzettlichen Blättern.

- „Löwe XII.“: „Vollkommen schematisierte Darstellungen des Löwen“: Nrn. 112-118, 121-123, 132, 144, 147(?), 148(?), 149.
- „Löwe XIII.“: Nrn. 119, 147a(?), 161(?).
- „Arnibüffel“: „ein Kennzeichen der Akkadsiegel kommt auf den Zylindern der vorangehenden Epochen nicht vor und verschwindet mit dem Ende der Akkadzeit. Er dürfte mit dem heute in Hinterindien, Java u.s.w. verbreiteten Karbau<sup>1</sup> sehr nahe verwandt sein.“, „Naturalistische Auffassung, ähnliche Darstellungen“: Nrn. 1-3, 5-7a, 9-12, 29, 48, 52, 81, 82, 111(?), 169.
- „Arnibüffel, stilisierte Auffassung, ähnliche Darstellungen“: Nrn. 4, 13-15, 17-20, 22-25, 47, 49-51, 57, 58, 58a(?), 72, 73, 76, 80, 83-85, 89, 95, 97, 98, 102, 106.
- „Wildrindart. (Dem Gaur<sup>2</sup> und dem Banteng<sup>3</sup> verwandt): Nrn. 27, 27a, 51, 61, 67, 68, 71, 79, 86, 90, 92, 93, 101, 103, 136, 137, 139, 154, 159, 185(?), 249, 259, 269, 406(?), 431, 432, 434-443, 446-451, 453, 454, 463, 541.
- „Domestizierte Rinder. Ähnliche Darstellungen“: Nrn. 534, 535, 537.
- „Gazellenart, ähnliche Darstellungen“: Nrn. 70, 112, 123, 125, 126, 130-133, 155.
- „Antilopenart, ähnliche Darstellungen“: Nrn. 121, 146, 155, 311, 362, 492(?), 542.
- „Steinbock, naturalistische Auffassung, ähnliche Darstellungen“: Nrn. 63, 125, 428.
- „Steinbock, stilisierte Auffassung, ähnliche Darstellungen“: Nrn. 90, 93, 100(?), 127, 136, 151.
- „Die Bezoarziege<sup>4</sup>, naturalistische Auffassung, ähnliche Darstellungen“: Nrn. 61, 116, 122, 134, 159(?), 164, 309(?), 445(?), 463(?), 523.
- „Die Bezoarziege, stilisierte Auffassung, ähnliche Darstellung“: Nrn. 96(?), 113-116, 118-120, 128, 129, 139, 140, 143, 148, 149, 152, 156(?), 161.
- „Bärtiges Gnu<sup>5</sup>, ähnliche Darstellungen“: Nrn. 34, 53, 64, 87, 89, 539(?).
- „Antilope, ähnliche Darstellungen weibliche und männlicher Tiere“: Nrn. 24, 67, 74(?), 107(?).
- „Merinoschaf, ähnliche Darstellungen“: Nrn. 61(?), 78(?), 141.

<sup>1</sup> Karbau (*Bos Kerabau*): Wild aber auch als Haustier lebende Büffelart mit besonders großem Gehörn.

<sup>2</sup> Gaur (*Bos gaurus*): besonders große Wildrinderart mit langem Schwanz.

<sup>3</sup> Banteng (*Bos javanicus*) ähnlich wie das Hausrind, aber mit schlankem Hals und kleinerem Kopf sowie einem Kamm über Rücken und Schultern.

<sup>4</sup> Die Bezoarziege (*capra aegagrus*) ist charakterisiert durch kurzen Schwanz, auffallenden Bart und ein im Bogen nach hinten stehendes Gehörn.

<sup>5</sup> Gnu (*Connochaetes*), ist eine Kuhantilope mit Quastenschwanz, kurzen und kräftigen Hörnern.

„Hunde“: Nrn. 492(?), 493-500.

„In die Szene eingefügte Skorpion-Darstellungen“: Nrn. 5, 8, 30, 51, 128, 160, 213, 266, 267, 302, 433, 536.

„In die Szene eingefügte Darstellungen von Eidechsen“: Nrn. 284, 456.

„In die Szene eingefügte Darstellungen von Vögeln“: Nrn. 26, 164, 195, 406, 424, 425, 426(?), 472.

„Wasservögel“: Nrn. 317, 367.

„In die Szene eingefügter kleiner, sitzender Löwe“: Nr. 75(?).

„In die Szene eingefügte Schlange“: Nrn. 75, 178, 406-409.

„Adler, tritt auf Akkadsiegeln hauptsächlich als Füllwerk auf und unterliegt daher einer außergewöhnlich starken Stilisierung, ähnliche Darstellungen“: Nrn. 8, 26, 76, 406(?).

*Mineralien und Gesteine der in der Dissertation behandelten  
akkadzeitlichen Rollsiegel nach den Angaben Edith Poradas  
und der von ihr verwendeten Literatur<sup>1</sup>*

„Serpentin“ (Mohshärte 2,5 – 4; grünlich oder bräunliches Silikat-Mineral)<sup>2</sup>: Nrn. 4, 6, 8, 14, 16, 17, 35, 44, 47, 52, 53, 54, 56, 62, 82, 90, 94, 111, 112, 113, 115, 117, 118, 121, 124, 125, 126, 128, 131, 134, 139, 144, 146, 147(a?), 151, 155, 162, 163, 165, 172, 175, 176, 179, 181, 186, 187, 187c, 188, 190, 193a, 194, 197, 198, 199, 201, 207, 209, 212, 213, 222, 223, 224, 225, 228, 229, 230, 231, 243, 244, 246, 248, 254, 256, 257, 272, 273, 274, 276(?), 284, 285, 286, 291, 299, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 311, 312, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 335, 339, 341, 342, 344, 345, 346, 349, 351, 353, 355, 358, 359, 370a, 374, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 385, 386, 387, 392, 394, 395, 401, 405, 413, 414, 418, 422, 424, 428, 434, 435, 437, 439, 445, 446, 448, 449, 451, 454, 457, 459, 466, 470, 471, 481, 482, 483, 487, 497, 499, 504, 506, 508, 510 (? Porphyr?)<sup>3</sup>, 512, 517, 527.<sup>4</sup>

„Marmor“ („marmorartig“, „Kalkstein“, „Kalk“), (Mohshärte 3; Calcit, durch Umwandlung aus Kalkstein): Nrn. 5, 26, 40, 41, 43, 61, 74, 75, 77, 81, 84, 91, 104, 105, 106, 114, 116, 123, 143, 145, 150, 158, 171, 187b, 205, 218, 232, 239, 243,

<sup>1</sup> Da Farbangaben bei Siegelzylindern subjektiv sind, wurden sie hier nicht aufgenommen. Objektive Farbestimmungen könnten anhand der Originale und mit Hilfe von *Munsell Book of Color* gemacht werden.

<sup>2</sup> Härte nach der Mohs'schen Härteskala (1 bis 10 = Talk bis Diamant) und Farbmöglichkeiten werde angegeben nach: Walter Schumann, *Mineralien und Gesteine*, München 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Für Nr. 510 werden sowohl Serpentin wie auch Porphyr angegeben.

<sup>4</sup> Die Nummern, bei denen in der Dissertation das Material des Siegelzylinders angegeben ist, sind kursiv gesetzt. Bei nicht kursiv gesetzten wird das Material entweder in der von Porada zitierten Literatur oder in später erschienenen Publikationen genannt.

250, 252, 259, 266, 283, 308, 343, 347, 361, 372, 403, 433, 464, 472, 484, 492, 498, 511, 513, 522, 533, 535.

„*Muschel*“ (Gehäuse einer Meeresschnecke): Nrn. 70, 159 „gelblicher *Muschelkalk*“, 211, 215, 245, 278, 298, 321, 364, 389, 391, 399, 400, 411, 429, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 452, 453, 464, 467, 468, 478, 486, 488, 489, 491, 493, 494, 495, 502, 505, 518a, 531.

„*Porphyr*“ (Sammelbegriff für verschiedene magmatische Gesteine, violett-rot oder schwarz): Nrn. 7, 10, 11, 16(?), 20, 27, 32, 65, 66, 67, 76, 77, 83, 101, 137, 140, 141, 142, 183, 184, 190, 208, 216, 241, 255, 262, 271, 277, 280, 289, 307, 313, 350, 397, 419, 461, 510 (? Serpentin?), 516, 523, 528.

„*Lapislazuli*“ (Mohshärte 5 – 6; Gemenge von Mineralien, Gestein mit tiefblauen, lasur- und grünlich blauen Farbnuancen): Nrn. 42, 68, 103, 148, 148(a?), 160, 177, 236, 270, 295, 315, 340, 362, 368, 381, 402(?).

„*Hämatit*“ (Mohshärte 6 – 6,5; Bluteisenstein, grauschwarz oder braunrot): Nrn. 1, 24, 48, 49, 99, 100, 129a, 136, 182, 261, 336, 427, 507, 528, 538, 539.

„*Quarz*“-Gruppe (Mohshärte 7; Silikat-Mineral in mehreren Farb-Varianten, das nur mit Hilfe von härterem Gestein bearbeitet werden konnte<sup>1</sup>): Nrn. 21, 108, 149, 460.

„*Bergkristall*“ (farbloser, transparenter Quarz): Nrn. 7a, 15, 36, 57, 89, 107, 341a.

„*Achat*“ (Mohshärte 6,5 – 7; mehrfarbig gebänderter Chalcedon): Nrn. 31, 288, 455a.

„*Karneol*“ (rötlich-orange oder rot-weiß gestreifter Chalcedon): Nrn. 50, 269.

„*Chalcedon*“ (Oberbegriff für Erscheinungsformen von feinkristallinem Quarz): Nr. 275.

„*Sardonit*“ (braun-weiß gebänderter Chalcedon): 275.

„*Jaspis*“ (rot bis brauner, feinkörniger Quarz): Nrn. 12, 13, 14, 22, 23, 25, 28, 30, 33, 38, 39, 60, 88, 95, 97, 102, 146, 167, 174, 202, 251, 299, 302, 314, 363, 367, 412, 458, 474.

„*Diorit*“ (Gemenge verschiedener Mineralien, bräunlich-grau bis schwarz, kann Quarz enthalten): Nrn. 58a, 59, 75, 78, 92, 93a, 127, 153, 154, 157, 221, 226, 279, 294, 354, 356, 365, 383, 384, 390, 447, 462, 515, 520, 540.

<sup>1</sup> H. Frankfort, 1939, 5: „all cylinder seals were cut, drilled through and decorated by means of copper tools, which, in the case of hard stones, were probably fed with emery powder. The actual instruments have been found at Tell Asmar, in private houses dating to the Dynasty of Sargon of Akkad.“ Smaragd mit der Mohshärte 7,5 – 8 könnte – wie Frankfort annimmt – als Schleifmittel für Quarze gedient haben. Korund mit Mohshärte 9 (in durchsichtiger Form: Rubin und Saphir) scheint bereits in sumerischer Zeit bekannt gewesen zu sein (W. von Soden, AHw: *algamišu* = „Korund“ ?) und kommt ebenfalls als Schleifmittel in Frage. Vgl. Larsen, 1999, 52.



„*Steatit*“ (Mohshärte 1; Speckstein, „*Seifenstein*“, Hauptbestandteil ist Talk, verschiedene Farben, auch marmorierte Sorten): Nrn. 9, 24(?), 178, 193, 203, 214, 268, 301, 320, 362, 371, 421, 450, 451a, 475, 529, 534.

„*Jade*“, „*Jadeartiger*“- „*Jadeähnlicher Stein*“, „*Jadeit*“ (Mohshärte wie Quarz: 6,5 - 7; in Grüntönen je nach Eisengehalt): Nrn. 29, 45, 64, 72, 73, 87, 93, 180, 382, 541.

„*Nephrit*“ (Mohshärte 6,5 – 7; Mischkristall, graugrün, dunkelgrün bis schwarz, wird auch als Jade bezeichnet): Nrn. 296, 318(?).

„*Grünstein*“ (verschiedene Gesteine oder Minerale mit grünen Farbtönen und Gesteinsarten, von denen in der Dissertation nur Farbe/Art angegeben sind): Nrn. 3 „*schwarz glänzender Stein*“, 18, 19 „*grauer Stein*“, 27b, 37 „*schwarzer Stein, gefleckt*“, 51 „*erdfarbener matter Stein*“, 63, 69 „*schwarzer Stein*“, 71 „*bläulicher Stein*“, 79 „*schwarzer Stein, braun gefleckt*“, 85 „*bläulicher Stein*“, 86, 98 und 120 „*schwarzer Stein*“, 123 „*schwarzer Stein gelb gefleckt*“, 130 „*faseriger Stein*“, 138 „*dunkelblauer Stein, weiss gefleckt*“, 161 „*dunkelgrüner Stein*“, 185, 192 „*schwarzer Stein*“, 219 „*schwarzer Stein*“, 227 „*schwarzer Stein, grünweiss durchzogen*“, 235, 242, 249, 253 „*schwarzer Stein*“, 263 „*grünlicher Stein*“, 282 „*schwarzer Stein*“, 292 „*gelblicher Stein*“, 310, 334 „*schwarzer Stein*“, 353 „*dunkelgrüner Stein*“, 357 „*grauer Stein, weiss gefleckt*“, 369 „*graubrauner matter Stein*“, 388, 393 „*schwarzer Stein*“, 456 „*schwarzer Stein*“, 479 „*schwarzer Stein*“, 488, 524 und 530 „*schwarzer Stein*“.<sup>1</sup>

„*Magnetit*“ (Mohshärte 4 – 4,5; weiß-gelblich bis bräunlich schwarzes Mineral): Nr. 46(?).

„*Alabaster*“ (Mohshärte 1,5 – 2; Gipsstein, weiß, durchscheinend): Nrn. 122, 238, 360, 370a, 469.

„*Fibrolith*“ (Silikat-Gestein mit weiß-grauer bis grün-grauer Farbe): Nr. 264.

„*Schiefer*“ (Sammelbegriff für unterschiedliche Sedimentgesteine mit guter Spaltbarkeit entlang paralleler Flächen): Nrn. 234 „*schwarzer Schiefer, sehr fein geschnitten*“, 242.

„*Glimmer*“-Gruppe (Mohshärte 2 – 3; gelblich bis farblos, rötliche oder grünliche Schichtsilikat-Mineralien): 281.

<sup>1</sup> Die unter „Grünstein“ zusammengefassten Angaben zu Mineralien und Gesteinen zeigen die Unsicherheit bei der Materialbestimmung. Eine genaue Identifizierung wäre nur bei Analyse einer Gesteinsprobe zu erstellen.

„Smaragd?“ (Mohshärte 7,5 – 8; grün): Nr. 189.<sup>1</sup>

Die Dissertation ist ein historisches Dokument, das vor zwei Generationen von der damals zweiundzwanzigjährigen Studentin verfasst worden ist. Die Arbeit darf in Anbetracht aller erschwerenden Umstände und trotz der Mängel, die bei einer Drucklegung sicher beseitigt worden wären, als beachtliche Leistung gelten. Edith Poradas Begeisterung für die Archäologie des Vorderen Orients ist bereits in dieser ersten Arbeit zum Ausdruck gekommen und ihr lebenslang erhalten geblieben.

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<sup>1</sup> Smaragd wurde in Ur gefunden: Woolley, 1934, 373, Fn. 2: „*Emery has been found at Ur ... and may have been employed by the bead-makers.*“

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# TAFELN



Edith Porada 1990 auf einer ihrer Wanderungen in der Umgebung von Hagengut

Foto Hilde Umdasch



Fig. 1 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, greenish silicified volcanic tuff, 30x19 mm, IAA 1965-49 (Hahn 62), Porada 1934, No. 1; Photographer: Zeev Rado-  
van; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 2 Cylinder Seal (impression), polished black hard serpentine – black chert, 27.2x17 (16) mm, IAA 1965-59 (Hahn 61), Porada 1934, No. 3; Photographer: Ma-  
rianna Salzberger; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 3 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, greenish-grey fine grained serpen-  
tine, 28.2x17.9 (17.8) mm, IAA 1965-58 (Hahn 293), Porada 1934, No. 51; Photo-  
grapher: Marianna Salzberger; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 4 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Olive green serpentine – Serpentine (?) greenish calcsilicate rock with marble fine grained, 26.2x15.7 mm, IAA 1965-64 (Hahn 13), Porada 1934, No. 58; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 5 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, polished serpentine – Black chert, 33.5x21.5 mm, IAA 1965-57 (Hahn 60), Porada 1934, No. 59; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 6 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Green chert (radiolarite), 32.5x21 mm, IAA 1965-50 (Hahn 67), Porada 1934, No. 75; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.





Fig. 7 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Dark green serpentine – Greenish chert, 21.7x12 mm, IAA 1965-60 (Hahn 72), Porada 1934, No. 94; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 8 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Shell (gastropod), 29.2x15.7 mm, IAA 1965-79 (Hahn 16), Porada 1934, No. 96; Photographer: Marianna Salzberger; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 9 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Light olive green very fine ground serpentinite, 18.9x13.2 mm, IAA 1965-67 (Hahn 65), Porada 1934, No. 99; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 10 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Rock crystal, 25.8x16.2 (15.5) mm, IAA 1965-65 (Hahn 63), Porada 1934, No. 107; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

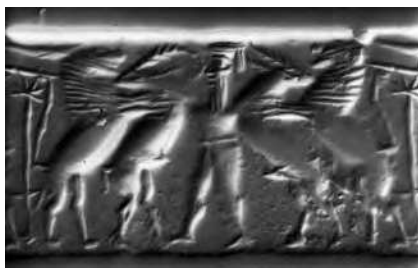


Fig. 11 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Shell (gastropod), 32x17 mm, IAA 1965-51 (Hahn 74), Porada 1934, No. 135; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 12 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Hard black serpentine – Black chert, very fine grained, 27.7x18.1 mm, IAA 1965-53 (Hahn 310), Porada 1934, No. 147; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 13 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Lapis lazuli, 11x5 mm, IAA 1965-61 (Hahn 4a), Porada 1934, No. 148; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 14 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Shell (gastropod), 22x11.5 mm, IAA 1965-32 (Hahn 35), Porada 1934, No. 159; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 15 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Lapis lazuli, 16.8x9.7 mm, IAA 1965-33 (Hahn 46), Porada 1934, No. 160; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 16 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Black serpentine – Greenish chert, 25x17.5 mm, IAA 1965-54 (Hahn 75) Porada 1934, No. 161; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 17 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, White and grey veined marble, 30.2x20.7 mm, IAA 1965-52 (Hahn 66), Porada 1934, No. 166; Photographer: Marianna Salzberger; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 18 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Shell brownish gastropod, 36.5x22 mm, IAA 1965-76 (Hahn 77), Porada 1934, No. 191; Photographer: Zeev Radovan; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 19 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Black serpentine – black chert, highly glossy polish, 38x23.7 mm, IAA 1965-69 (Hahn 80), Porada 1934, No. 200; Photographer: Zeev Radovan (impression); Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority; Peter Lanyi (seal); courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.



Fig. 20 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Serpentine, rather hard variety, 43x30 mm, IAA 1965-70 (Hahn 79), Porada 1934, No. 220; Photographer: Zeev Radovan; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 21 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Dark green serpentine, 28x7 mm, IAA 1965-72 (Hahn 82), Porada 1934, No. 227; Photographer: Marianna Salzberger; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 22 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Greyish black hard serpentine – Dark (haematitic?) quartzite, 22.5x12.5 mm, IAA 1965-73 (Hahn 81), Porada 1934, No. 234; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

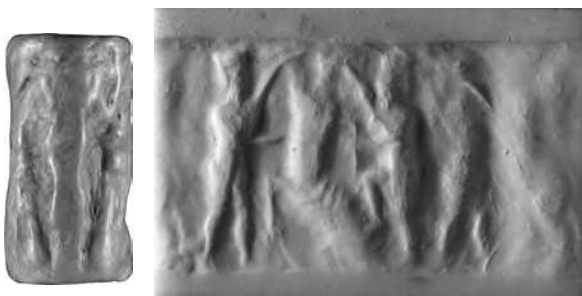


Fig. 23 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Shell (gastropod), 29.2x16 mm, IAA 1965-63 (Hahn 59), Porada 1934, No. 292; Photographer: Marianna Salzberger; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 24 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Red-brown flecked with white marble, 3.5x20.5 (19.5) mm, IAA 1965-80 (Hahn 85), Porada 1934, No. 361; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 25 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Grey-brown stone, 24x10 mm, IAA 1965-95 (Hahn 83), Porada 1934, No. 369; Photographer: Marianna Salzberger; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 26 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Lapis lazuli, 17.2x10.5 mm, IAA 1965-87 (Hahn 84), Porada 1934, No. 402; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 27 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Shell (brownish-white gastropod), 30x16.5 mm, IAA 1965-82 (Hahn 96), Porada 1934, No. 410; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.





Fig. 28 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Lapis lazuli, 18.5x11.5 mm, IAA 1965-74 (Hahn 54), Porada 1934, No. 426; Ornan 2010, Fig. 15; Photographer: Zeev Radovan; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 29 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Very fine grained homogenous marble, 21x12 mm, IAA 1965-71 (Hahn 86), Porada 1934, No. 431; Ornan 2001, Fig. 4; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 30 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period; Black serpentine polished – Black chert; 29.2x18 mm; IAA 1965-84 (Hahn 95) Porada 1934, No. 478; Photographer: Peter Lanyi; Courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.





Fig. 31 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, IAA 1965-47 (Hahn 94), Porada 1934, No. 480; Photographer: Marianna Salzberger; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 32 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, White shell (gastropod), 36x22 mm, IAA 1965-75 (Hahn 97), Porada 1934, No. 492; Photographer: Meidad Suchowolski; Courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.



Fig. 33 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Shell, brownish (gastropod), 33x18.7 mm, IAA 1965-81 (Hahn 87), Porada 1934, No. 509; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 34 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Shell (gastropod), 30x15.7 mm, IAA 1965-83 (Hahn 88), Porada 1934, No. 526; Photographer: Marianna Salzberger; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 35 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Black serpentine – Black chert, 15.5x14.5 mm, IAA 1965-85 (Hahn 90), Porada 1934, No. 530; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 36 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Greenish-black serpentine - Diabase, 21.7x12.2 mm, IAA 1965-55 (Hahn 76); Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 37 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, White fine-grained marble, 20x11.5 (10.5) mm, IAA 1965-56 (Hahn 59); Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 38 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Brown argillaceous limonitic limestone, very fine grained, 22x13 mm, IAA 1965-62 (Hahn 109); Photographer: Marianna Salzberger; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 39 Cylinder seal (impression), Ur III period, mountain crystal, 29.2x16 mm, IAA 1965-68: Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 40 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Shell (gastropod), 34.3x23 (18.8) mm, IAA 1965-77, Porada 81/67; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 41 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Shell (brownish gastropod), 34.5x22.5 mm, IAA 1965-78, Porada 124; Photographer: Avraham Hay; Courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.



Fig. 42 Cylinder Seal (impression), Akkad period, Greenish serpentinite, 18x9.5 mm, IAA 1965-86, Porada 125; Photographer: David Harris; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Abb. 1 Siegel mit Darstellung eines Mufflons aus der Sammlung Sarre, nördliches Mesopotamien, ca. 3700-3400 v. Chr., Ø 21 mm, schwarzer Stein, intakt. Seit Herbst 2013 im Besitz einer Privatsammlung in Bayern (Foto Galerie Günter Puhze, Freiburg im Breisgau).



Abb. 2 Sarre 1, Porada 1934, Nr 109, Städelsches Kunstinstitut Katalog 1932 Nr. 192, Rollsiegel mit Tierkampfszenen, Siegel des Ukīnulmaš, Sohn Narāmsīns, Südmesopotamien, Akkad-Zeit, ca. 2260-2237 v. Chr., grünschwarzer Serpentin, H. 39,4 mm, Ø 25,5-27,3 mm, konkaver Zylinder, Ränder geringfügig bestossen, Freiburg/Schweiz, Sammlung Keel 1988.8 (Foto Sammlungen Bibel+Orient).



Abb. 3 Foto von Sarre 1 mit Tierkampfszenen im Zentrum und Inschrift am Rand, aus Weber 1920, Bd. 2, 51 Nr. 229.



Abb. 4 Porada 1934, Nr. 301, Abrollung eines Rollsiegels mit Einführungsszene von Vegetationsgottheiten vor Getreidegott, Mesopotamien, späte Akkad-Zeit, ca. 2273-2193 v. Chr., Steatit, H. 36 mm, Ø 24 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 80 (Foto aus Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1258 Abb. 532).



Abb. 5a



Abb. 5b

Abb. 5a Sarre 3, Porada 1934, Nr. 455 Rollsiegel, Mesopotamien, Akkad-Zeit, ca. 2330 v. Chr., dunkelblauer Nephrit, H. 40 mm, Jeursalem, BLMJ 2784 (Foto: Takayoshi Oshima, © Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum).

Abb. 5b Sarre 3, Porada 1934, Nr. 455 Abrollung des Rollsiegels mit Göttern, die ein Gebäude bauen und einen Gott töten, Mesopotamien, Akkad-Zeit, ca. 2330 v. Chr., Jerusalem, BLMJ 2784 (Foto: Dietrich Widmer, © Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum).



Abb. 6 Porada 1934, Nr. 240, Abrollung eines Rollsiegels mit Sonnengott und Einführungsszene, ein weiterer Gott hält einen Türflügel, Mesopotamien, frühe Akkad-Zeit, ca. 2356 bis 2300 v. Chr., dunkelgrüner Serpentin, H. 40,5 mm, Ø 27 mm, Den Haag, Koninklijk Kabinet van Munten, Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1952, Nr. 18 (Foto aus: Ménant 1878, 56 Tafel III, 15).





Abb. 7 Porada 1934, Nr. 173. Abrollung eines Rollsiegels mit kleinem Tempel auf einem Berg, den der Sonnengott besteigt; aus Grab PG/699 des Königsfriedhofs von Ur, Grabungsnummer U. 9750, späte Akkad-Zeit, ca. 2273–2219 v. Chr., dunkelgrüner Stein, H. 36 mm, Ø 24 mm (Foto aus Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1139 Abb. 488 vgl. Legrain, 1934, 362 Nr. 364).



Abb. 8 Porada 1934, Nr. 255; = de Clercq 1888, Nr. 143, stehender Gott hantiert an der durch zwei Striche stilisierten Tür eines Schreines, in dem ein Gott thront, Akkadisch II/III, ca. 2299–2219 v. Chr., schwarzer Porphyrt, H. 34 mm, Ø 21 mm, Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt (Foto aus Boehmer 1965, Nr. 1140, Abb. 489).



Abb. 9 Porada 1934, Nr. 433, Abrollung eines Rollsiegels mit vor Tempeltür thronender Göttin, vor ihr ein grüßender Gott mit Zweig, hinter ihm auf Stufen zwei nackte Männer, Akkad-Zeit, ca. 2356–2219 v. Chr., gelblicher rotgesprenkelter Marmor, H. 32 mm, Ø 19 mm, Berlin VA 2112 (Foto aus Moortgat 1940, 105, Taf. 33, Nr. 241).



Abb. 10 Rollsiegel mit Trinkszene, Randregion Assyriens, Neuassyrische Zeit, 9. Jh. v. Chr., dunkelgrünschwarzer Serpentin, H. 35,2 mm, Ø 13,7 mm, Freiburg/Schweiz, Sammlungen Bibel+Orient, VR 1981.100 (Foto Sammlungen Bibel+Orient).



Abb. 11 Abrollung eines Rollsiegels aus der Sammlung Sarre, Beschwörungsszene mit Hahn, Babylon, Mitte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr., Calcedon, H. 17 mm. Städelsches Kunstinstitut Katalog Nr. 211 (Foto aus Weber 1920, Bd. 2, 93 Abb. 463a).



Abb. 12 Skaraboid mit Fischmensch, Neubabylonisch oder assyrisch, ca. 600 v. Chr., Lapislazuli, L. 29 mm, B. 25 mm, Städelsches Kunstinstitut Katalog Nr. 213; am 30. November 2012 bei Pierre Bergé & Associés, Archéologie im Drouot-Richelieu unter der Nr. 489 an einen Telefonbieter versteigert (Foto Galerie Günter Puhze, Freiburg im Breisgau).





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## Pl. II



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[Abbildung 20 und 21 waren im Original vertauscht und Abb. 20 stand auf dem Kopf. Hier ist beides der Zeichnung und Nummerierung im Artikel entsprechend korrigiert.]



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## Pl. IV



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Fig. 1 Detail from the Akkad seal (enlargement); brownish black serpentine, H. 32.5 mm, D. 20 mm narrowing to 19 mm at the center.

29



Fig. 2 Akkad seal; the complete impression of fig. 1 in actual size.



[31]



Fig. 3 Impression from an Old Babylonian cylinder seal (enlargement); hematite, H. 24.2 mm, D. 12 mm.

[33]



Fig. 4 Part of Impression taken from the newly-acquired Akkad cylinder seal fig. 2 (enlargement).



PLATE 12A



PLATE 12B

39



A



B



C





## Pl. VIII.

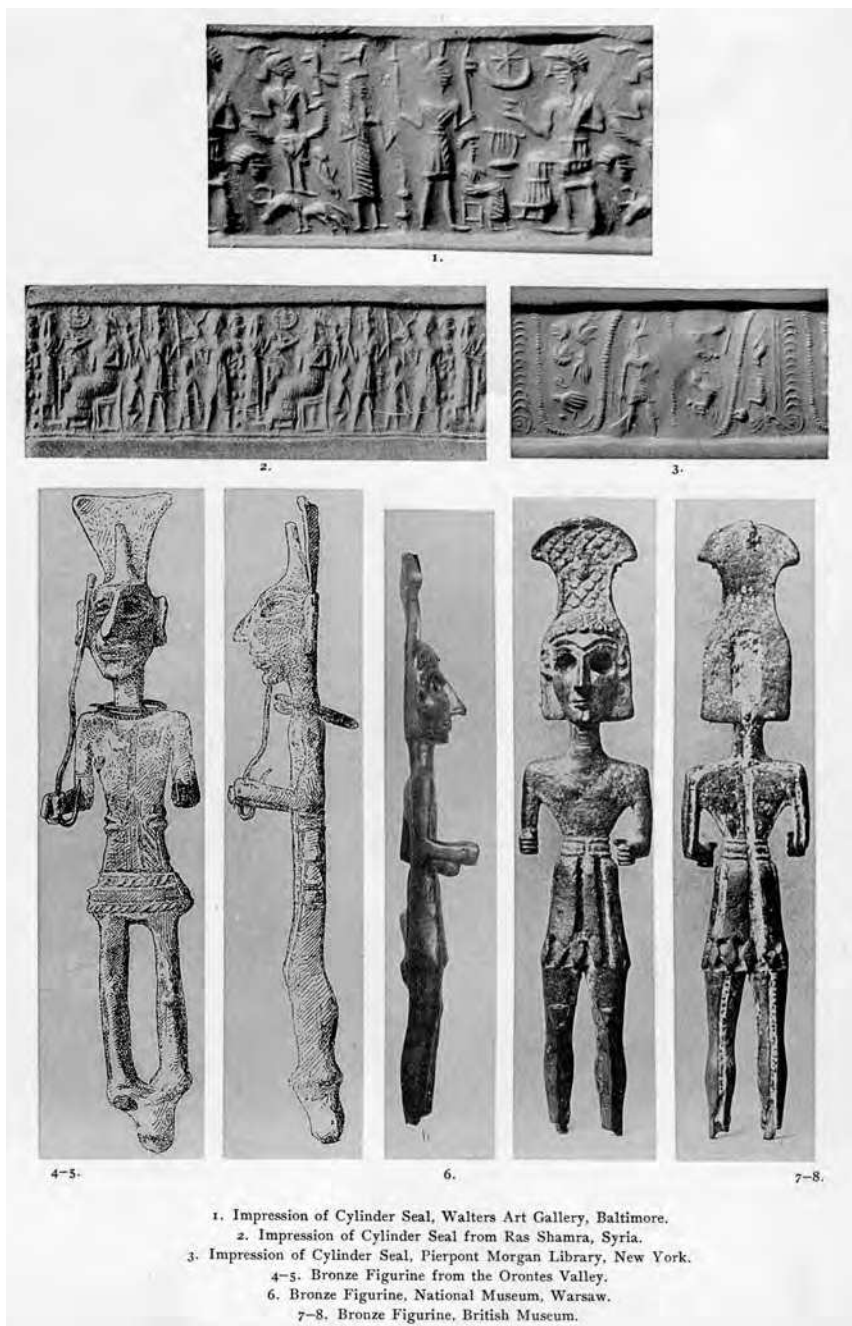




Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8

## Pl. IV



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13





Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



## List of Illustrations\*

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- Fig. 1. – E. Herzfeld, *Die Kunst des Zweiten Jahrtausends in Vorderasien* (II. Teil), *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, vol. IX, 1938, Abb. 135 a.
- Fig. 2. – W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington, 1910, No. 622.
- Fig. 3. – E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, Tafel XII: Abb. 135, n. (65) (Boston 27.651).
- Fig. 4. – W. H. Ward, *op. cit.*, 572 (in the Pierpont Morgan Library).
- Fig. 5. – A. H. Layard, *Monuments of Niniveh*, Second Series, London, 1853, pl. 69: 33.
- Fig. 6. – *Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Art formed by James, Ninth Earl of Southesk*, vol. II, London, 1908, pl. VIII: Qc 22.
- Fig. 7. – L. Speleers, *Catalogue des intailles et empreintes orientales des Musée Royaux du Cinquantenaire*, Brussels, 1917, p. 183, No. 477.
- Fig. 8. – L. J. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux ... de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1910, No. 336.
- Fig. 9. – Ward, *op. cit.*, No. 615 (in the Pierpont Morgan Library).
- Fig. 10. – A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, Berlin, 1940, No. 610.
- Fig. 11. – Moortgat, *op. cit.*, No. 611.
- Fig. 12. – Moortgat, *op. cit.*, No. 614.
- Fig. 13. – Ward, *op. cit.*, No. 635 (in the Pierpont Morgan Library).
- Fig. 14. – Ward, *op. cit.*, No. 631 (In the Pierpont Morgan Library) (enlarged 2 : 1).
- Fig. 15. – J. Menant, *Catalogue méthodique et raisonné de la Collection De Clercq*, Paris, 1890, vol. I, No. 563.
- Fig. 16. – Cylinder seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library (unpublished).
- Fig. 17. – Delaporte, *op. cit.*, No. 328.
- Fig. 18. – Moortgat, *op. cit.*, No. 732.
- Fig. 19. – H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Breit* (Oriental Institute Publications, volume XXXVII), No. 129.
- Fig. 20. – Cylinder seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library (unpublished).
- Fig. 21. – Moortgat, *op. cit.*, No. 582.
- Fig. 22. – Ward, *op. cit.*, No 1027c (in the Pierpont Morgan Library).
- Fig. 23. – L. J. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux ...* (Musée du Louvre), Paris, 1923, vol. II, A. 653.

\* Cylinders published with drawings by W. H. Ward in *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* and contained at present in the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library are here reproduced by photographs.

Fig. 24 – Moortgat, *op. cit.*, No. 616.

Fig. 25 – Ward, *op. cit.*, No. 566 (in the Pierpont Morgan Library).

Fig. 26 – Cylinder seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library (unpublished).

Fig. 27 – Cylinder seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library (unpublished).

Fig. 28 – W. H. Ward, *Cylinders and Other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Library of J. P. Morgan*, New York, 1909, No. 161.

Fig. 29 – Cylinder seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library (unpublished).

Fig. 30 – Cylinder seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library (unpublished).

Fig. 31 – *The Seal Impressions from Nuzi* (in press), No. 592.

Fig. 32 – Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, No. 557.

Figs. 9, 13, 14, 16, 20, 22, 25-30 and 32 are reproduced by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library.



A. Impression of cylinder seal in the collection M. Foroughi. Shell, height 38.7 mm, diameter 17 mm.

Pl. I



1



2



3



4



5

Impressions of Andrews University Cylinder Seals Nos. 1-5. Size: 1:1.



1



2



A

1 and 2. Impressions of Andrews University Cylinder Seals Nos. 1 and 2.  
Size: *ca.* 1: 1½

A. Impression of Cylinder Seal no. 207 in the Pierpont Morgan Library.  
Size: *ca.* 1: 1½. Published: *CANES*, I, No. 207.



## Pl. III



B



C



D

B. Impression of Cylinder Seal of Kalki, No. 89137 in the British Museum. Published: Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XXIV: c; Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 717, etc.

C. Impression of Unfinished Cylinder Seal from *Tell Asmar*, No. As. 32: 598, in the Iraq Museum. Published: Frankfort, *Diyala*, No. 611; Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 547.

D. Impression of Cylinder Seal from *Tell el-Wilayah*, in the Iraq Museum. Published: T. A. Madhlum, *Sumer*, XVI (1960), Pl. 5: 3; Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 201.



E-1

E-2



F

E-1. End of Cylinder Seal No. 156 in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

E-2. End of Andrews University Cylinder Seal No. 3.

F. Impression of Cylinder Seal No. 323 in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Size: *ca.* 1: 1½. Published: *CANES*, I, No. 323.

Pl. V



1



2



3



5

Photographs of Andrews University Cylinder Seals Nos. 1, 2, 3  
and 5. Size: *ca.* 1: 2½.





1. Cylinder in a Private Collection, published by John Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings, Early Bronze Age to Late Classical* (London, 1970), pl. 206. I owe the photograph to the generosity of John Boardman.



2. Cylinder, British Museum, No. 36. 1900 5-21.1. The writer wants to thank Mr Reynold Riggins for helping to obtain the print in time. (Number derived from V.E.G. Kenna, *Catalogue of the Cypriote Seals of the Bronze Age in the British Museum* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Vol., XX:3, Göteborg, 1971) p. 22, photograph and drawing on Pl. IX). The photograph is published with kind permission of the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum.



3. Cylinder from Ras Sharnra-Ugarit in the Louvre. Earlier publication: C.F.A. Schaeffer, *L' Illustration*, (March 3d, 1934), Fig. p. 258, 2nd from top.

## Pl. XXXIII



1



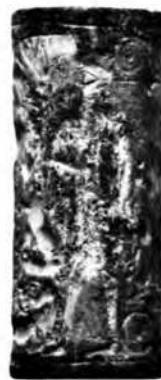
2



3



4



5

1. and 2-5. Cylinder, Collection of Mrs Serpieri. Lapis Lazuli with gold caps. Height: 27.5 mm. Diameter: 10 mm; central perforation: 5 mm, length of cap from edge of cylinder to lower rim: 3 mm. The caps extend one mm. beyond the circumference of the cylinder.



1. Cylinder, Collection Foroughi. Published with the kind permission of M. Foroughi here and in Expedition 13 (Spring-Summer, 1971), p. 33, Fig. 9.



2. Cylinder, Collection Erlenmeyer. Impression and photograph made with the kind permission of Mrs M.L. Erlenmeyer. Earlier publication: M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer, „Einige syrische Siegel mit ägäischen Bildelementen,“ *Archiv für Orientforschung* XXI (1966), p. 32, Abb. 1.



3. Cylinder, the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Earlier publication, A.P. di Cesnola, *Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1903), Vol. III, Pl. CXVIII:11, from Kourion. Cf. also J.L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1914), p. 433, s.v. 4308. Height: 24 mm. Diameter: 10 mm. The writer herewith thanks Dr Vaughn E. Crawford and Mrs Prudence O. Harper for help in obtaining a good impression of this cylinder.



Fig. 1 Steatite stamp seal-amulet with Minoan features, Tôd, Montu Temple, H. 20 mm, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE66479 (© Bruce White).



Fig. 2 Lapis lazuli amulet in Bactrian style, Tôd, Montu Temple, Ø 28 mm, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE66485 (© Bruce White).

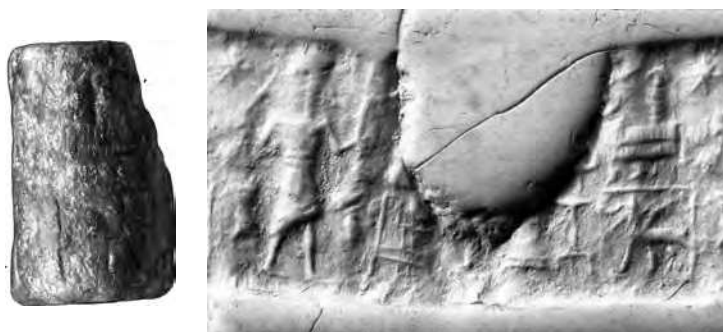


Fig. 3 Lapis lazuli cylinder seal in Anatolian or North Syrian style (© Georges Poncet), and modern impression (© Chuzeville), Tôd, Montu Temple, H. 21 mm, Ø 13 mm, Musée du Louvre, E15215.





Fig. 4 Faience cylinder seal in Syro-Mitannian style and modern impression, Mycenae, Tomb 517, H. 23 mm, Ø 8 mm, National Archaeological Museum, Athens, 9095 (photographer Irini Miari © Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund).



Fig. 5 Drawing of faience cylinder seal in Syro-Mitannian style with Aegean elements, and of modern impression, Mycenae acropolis, H. 27 mm, Ø 10 mm, Athens National Museum 39-170 (after Porada and Wace 1957, pl. 38a).



Fig. 6 Lapis lazuli cylinder seal in Kassite style, inscribed with name of Burnaburiash, and modern impression, Thebes, Palace Workshop, H. 42 mm, Ø 15 mm, Archaeological Museum, Thebes, Greece, 198 (© Bruce White).



Fig. 7 Lapis lazuli cylinder seal in Kassite style and modern impression, Thebes, Palace Workshop, H. 44 mm, Ø 15 mm, Archaeological Museum, Thebes, Greece, 199 (© Bruce White).



Fig. 8 Carnelian cylinder seal in Middle Assyrian style with Hittite features, presumably from Nineveh, and modern impression, H. 21 mm, Ø 10 mm, British Museum, 1854,0401.12. (© The Trustees of the British Museum).



Fig. 9 Lapis lazuli cylinder seal in Middle Assyrian style with foreign elements, and modern impression, Thebes, Palace Workshop, H. 28 mm, Ø 15 mm, Archaeological Museum, Thebes, Greece, 212 (photographer Yannis Fappas © Archaeological Museum of Thebes).



Fig. 10 Lapis lazuli cylinder seal in Old Babylonian style with Cypriot style re-carving, and modern impression, Thebes, Palace Workshop, H. 28 mm, Ø 16 mm, Archaeological Museum, Thebes, Greece, 196 (© Bruce White).



Fig. 11 Lapis lazuli cylinder seal in Cypriot style and modern impression, Thebes, Palace Workshop, H. 27 mm, Ø 13 mm, Archaeological Museum of Thebes, Greece, 176 (photographer Yannis Fappas © Archaeological Museum of Thebes).



Fig. 12 Hematite cylinder seal in Cypriot style with Aegean elements, and modern impression, unknown provenance, H. 28 mm, Ø 13 mm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008.27 (Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art).



Fig. 13 Lapis lazuli cylinder seal in "Cypro-Aegean" style and modern impression, Thebes, Palace Workshop, H. 27 mm, Ø 10 mm, Archaeological Museum of Thebes, Greece, 203 (© Bruce White).



Fig. 14 Hematite cylinder seal in "Cypro-Aegean" style and modern impression, unknown provenance, H. 25 mm, Ø 6 mm, Yale Babylonian Collection on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, L.1994.94 (Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art).



Fig. 15 Agate cylinder seal in Aegean style and modern impression, Thebes, Palace Workshop, H. 18 mm, Ø 10 mm Archaeological Museum of Thebes, Greece, 175 (© Bruce White).





Fig. 16 Steatite cylinder seal in Cypriot style with foreign elements and modern impression, Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus, Tomb 1.41, H. 23 mm, Ø 9 mm, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (Courtesy of the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).



Fig. 17 Hematite cylinder seal in Cypriot style with foreign elements, and modern impression, Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus, Tomb 2.230, H. 23 mm, Ø 10 mm, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (Courtesy of the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).



Fig. 18 Hematite cylinder seal in Cypriot style with Aegean elements, and modern impression, Phlamoudhi-Melissa, H. 29 mm, Ø 12 mm, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (Courtesy of the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).



Fig. 19 Hematite cylinder seal in Syrian style with Aegean elements, and modern impression, unknown provenance, H. 21 mm, Ø 15 mm, Anonymous loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (L.1992.43), ex. Erlenmeyer collection (Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art).



Fig. 20 Hematite cylinder seal in Syrian style with Aegean elements, and modern impression, unknown provenance, H. 16 mm, Ø 8 mm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, KHM Wien, KHM AS X 183 (after Bleitbreu, 69-70, no. 83).



a



b



c



d



e

## MYCENAE

PALACE, BELOW NORTH TERRACE.

(a) FAIENCE CYLINDER, IMPRESSION.

(b) FAIENCE CYLINDER.

(c) CURVILINEAR TRIANGLE, GOLD.

(d) POMEGRANATE BUD, GOLD.

(e) ARGONAUT ORNAMENT, GOLD.

Pl. 38



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

## MYCENAE

### FAIENCE CYLINDERS

- (a) MYCENAE, PALACE, BELOW NORTH TERRACE: DRAWING (3 : 2).
- (b) MYCENAE, TOMB 517 (1 : 1).
- (c) KNOSSOS, TOMB 66.
- (d) BEISAN.



1



1a



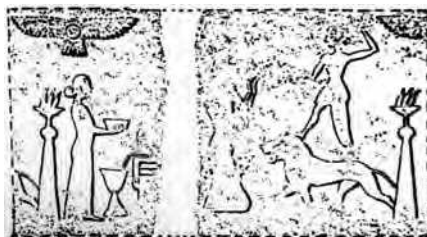
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3



4



5

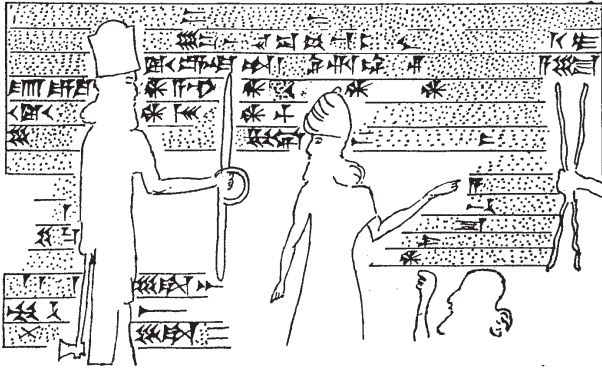




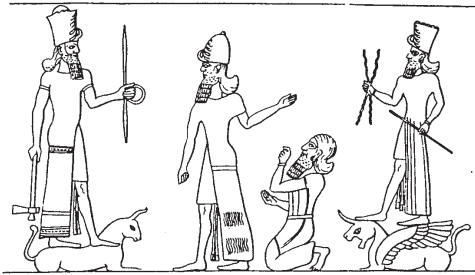
6



7



7a



7b

## ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1 Impression and views of a cylinder seal found by Mrs. Patricia Bikai in Tyre; no. 74/11/646. Dark brown stone, height ca. 45 mm, diameter ca. 18 mm.

Fig. 2 A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1940, No. 591. Photograph, courtesy, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Fig. 3 The king making an offering, the White Obelisk, panels A 3-4 reproduced from J. A. Reade, *Iraq XXXVII* (1975), Pl. XXX. Photograph, courtesy the British Museum.

Fig. 4 Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, No. 595. Photograph, courtesy, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Fig. 5 Sealing showing a scene of sacrifice, A. Moortgat, "Assyrische Glyptik des 12. Jahrhunderts," *ZA* 48 (1944), p. 36, Fig. 36. Photograph of the original drawing, courtesy, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

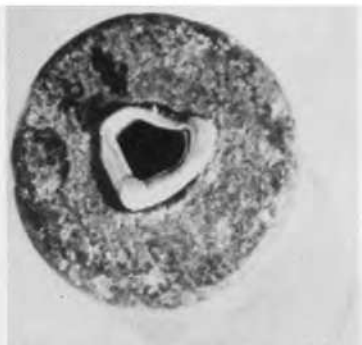
Fig. 6 Relief from the Ninurta Temple at Nimrud, reproduced from Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Pelikan History of Art, 1954), p. 88, Fig. 38.

Fig. 7, 7a, 7b Photograph and drawings of a royal sealing made with a Middle Assyrian cylinder on the Treaty tablets of Esarhaddon, D. J. Wiseman, "The Vassal Treaties of Esar-haddon," *Iraq* XX (1958), p. 20, Fig 5, p. 21, Fig. 6. Photograph, courtesy D. J. Wiseman.

## Pl. XIII



1. Enlargement of the cylinder seal from Thebes (no. 176) and its impression. Lapis lazuli. Length: 26.7 mm., diam.: 12.7 mm. (middle: 11.8 mm.), perforation: 5 mm. Gold tube in string hole.



2. Upper end of the cylinder no. 176 from Thebes, showing enlarged string hole with the end of the gold tube projecting.



3. Upper end of the cylinder no. 178 from Thebes, showing enlarged string hole.



4. Enlargements of the cylinder seal from Thebes (no. 178) and its impression. Lapis lazuli. Length: 26.2 mm., diam.: 9.3 mm., perforation: 6 mm. *Delt.* 19 B 2 (1964), pl. 229a.





1. Enlargement of the cylinder seal from Perati. Haematite. Length: 34 mm., diam.: 14 mm. Iakovidis, *Perati*, pl. 47a.



2. Enlargement of a cylinder seal impression in the British Museum (133026). Haematite. Length: 29 mm., diam.: 13.5 mm.



3. Enlargement of a cylinder seal impression. Collection Joel L. Malter. Haematite. Height: 25 mm.

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Fig. 1

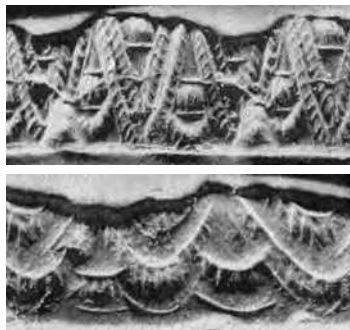


Fig. 2

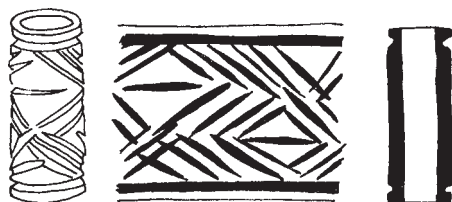


Fig. a

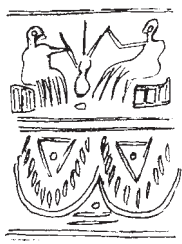


Fig. b

### Seals and a Pendant from the Tôd Treasure\*

Fig. 1: Impression of cylinder seal 15226bis (Louvre), Trésor, pl. XL.

Fig. 2: Impression of cylinder seals 15225bis and 15225 (Louvre) Trésor, pl. XLI.

\* The impressions of the cylinder seals in the Louvre and the photograph of Fig. 4 were kindly furnished to me by Pierre Amiet, to whom I want to express my sincere thanks. [The photographs have been taken from the original publications not from the reprinted article.]

### Explanatory Text Figures

Fig. a: Cylinder seal from Jericho. K. Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho* (London 1960) p. 91. Fig. 27:4.

Fig. b: Impression of cylinder seal in the Iraq Museum, P. Amiet, *Glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque* [Paris, 1961] pl. 80: 1055.

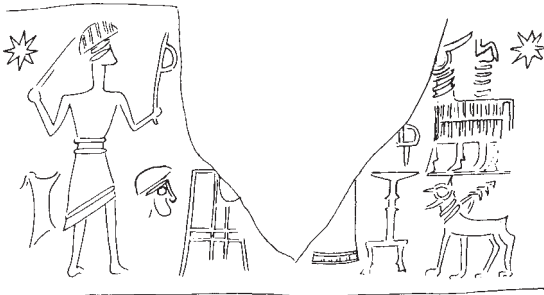


Fig. 3



Fig. c



Fig. d

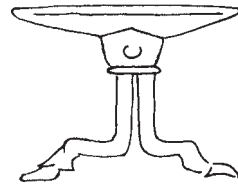


Fig. e

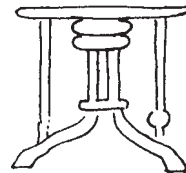


Fig. f

Fig. 3: Drawing from the impression of cylinder seal 1521 5 (Louvre), photograph published in *Trésor*, pl. XLI.

Fig. c: Hero with plumed helmet, detail from cylinder seal in the Walters Art Gallery, C56, C. H. Gordon, *Iraq VI* [1939] No. 36.

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Fig. e: A table with bull's feet, detail from an ivory plaque from Tell Mardikh-Ebla *Archaeology* 33/2 [1980] p. 14.

Fig. f: Table with lateral supports, detail from a seal impression (Özgüç; *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe*, 1949, TTKY V, No. 12, Ankara, 1953. Pl. LXII Fig. 695); Kültepe Level II.

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Fig. 4: Impression of cylinder seal 15227 (Louvre) Trésor, pl. XLIII.



Fig. g

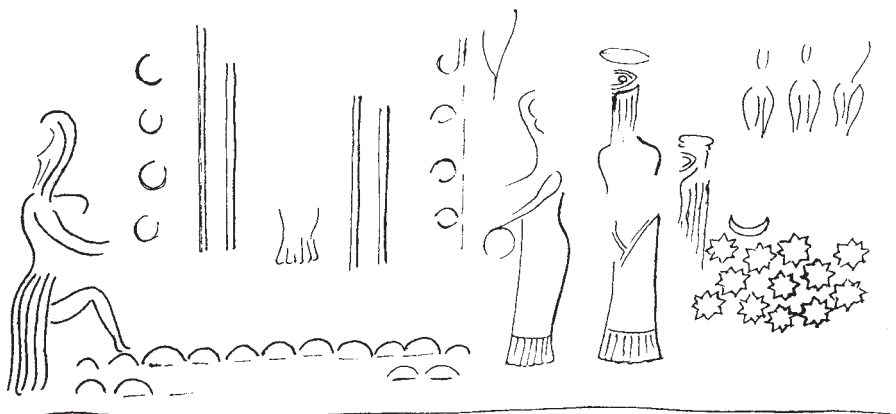


Fig. h



Fig. i

Fig. g. Impression of cylinder seal, E. Porada, B. Buchanan, *Corpus*, No. 234.

Fig. h: Impression of cylinder seal in the Iraq Museum, P. Amiet, *Sumer* XI [1954] p. 60, Fig. 12.

Fig. i: Relief on a basin from Tell Mardikh-Ebla, P. Malthiae, *Missione Archaeologica in Siria*, 1965 [Rome, 1966] pl. XLVII.



Fig. 5



Fig. 5a

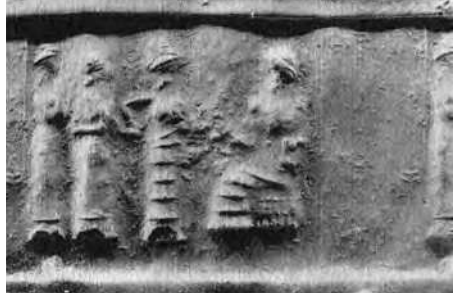


Fig. 6

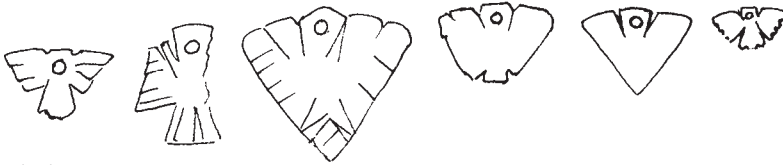


Fig. j-1



Fig. j-2



Fig. k-1



Fig. k-2

Fig. 5: Impression of fragmentary cylinder seal (Louvre) [Photo from the article] Trésor, pl. XXXIX, third cylinder from the left. [Fig. 5a: Cylinder seal, photo from Trésor, pl. XXXIX].

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Fig. 1-1



Fig. 1-2

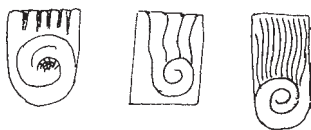


Fig. m-1

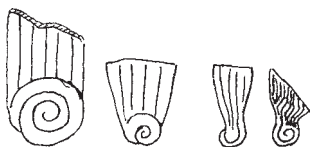


Fig. m-2

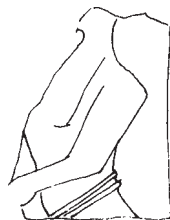


Fig. n-1



Fig. n-2

Fig. 1-1: Couchant bulls from Tôd, Trésor, 15244, pl. XLIII (Louvre)

Fig. 1-2: Couchant bull from Mari, A. Parrot, *Le Temple d'Ishtar* [Paris, 1956] pl. LVIII: 1018.

Fig. m-1: Selection of hair curls from Tôd, Trésor, 15251, pl. XLIV (Louvre).

Fig. m-2: Selection of hair curls from the temples of Ishtar and Ninni-Zaza, A. Parrot, *Les temples d'Ishtar et de Ninni-Zaza* [Paris, 1961] pl. LXXVII.

Fig. n-1: Torso of bull-man in relief or inlay from Tôd, Trésor, 70665, pl. XLVI (Cairo Museum).

Fig. n-2: Detail from a cylinder seal impression of Fara style from Fara, E. Heinrich, *Fara* [Berlin, 1931] pl. 46:f.

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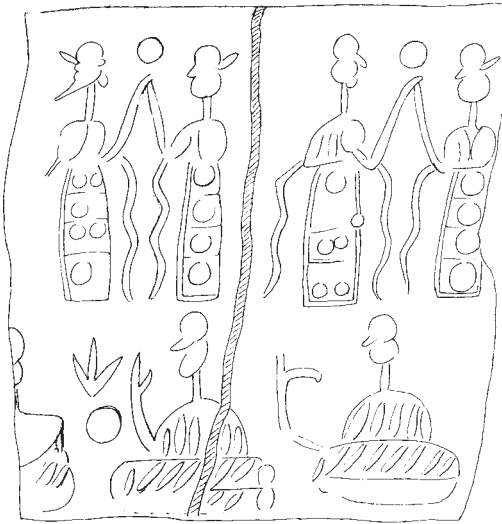


Fig. 7: Drawing from the photograph of cylinder seal 70753 (Cairo Museum) *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 8 [1954] p. 118.



Fig. o

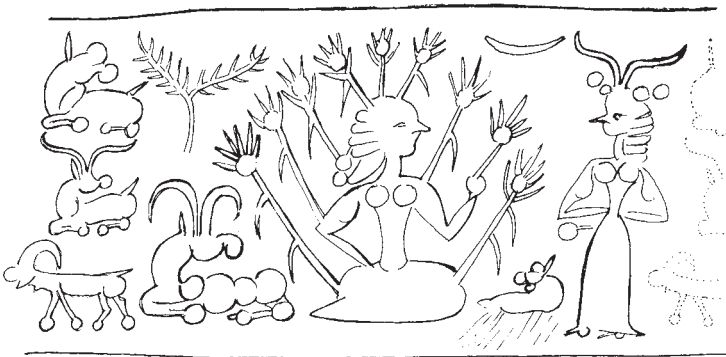


Fig. p

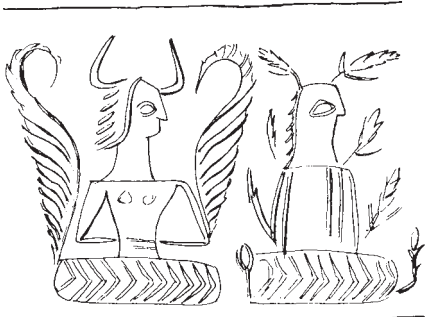


Fig. q

Fig. o: Stamp seal from Tall-i Malyan, W. Sumner, *Iran XII* [1974] p. 172, fig. 12:i.

Fig. p: Impression of a cylinder seal from Shahdad, A. Hakimi, *Catalogue de l'exposition LUT, 1972, No. 324.*

Fig. q: Impression of a cylinder seal from Tepe Yahya, C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Iran IX* [1971] pl. VI, opp. p. 95.

[Page 303]



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 9-a



Fig. 9-b



Fig. r

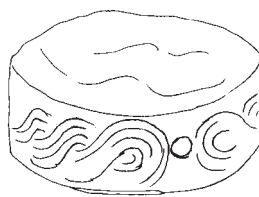


Fig. 8: Stamp seal 70664 (Cairo Museum) Trésor, pl. XLV.

Fig. 9: Two-sided pendant 70668 (Cairo Museum) Trésor, pl. XLVI.

Fig. 9a, b: Drawings from photographs of two-sided pendant 70668.

Fig. r: Two-sided circular pendant from East Iran, P. Amiet, RA, LXVIII [1974] 102, fig. 6.





Fig. s

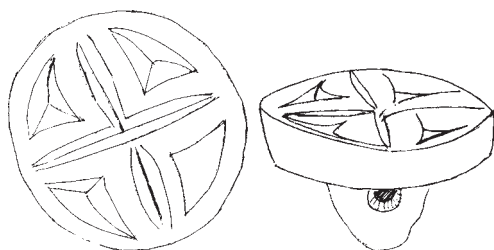


Fig. t-1

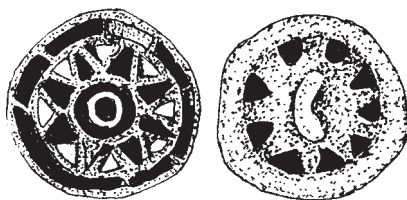


Fig. t-2

Fig. s: Jar sealings made with stamp seals from Sayala, Nubia, M. Bietak, *Ausgrabungen in Sayala ...* (Denkschriften d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss. phil. hist. Kl., Bd. 92, 1966), pl. 15:2.

Fig. t-1: A compartmental stamp seal from Dashli, Bactria, V. I. Sarianidi, *Drevnie zemledel'tsi Afganistana*. [Moscow, 1977] p. 96, Fig. 50:3.

Fig. t-2: A bronze seal "from predatory excavations of burial grounds in Bactria," V. Sarianidi, *Mesopotamia XII* [1977] Fig. 57, upper left.



Fig. 8-1. Modern impression of the carnelian cylinder seal British Museum 89806, bought at Nineveh between 1846 and 1848; enlarged a little less than 1 : 3, (Published here with the kind permission of Terence Mitchell, acting keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities, the British Museum), [Photograph: British Museum].



Fig. 8-2. Silver vessel in the form of a stag protome with a drinking cup attached, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Norbert Schimmel Collection. (Photograph courtesy of Norbert Schimmel) [Photograph: The Digital Media Department at The Metropolitan Museum of Art].



Fig. 8-3. Stag Vessel, New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, Norbert Schimmel Collection (detail), (Photograph courtesy of Norbert Schimmel) [Photograph: The Digital Media Department at The Metropolitan Museum of Art].



Fig. 8-4. Old Babylonian clay plaque, British Museum M909 5, reproduced from R. Opificius, *Das altbabylonische Terrakottarelief* (Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie 2 [1961]), pl. 270, no. 659, (Photograph: British Museum).



Fig. 8-5. Cylinder seal of Middle Assyrian style in the Pierpont Morgan Library (impression): *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections* (Washington, D. C., 1948), vol. I: The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library, no. i 99.

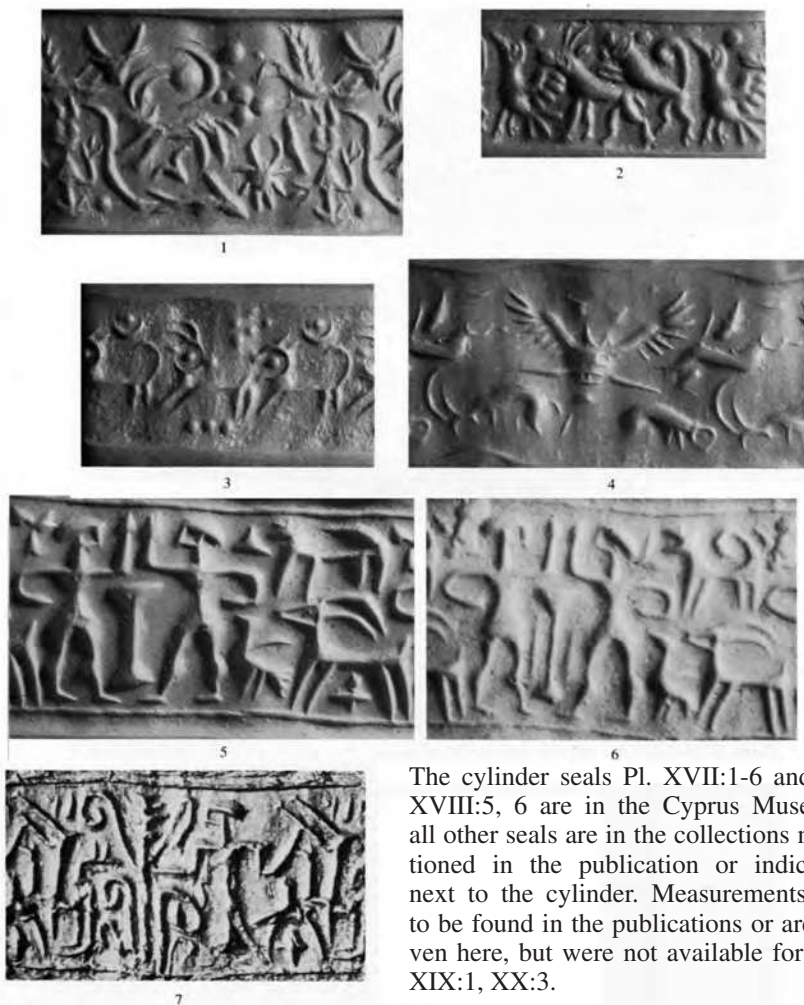


Fig. 8-6. Hittite stamp seal, British Museum 115611 (formerly 17804), (Photograph: British Museum).



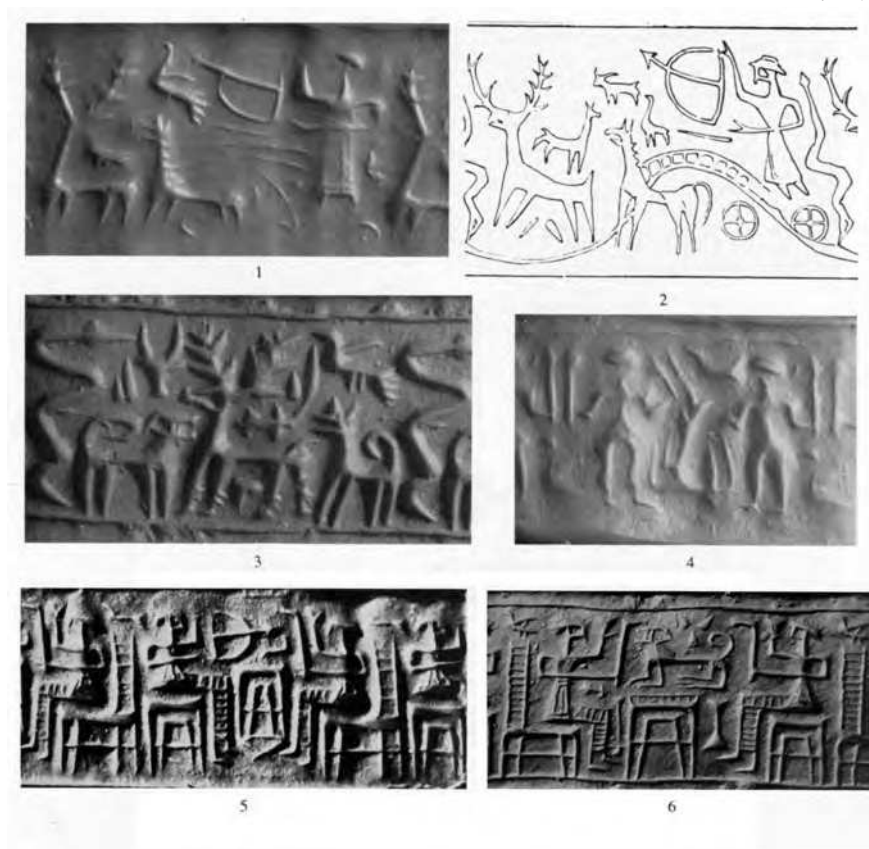
Fig. 8-7. Design on the base of Hittite stamp seal, British Museum 115655 (formerly 17084): enlarged impression. (Photograph: British Museum).

## Pl. XVII



The cylinder seals Pl. XVII:1-6 and Pl. XVIII:5, 6 are in the Cyprus Museum, all other seals are in the collections mentioned in the publication or indicated next to the cylinder. Measurements are to be found in the publications or are given here, but were not available for Pls. XIX:1, XX:3.

1. Cylinder seal from Ayia Irini. P. E. Pecorella, *Le Tombe dell'Età del Bronzo Tardo della Necropoli a Mare di Ayia Irini "Paleokastro"*, 1977, Tomba 10:31, p. 61.
2. Cylinder seal from Ayia Irini. Pecorella, op. cit., Tomba 17:1, p. 102.
3. Cylinder seal from Ayia Irini. Pecorella, op. cit., Tomba 11:108, p. 90.
4. Cylinder seal from Ayia Irini. Pecorella, op. cit., Tomba 20:67, p. 118.
5. Cylinder seal, unprovenanced. Black stone. L.: 25mm. A. P. di Cesnola, *Salamina*, 1882, pl. XII:10.
6. Cylinder seal, unprovenanced. Black stone. L.: 28mm. A. P. de Cesnola, *Salamina*, pl. XII:11.
7. Cylinder seal, unprovenanced. *Collection de Clercq: catalogue ...*, vol. I, cylindres orientaux, Paris, 1888, Pl. IV:32.



1. Cylinder seal, unprovenanced. *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections I: the Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 1948, No. 1099.
2. Cylinder seal unprovenanced. Cracow, Museum XX, Czatoryskich VII, 457. S. Przeworski, "Die Rennwagen Darstellungen in der nordsyrischen Kunst", *Archiv für Orientforschung* V (1928-1929), pl. IX (opposite p. 20), 3.
3. Cylinder seal, said by Cesnola to be from Curium. J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1914, no. 4334.
4. Cylinder seal, Enkomi. E. Porada in P. Dikaios, *Enkomi-Excavations 1948-1958*, vol. II:1969, "Appendix I: Seals", pls. 179, 181, 186, no. 11.
5. Cylinder seal, Akhera, Tomb III:29. V. Karageorghis, *Nouveaux documents pour l'étude du Bronze Récent à Chypre* (Etudes Chypriotes II, 1965), pl. 10:3.
6. Cylinder seal, unprovenanced and unpublished. Black stone. L.: 25mm.



## Pl. XIX



1



2



3

1. Cylinder seal, formerly in the Hajiprodromou Collection, unpublished.
2. Cylinder seal, Collection de Clercq, vol. I, Pl. IV:31.
3. Cylinder seal, unprovenanced. Formerly in the Coleville Collection, now in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen, New York. Drawing published by V. E. G. Kenna, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 91 (1967), p. 252, fig. 1.



1



2



3



4



5

1. Cylinder seal, Phlamoudhi-Melissa, unpublished. Hematite, 28.6 x 12.2mm.
2. Cylinder seal, British Museum, 129591, unprovenanced. *Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Gems ... Earl of Southesk*, London, 1908, Qd 16 (58), pl. 125.
3. Cylinder seal, unprovenanced. Erlenmeyer Collection, unpublished.
4. Cylinder seal, probably from Enkomi. L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux ... Musée du Louvre II*, 1923, pl. 105:22 (A. 1177).
- [5. Cylinder seal, Louvre, cf. article footnote 21.]

Pl. I







b



a

## Pl. III



p



a





Fig. 1 Cylinder seal from Ayia Irini, P. E. Pecorella, *Le Tombe dell'Età del Bronzo Tardo della Necropoli a Mare di Ayia Irini "Paleokastro"* (Rome, 1977), Tomba 10:31, p. 61.



Fig. 2 Cylinder seal from Ayia Irini, Pecorella, *ibid.* Tomba 20:67, p. 118.



Fig. 3 Cylinder seal, Yale Babylonian Collection, H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell* (OIP XXII, 1934) No. 358.



4



4a

Fig. 4 and 4a Cylinder Seal, Jonathan P. Rosen Collection, New York, V. E. G. Kenna, "An unpublished Cypriote Cylinder," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* (XCI, 1967) pp. 251-253.



5



5a

Fig. 5 Cylinder seal, E. Porada, "The Cylinder Seals found at Thebes in Boeotia," *Archiv für Orientforschung* XXVIII (1981), pp. 21-23.

Fig. 5a Stamp seal, Bari, Museo provinciale, CMS XI, No. 273.



Fig. 6 Cylinder seal from Kalavassos, Alison South, et al., *Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios II*, Fig. 36 and pls. XVI, XVII: K-AD 171.



Fig. 7 British Museum, No.104465.



Fig. 8 Stamp seal, Mycenae, from the Chambertombs in the Lower City (Tomb 529) CMS I: No. 158.



Fig. 9 Cylinder seal, Phlamoudhi, Columbia University Expedition; published in "Late Cypriote Cylinder Seals between East and West", *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident"* (Nicosia, 1986), pp. 294-296, pl. XX: 1.



Fig. 10 Cylinder seal, British Museum 129591, published in "Late Cypriote Cylinders between East and West", pl. XX: 2.



Fig. 11 Cylinder seal from Pylos (Rutsi) (CMS I: No. 284).





Fig. 12 Cylinder seal, British Museum 29590.



Fig. 14 The Horned god, reproduced from V. Karageorghis, *Cyprus* (Archaeologica Mundi, 1969), pl. 95.



Fig. 13 Cylinder seal, British Museum 89313.



Fig. 15 Side panel of the ivory gaming box from Enkomi, British Museum, reproduced from H.G. Buchholz and Vassos Karageorghis, *Prehistoric Greece and Cyprus* (London, 1973), p. 482: 1749b.



Fig. 17 Cylinder seal, published in "Late Cypriote Cylinders between East and West," pl. XVIII: 6.



Fig. 16 Fragment of a krater from Enkomi, reproduced from Emily Vermeule and Vassos Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vasepainting* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1982) pl. IV. 35.



Fig. 18 Gold seal, excavated by Schliemann, CMS I: 9.



Fig. 19 Cylinder seal published by John Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (New York, 1972), pl. 206.



Fig. 20 Cylinder seal from Thebes, see reference for note 5, pp. 9-12.



Fig. 21 Cylinder seal formerly in the Malter Collection, now in the Collection of Jonathan P. Rosen, New York, published in “... *Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000-500 B.C.,*” (Nicosia, 1979) pl. XIV: 3.



Fig. 22 Cylinder seal, British Museum 133026.



Fig. 23 Cylinder seal, British Museum 134771.



Fig. 24 Cylinder seal, British Museum 129576.



25



26

Figs. 25, 26 Stele in the Brooklyn Museum, No. 58.98, published by Serge Sauneron, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* XIX (1960), pl. XIV



27



28

Figs. 27, 28 Plaque in the Collection of Khalil Rabenou, *JNES* XIX, 1960, pl. XIII: A.



Fig. 29 Hero with knives at the tips of his feet. Detail of faience rhyton from Kition. *Archaeologia Viva: Cyprus* (Paris, 1969), p. 112: pl. XXXII.



Fig. 30 Gold ring from Chamber tomb 91 in the Lower Town of Mycenae. CMS I: 128



Fig. 31 Cylinder seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections* (Bollingen Series XIV, Washington, 1948, No. [1074].





Fig. 1: Cylinder seal: stormgod and god with serpent monster. Collection, Jonathan P. Rosen, New York. Photograph, E. Porada. Blue-glazed faience (sintered quartz), height 27.6 mm, diameter 12.2 mm, stringhole 2.3 mm.



Fig. 2: Seal impression: stormgod and god with, serpent monster. E. Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi* (*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* XXIV [1947]) No. 738 Seal of Puhisenni son of Maitta, JEN 27, JENU 25. Assigned to the fourth generation of Tehiptilla (his grandson, Tarmitilla).



Fig. 4: The Gold Bowl of Hasanlu. Photograph, courtesy of R.H. Dyson, Jr.



Fig. 5: Detail of the serpent monster on courtesy of R.H. Dyson, Jr.



Fig. 6: Seal from Failaka, P. Kjaerum, *Failaka/Dilmun, the Second Millennium Settlements, the Stamp and Cylinder Seals* (Jutland Archaeological Society Publications XVII:1, 1983) p. 31, No. 54. Photograph, courtesy of P. Kjaerum.



Fig. 7: Seal from Failaka, as above [P. Kjaerum, *Failaka/Dilmun, the Second Millennium Settlements, the Stamp and Cylinder Seals* (Jutland Archaeological Society Publications XVII:1, 1983)], p. 63, No. 137.



Fig. 8: Cylinder seal, two worshippers flanking a censer, two bull-horned serpents, two other worshippers and a sphinx in the field. Collection Jonathan P. Rosen, New York. Blue glazed faience (sintered quartz), height 28.9 mm, diameter 14.3 mm, stringhole 3.2 mm.



Fig. 9: Cylinder seal. *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections. I The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, Washington, 1948, no. 688.



Fig. 1b Photo of modern impression of cylinder seal formerly in the Foroughi seal (3.87 cm height; 1.7 cm diameter; Archaeological Museum, Tehran); after Porada 1993a, pl. 28).



Fig. 2b Photo of modern impression of cylinder seal Rosen 1 (4.33 cm height; 2.5 cm diameter; private collection of Jonathan and Jeanette Rosen, New York; after Porada 1993a, pl. 31).



Fig. 3a



Fig. 3b

Fig. 3a Photo of alabaster cylinder seal Rosen 2 (4.0 cm height; 1.97 cm diameter; private collection of Jonathan and Jeanette Rosen, New York; after Porada 1988a, pl. I).

Fig. 3b Photo of modern impression of alabaster cylinder seal Rosen 2 (4.0 cm height; 1.97 cm diameter; private collection of Jonathan and Jeanette Rosen, New York; after Porada 1988a, pl. I).





Fig. 4b Photo of modern impression of cylinder seal formerly in the Bailey collection now in the Louvre Museum (3.5 cm height; 1.7 diameter. Louvre Sb 6707; after Amiet 1997, p. 127, fig. 5).



Fig. 5 Photo of modern impression of a stone cylinder seal (Dimensions unknown; Gonur Tepe Grave 1393; Ashgabad; after Sarianidi 2007, p. 106, no. 181).



Fig. 6 Photo of a modern impression of a black stone cylinder (3.5 cm height; 2 cm diameter; Temple of Sacrifices, Gonur Tepe; Ashgabad; after Sarianidi 2006, p. 283, no. 137).



Fig. 7a Photo of modern impression of alabaster cylinder seal (2.7 cm height; 1.2 cm diameter; Shahdad Grave 94, Obj. No. 0882, Inv. No. 170/49; Hakemi 1997: 661, Ib.3; Archaeological Museum, Tehran; photo courtesy Massoud Azarnoush).



Fig. 7b Photo of modern impression of alabaster cylinder seal (3.8 cm height; 2.3 cm diameter; Shahdad Grave 163; Obj. no. 1792, Inv. No. 488/50; Hakemi 1997: 661, Ib.2; Archaeological Museum, Tehran; photo courtesy Massoud Azarnoush).



Fig. 7c Photo of modern impression of alabaster cylinder seal (3.5 cm height; 1.8 cm diameter; Shahdad Grave 193; Obj. no. 2263; Hakemi 1997: 355; Archaeological Museum, Tehran; photo courtesy Massoud Azarnoush).



Fig. 8a Photo of modern impression of steatite cylinder seal (2.3 cm height; 0.9 cm diameter; Tepe Yahya, Period IVB B-BW 70.7.1, TY 32; Archaeological Museum, Tehran; photo after Pittman 2001 p. 245, fig. 10.49, no. 49).



Fig. 8b Photo of modern impression of steatite cylinder seal (3.0 cm height; 2.0 cm diameter; Tepe Yahya TY 38; Archaeological Museum, Tehran; photo after Pittman 2001, p. 244-245, p. 262, fig. 10).



Fig. 8c Photo of modern impression of steatite cylinder seal (2.4 cm height; 1 cm diameter; Tepe Yahya surface find; Archaeological Museum, Tehran; photo after Pittman 2001, no. 52, p. 245, fig. 10.52, p. 264).





Fig. 8d Photo of modern impression of fragmentary steatite cylinder seal (2.4 cm height; 1.2 cm diameter; Tepe Yahya period IVA north step trench second building level; Archaeological Museum, Tehran; photo after Pittman 2001, p. 245, no. 51, fig. 10.51).



Fig. 8e Photo of modern impression of steatite cylinder seal (2.54 cm height; 0.9 cm diameter; Tepe Yahya Period IVB B-BW, TY 33; Archaeological Museum, Tehran; photo after Pittman 2001, p. 244, no. 47, fig. 10.47).

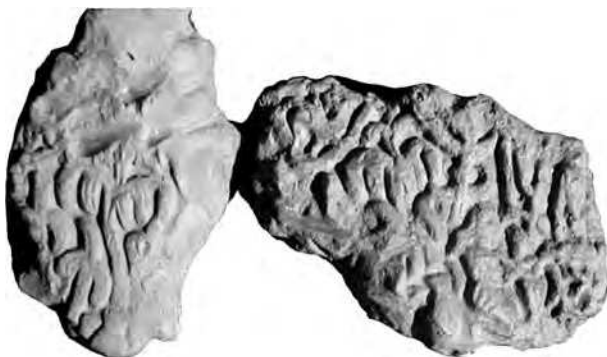


Fig. 9b Photo of two clay sealings impressed with cylinder seal (2.8 cm height; 4.3 cm length; Konar Sandal South trench III, KSS 2005III102; photo by author).



Fig. 10b Photo of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal (2.9 cm length; 2 cm height; Konar Sandal South trench III; excavation no. KSBtrIII103006; photo by author).



Fig. 11b Photo of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal (2.5 cm length; 3.3 cm height; Konar Sandal South trench III excavation no. 155III306; photo by author).



Fig. 12b Photo of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal (2.6 cm length; 2.3 cm height; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation no. 154V402; photo by author).



Fig.13b Photo of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with a cylinder seal (1.8 cm height; 1.8 cm length; Konar Sandal South trench V excavation no. 2005V070; photo by author).



Fig. 14 Photo of steatite vessel (13.5 cm height; looted from region of Jiroft, returned to Iran; Archaeological Museum, Tehran Museum; photo after Hessari 2005).



Fig. 15 Photo of modern impression of green heulandite cylinder seal, proto Elamite period, ca. 2900 BCE (5 cm height; 3.5 cm diameter, unprovenanced, Vorderasiatische Museum, Berlin, VA 10347; photo after Moortgat 1940: no. 775).



Fig. 16b Photo of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with a cylinder seal (4.4 cm length; 1.9 cm height; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number 039V402; photo by author).



Fig. 17c Photo of side a of lapis lazuli disk with copper/bronze pin (3.4 cm diameter; 7 cm length with pin; confiscated from looters, Kerman Museum; photo after Madjidzadeh 2003b, pg. 171 upper).



Fig. 17d Photo of side b of lapis lazuli disk with copper/bronze pin (3.4 cm diameter; 7 cm length with pin; confiscated from looters, Kerman Museum; photo after Madjidzadeh 2003b, pg. 171 lower).



Fig. 18b Photo of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal depicting ruler and deities (2.2 cm height; 3.2 cm length; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number 009aV402; photo by author).



Fig. 18c Photo of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal depicting ruler and deities (2.8 cm height; 4.5 cm length; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number 002V402; photo by author).



Fig. 18d Photo of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal depicting ruler and deities (2.8 cm height; 4.0 cm length; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number 010mV402; photo by author).



Fig. 18e Photo of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal depicting ruler and deities (3 cm height; 5 cm length; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number KSBTrVf202#002; photo by author).



Fig. 19b Photo of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal (4 cm length; 3 cm height; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number 100V402; photo by author).



Fig. 20b Photo of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal (2.5 cm length; 2.3 cm height; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number 127V402; photo by author).





Fig. 21b Photo of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal (2.5 cm length; 1.5 cm height; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number 013bV402; photo by author).



Fig. 22b Photo of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal (1 cm length; 1cm height; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number 117V402; photo by author).



Fig. 23b Photo of fragmentary clay sealing impressed with cylinder seal (1.4 cm height; 2.6 cm length; Konar Sandal South trench V, excavation number KSBtrV-f202#008; photo by author).





## Die Autorinnen und Autoren dieses Buches

Joan Aruz is Curator in Charge of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, where she has worked for the last twenty-five years. During that time she has written many articles on seals and intercultural exchange and has mounted a number of special exhibitions. Among them are *Art of the First Cities: The Third Millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus* (2003) and *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.* (2008), both with extensive catalogues. These show, like the one she is preparing for Fall 2014 with the title *Assyria to Iberia at the Dawn of the Classical Age*, focus on cross-cultural encounters and their impact on the visual arts. Dr. Aruz pursued her doctoral studies, with Edith Porada as an advisor and mentor, and her 1986 dissertation was published in 2008 as *Marks of Distinction: Seals and Cultural Exchange Between the Aegean and the Orient (ca. 2600 - 1360 B.C.)*.

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Mirko Novák studierte Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Altorientalische Philologie und Islamwissenschaft an der Universität des Saarlandes in Saarbrücken. 1998 promovierte er an der Freien Universität Berlin mit einer Dissertation zum mesopotamischen Residenzstadtbau. 2004 wurde er an der Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen mit einer kumulativen Arbeit zu Bestattungssitten und Totenkult im Alten Orient habilitiert. Er war wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter an Ausgrabungen in Tall Šeḫ Hamad, Qatna und Tall Halaf. Seit 2011 ist er Assistenzprofessor an der Universität Bern und leitet die türkisch-schweizerische Ausgrabung in Sirkeli Höyük (Türkei).

Holly Pittman is Bok Family Professor in the Humanities at the University of Pennsylvania. Her 1989 dissertation with Edith Porada at Columbia University was published in 1994 as *The glazed steatite glyptic style: the structure and function of an image system in the administration of protoliterate Mesopotamia*. She has excavated in Cyprus, Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran and has had primary publication responsibilities of the art and especially the glyptic art from the sites of Malyan in the Fars province of Iran; Uruk period Tell Brak; and Uruk period Hacinebi Tepe. Her current research interests revolve around the excavations of the sites of Konar Sandal South and North in the region of Jiroft in south-central Iran.

Hans Ulrich Steymans studierte zunächst Theologie in Bonn und Wien, dann in Wien Altorientalische Philologie und Orientalische Archäologie bei Hans Hirsch, Hermann Hunger und Erika Bleibtreu. 2000 schloss er dieses Studium mit einem Mag. Phil. ab. Nach der Habilitation im Fach Altes Testament 2003 lehrte er 2003-2004 in Jerusalem und Wien, bevor er 2004 einen Ruf als Assoziierter Professor für Altes Testament und Biblische Umwelt an die Universität Freiburg/Schweiz erhielt. Seit August 2013 ist er dort Ordentlicher Professor.

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- Bd. 205 LUDWIG D. MORENZ: *Bild-Buchstaben und symbolische Zeichen*. Die Herausbildung der Schrift in der hohen Kultur Ägyptens. XXII–390 Seiten. 2004.
- Bd. 206 WALTER DIETRICH (Hrsg.): *David und Saul im Widerstreit – Diachronie und Synchronie im Wettstreit*. Beiträge zur Auslegung des ersten Samuelbuches. 320 Seiten. 2004.
- Bd. 207 INNOCENT HIMBAZA: *Le Décalogue et l'histoire du texte*. Etudes des formes textuelles du Décalogue et leurs implications dans l'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament. XIV–376 pages. 2004.
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- Bd. 210 CLAUDIA E. SUTER / CHRISTOPH UEHLINGER (eds.): *Crafts and Images in Contact*. Studies in Eastern Mediterranean Art of the First Millennium BCE. XL–375 pages, 50 plates. 2005.
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## Summary

Edith Porada (1912-1994) was a pioneer in applying her studies in Assyriology, Archaeology and Art History to research on stamp and cylinder seals from the Ancient Near East and its vicinity, including the Aegean and Iran.

This book reprints some of Edith Porada's articles, which can be difficult to obtain. They are sorted into three topics: her work on seal collections, her methods, and the transmission of concepts between areas that range from the Aegean to Iran. Newly written articles situate her work in current research. At the end of the book, Porada's dissertation on Akkadian cylinder seals, which has never been published, is carefully reviewed.

In 1933-34 Edith Porada worked in Berlin on seal collections such as the Hahn-Voss collection, the Sarre collection, and those at the Vorderasiatisches Museum. Later she wrote about seal collections in Jerusalem (1938), the Pierpont Morgan Library (1946-48, 1976) and Columbia University (1964) in New York. Following a biography and bibliography, the first section of this book deals with the collections Porada studied in Berlin. Reprints of her articles about the Jerusalem and US collections follow.

The second section, on methods, begins with an introduction by Mirko Novák (Bern) and ends with memories of Edith Porada as a teacher by Dominique Collon (London). Taking her starting point with a detailed description of the design, Porada aimed to localize and date a seal by way of technical considerations (regarding, e.g. the technique of engraving), style, general subject, composition and distinctive elements (e.g. garments or postures). She was reluctant to interpret iconography on the basis of texts, assuming a split of the mythological tradition into a pictorial and a written form.

An article by Joan Aruz introduces the third section on motifs and conventions that were shared from Iran to Cyprus. In her first reprinted article, Porada deals with a faience cylinder from the Late Bronze Age. The seal was excavated in Mycenae and depicts Mitannian glyptic design that corresponds to the style of cylinders found at Alalakh and Ugarit. Further articles discuss cylinder seals from Hala Sultan Tekke in Cyprus, a Middle Assyrian cylinder found at Tyre, and another Middle Assyrian seal exhibiting Hittite elements. Analyzing a Theban seal in Cypriote style with Minoan elements, Porada uses Egyptian motifs and their meaning for the interpretation of Cypriote scenes. Cylinder seals from Syria, Mesopotamia, eastern Iran and possibly Afghanistan, found in the treasure of the Montu temple at Tôd, were understood by her as pointing to the trade routes that linked Egypt with Asia. Porada also dealt with a seal from Iran and another one depicting a storm god that reminded her of the golden Hasanlu bowl found in Azerbaijan (Iran). A contribution by Holly Pittman on cylinder seals from southeastern Iran closes this part.

The final article concerning Edith Porada's dissertation depicts the seals, which she had analysed, that are not shown in R. M. Boehmer's *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit* (1965). Read together with Boehmer, this review of her first academic work provides an extensive presentation of Akkad period seals. Her list of iconographic motifs is especially valuable. This book will thus be of didactical use for any introductory course on Ancient Near Eastern seals.